

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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OF

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR AND THE PUBLIC IN U.K.*

John Freeman

IN the twentieth century, in my country as in yours, the public administrator impinges upon the public at every point. The problem he creates can be stated in essence, I think, in this form. The public administration will be efficient, and government stable, only if the bottom band of the administration is first of all tailored to the social needs of the user; secondly, organizationally efficient and fast moving and seen by the public to be so; thirdly, doing justice as between individuals and between individuals and the State—and seen by the public to be so; and, lastly, subject to some degree of external check and control.

This general proposition or definition of the problem of the public administrator is true of all forms of government, but in practice it is of less pressing importance in a substantially *laissez-faire* society or in an authoritarian society. In the former, the area of official incompetence or malpractice is sufficiently narrow to be in effect tolerated, however wrongly (*e.g.*, it bears mainly on inarticulate or ineffectual minorities). In the latter, both public discontent and the consequences of official incompetence or malpractice can be partly blanketed by the sanctions of compulsion. It is of the highest importance in the mixed, welfare democracies, where the structure of welfare planning requires a significant degree of government control, and simultaneously the structure of democracy gives to a wide public the opportunity to object and obstruct. The validity of this proposition and the problems which arise out of it are thus of paramount importance in both Britain and India.

I shall not attempt to deal in any way with the direct application of these problems to India. In the first place, to do so would not be my business. Secondly, the structure of public administration in a population of 500 million and in the framework of a partly federal

* Text of a public lecture delivered at the I.I.P.A. on November 22, 1966.

constitution is vastly complex and in many respects quite different from that in Britain. For me to attempt to comment on the Indian problem would thus be not only impertinent, but ill-informed and at least partly irrelevant. I shall offer some thoughts on how we face these matters in Britain. That, in fact, is what I have been asked to do by your Institute. I make no claim that we have solved all the problems. On the contrary, in Britain, as I suppose in virtually every other democracy, successive Governments have manifested continuing anxiety about the role of the public administrator, and this anxiety comes broadly under the three heads of his efficiency, his vulnerability to corruption and his devotion to justice. This is a field in which we may all seek to learn from one another, and I hope that some rather inexpert thoughts about British experience may be useful as a stimulant to thought, if nothing else.

THREE IMPORTANT ELEMENTS

I start from the generalization that these problems become particularly intense in the mixed welfare economy. In the case of Britain, that generalization can be made more specific. The social and economic developments of our society since World War II (which history will judge to be largely bipartisan) have led to three important and concrete new elements in public life:

The first is the great increase in personal contact between the individual consuming public and the Civil Service. Examples of this are Welfare, Pensions, Town Planning, Municipal Housing, and so on.

Secondly, there has been a similar increase in contact between collective and managerial groups and the Civil Service; and here examples might be taken from the administration of import licences, of industrial development certificates of location of industry incentives (which I will explain in due course), and so on.

Thirdly, there has been a great increase of delegated legislation, that is to say, legislation which confers on statutory bodies other than Parliament (possibly a Minister, possibly a public authority) the right to make regulations and, quite often, to pass judgment on disputes arising out of these regulations.

It may be noticed that I have not elected to talk about those industries which in Britain have so far been nationalized. Some of my countrymen talking on this subject would do so. But I regard these as being in the context less important than most politicians would.

The simple reason is that in every case, except the Post Office (which has been publicly administered for 306 years), these industries are of such a nature that, under private or public ownership, they would have to be run in such a way as to consider total consumer requirement before the wishes of individual consumers. In blunt language, my view is that our particular nationalized industries so far, while certainly not offering the individual the quality of individual choice and service he would like, do give him as much or even more choice and protection as would the same industry privately owned. Let me put that in a different way. The administration of a city's electricity supply, for instance, will be the subject of approximately the same limiting factors whether it is publicly or privately owned. So I note that point and pass on.

CONTACT WITH OFFICIALDOM

Let us examine a little more closely each of the developments I have just mentioned. First, the increase in day-to-day dealings between individuals and the Civil Service. In a wide field today, the ordinary citizen has to extract important elements of his daily life from officialdom. It may be his pension, it may be his house, it may be a place in the bus to take his children to school, it may be authority even to build a shed in his garden. Even in such a literate and relatively sophisticated public as the British, the most educated man or woman may feel at a loss when confronted with the jungle of official regulations and procedures. Far more so, of course, the uneducated or the insecure. The danger is that the citizen may be, or may feel himself to be, the victim of an official's caprice, that he may sense the smell of oppression, of political jobbery or even of corruption, particularly at the local level. Now one can hear occasional complaints of all these in Britain. Nevertheless, the actual abuses seem to be very rare. How does that come about? There is, I think, no single wholly convincing answer. But the answer is to be found in a complex of the following factors:

First of all, we have placed great emphasis on putting local administration as far as possible under local control—for instance, education, housing, town planning are all matters which are dealt with in the main by local authorities. Political control is therefore exercised by local representatives with small enough constituencies for the representatives to be truly available to the voters and organized in small enough units to be effective catchment areas for particular administrative problems. For instance, education, housing, hospitals are each administered within different catchment areas. I do not

intend to expatiate on the very complex details of British local government, but I would like to make the point that it should not be assumed that political divisions of the community, which often arise out of history, language and so on, are in all cases proper catchment areas or that the proper area for one service is necessarily the same as for others. It was Aneurin Bevan who once said, very wisely, that the whole art of local government was to estimate the effective catchment area for dealing with particular services before deciding where boundaries of those services should be drawn.

SPEED OF ADMINISTRATION

Thus, we in Britain emphasize the need for local control as far as possible. Where, however, local control is unsuitable—for instance in matters of pensions, which are nationally organized, labour and so on—the first principle is that as much authority as possible should be delegated to a local manager or even possibly to local tribunals of appeal. The essential point here is speed of administration, and decentralization leads to speed. And, scarcely less important, that, where complaints arise, an appeal should be able to be made to an individual or a tribunal which can both act fast and also have some standing inside the local community. Further than that, we believe in the most unambiguous and specific rules of procedure designed to be intelligible to the public and to leave the desk-clerk with only the simplest discretionary judgments to make. This is easier said than done. Speed will be achieved most easily by giving the desk-clerk as much discretion as possible. But to do so will inevitably lead to public suspicion of injustice and error. This danger must be avoided by an adequate degree of supervision and “referral up”. But the effect of this will be to clog the machine. The balance will ultimately be struck by trial and error. But here again the doctrine of the correct catchment area has relevance. One type of operation involving direct dealing with the public will require more or less supervision than another—e.g., the day-to-day business of the Labour Exchange, directing unemployed people to available jobs, requires far less referral up than, say, the complexities of a town-planning application. So an assessment of supervisory requirement of the particular job is important.

CONDUCT OF CIVIL SERVANTS

Next I emphasize the most careful selection and training and working conditions of the civil servants at all levels, coupled, of course, with “consumer research”, and, where practicable, mechanization of

routine processes to standardize methods. The ideals of conduct of the Civil Service, which are taken most seriously by those who work in it, have been expressed in the findings of a board of inquiry of a good many years ago which have since been accepted as a sort of code of conduct for the whole Service. I should like to quote from that code of conduct one paragraph :

"In present times the interests of the private citizen are affected to a great extent by the actions of civil servants. It is more necessary that the civil servants should bear constantly in mind that the citizen has a right to expect not only that his affairs will be dealt with effectively and expeditiously but also that his personal feelings, no less than his rights, as an individual, will be sympathetically and fairly considered."

I would add to that, or sum it up, by saying that the civil servant is trained and conditioned to regard himself as the servant of the public and not its master. He will be judged in the end by what he contributes to the security and happiness of the individual public and not by his skill in departmental contests.

To all these managerial and organizational points, I should like to draw your attention to one further point of the utmost importance, and that concerns the prestige and the position in society of the civil servant himself. In British society, though often the butt of jokes, the civil servant remains a respected and important figure. The security of employment which he enjoys gives him a somewhat privileged position in society, and his pay, while far from lavish, is still enough to place him essentially in the middle class and enables him to enjoy a reasonably high degree of prestige among his neighbours.

INTEGRITY AND EFFICIENCY

I should like to quote here a passage from *The Battle of Criche Down* by R. Douglas Brown, published in 1955. The book, it should be noted, is concerned with one of the rare scandals in the British Civil Service and its tone is therefore critical. But, says the author:

"The British civil servant has a worldwide reputation for integrity and efficiency. If there is public antipathy to the activities of civil servants, there is also almost universal respect.

"The civil servant is governed in his conduct by a strict code. There are, of course, criminal penalties for graft or for betrayal

of trust. There is a complete ban on outside commercial interests and on speculative transactions. There are regulations denying civil servants freedom to engage in active politics. There are obligations to observe the conventional proprieties.

"The civil servant must be single-minded in his devotion to duty. He must maintain an objective, neutral approach to the work of his department, so that he may administer fairly and efficiently the policies of Ministers of every party."

I appreciate that no single point here is by itself wholly convincing. Nevertheless, the results are generally good. The Civil Service in Britain is, of course, not universally popular with the public. Indeed, popular is hardly a relevant word in judging civil servants anywhere. But its prestige and standing, always high, have greatly improved over the last 15 years and this is due to constant propaganda both inside and outside the Service. To this propaganda have contributed pressure from M.P.s., vigilance by the Press, and by public welfare officers such as those who serve in the Citizens' Advice Bureaux, investigation of organization and methods to simplify and reduce points of friction, mechanization of clerical processes, public information services, and so on. Many mistakes, of course, are still made but they can be appealed against and usually rectified. In spite of individual grievances there is, I think, increasing public confidence that administration, as opposed to ministerial policies, is just and reasonably efficient.

There are two more points I should like to make on this subject. First, no subject has preoccupied Ministers more over the last 15 to 20 years, and every kind of device has been tested and tried to improve efficiency. Secondly, the object of the training, the code of conduct and the working conditions of civil servants may be stated in a sense as being to remove administration from the political field and leave responsibility for unpopular or impractical policies squarely on ministerial shoulders or the shoulders of elected local government representatives, thus giving to the voter a sense of being able to control his destiny.

DEALINGS WITH INDUSTRIALISTS

Next I want to look at the similar increase in contact between collective and managerial groups and the Civil Service. I can deal quickly with this because everything I have said already about the bottom band of the Civil Service applies with equal force here. But I should like to illustrate. A continuing British problem has been industrial depression, for profound cyclical reasons, in certain areas of

the United Kingdom—for instance, Clydeside and Tyneside. Arising from this, successive Governments have had recourse to a "location of industry" policy designed to reverse the trend. Put in its simplest terms, a large concern may be refused permission to start up or expand in an area of undue labour scarcity and offered considerable inducements to do so in an area of under-employment or under-investment. It follows that in dealing with a problem of that kind there must be close consultation between senior officials and senior industrialists; that there must be understanding between them and shared expertise; that very large sums of money may be involved and, of course, that the national interest is involved as well as local and commercial considerations.

Thus all the bottom-band considerations I have described above continue to apply. But there is more to it. Civil servants who deal with these problems of wider application must be of a seniority and expertise to deal on terms of equality with industrialists. Indeed in recent years there have been an increasing number of short-term appointments of businessmen in the Civil Service. Very special attention must be given to the avoidance of corruption. Usually the national and political considerations, and therefore ministerial and parliamentary interest, will intrude from the start. It is worth noting that most civil servants, at least when they reach this sort of level of seniority, will in practice serve for long periods continuously with one department, and especially is this so in the specialist and technical departments like the Treasury, the Ministry of Labour and the Board of Trade. Thus by the time they reach a certain seniority they are likely to be accepted as expert in their field and accorded sufficient prestige to enable them to look businessmen in the eye. I emphasize again that in this context too, in matters affecting the national interest, it is our practice to have recourse as far as possible to the services of regional officers.

CHECKING CORRUPTION

Now on the matter of corruption it is not easy to explain succinctly the methods of avoidance. There is first of all a social texture in the United Kingdom which traditionally eschews it. This is a deeply felt tradition in the Civil Service. It is reinforced by one of the fundamental rules of British Civil Service practice—that the official responsible for policy decisions which lead to expenditure is different from and separated from the officials who disburse the money and account for it. Thus—even before you get to outside watchdogs like the Estimates Committee of the House of Commons and the Public

Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor General—there is a high degree of built-in scrutiny and exchange of ideas at desk level. Again, civil servants receive salaries which, on the whole, make the taking of bribes unnecessary. Finally, condign punishment is meted out, coupled with almost complete social rejection, if and when corruption is detected, and that is very rare. Some of you may possibly remember the Linskey Tribunal which, in the late '40s, investigated a suggestion of Civil Service corruption. A professional crook set out to erode the integrity of a particular Government department, starting with Ministers and working into the professional civil servants. The scandal was quickly detected. It was vigorously and publicly investigated; the very minor improprieties which were uncovered, and which did not concern the civil servants, were ruthlessly punished. The report of the Linskey Tribunal remains a classic document, not only on the methods of dealing with this situation, but on the methods of attempted corruption and of public reaction to it.

INVESTIGATORY BODIES

Here it is right to notice that, although, as I shall show, tribunals tend to be unpopular with the British public, they are, nonetheless, part of its protection against bureaucratic injustice or excess. Many a Minister, forced by Parliament or the Press to recognize the existence under his jurisdiction of some wrong or apparent wrong which he and his senior officials have not been able to check or control, has had recourse to a public committee of enquiry. The purpose of such investigatory bodies, which may be constituted in a variety of ways, is to judge impartially between the bureaucracy and an aggrieved individual or group.

The mention of tribunals makes this a convenient moment to pass on to the consequences of delegated legislation. Here there are really two points. The first is simply the dislike by both Parliament and the public of surrendering the right to supervise every detail of regulations affecting the public. This, however, is a strictly political point. Parliament in fact chooses to delegate, however reluctantly, and can refuse to do so. Moreover, by complex parliamentary procedures which I will not go into, it does retain some control of most delegated legislation. So I ignore that part of the problem. The second point, however, is the considerable mistrust which is felt by Parliament, by the public and by the judges, of statutory enforcement authorities which are outside parliamentary and judicial control.

There are varying degrees to this objection. For instance, Lay Committees of Appeal in pension cases are not usually objected to. Their purpose is to remove the suspicion of political jobbery by taking final disposal of individual claims out of the Minister's hands, though leaving them within the official rules. Then again the public committee of inquiry into, for instance, a national disaster is usually acceptable. In the immediate present, the judicial enquiry which is now being undertaken into the disaster at Aberfan, in South Wales, may conceivably be complained against by some people on the ground that it could prejudice the possibility of a subsequent fair trial on some criminal charge (which might theoretically arise from the disaster). But generally the public will support this sort of tribunal.

RECENT EXAMPLES

However, a marginal note which illustrates the public sensitivity towards even judicial enquiries outside the authority of the courts is the recent decision that the Attorney-General should not appear before this sort of judicial enquiry, lest his intervention should seem to the public to savour of political pressure on a tribunal which ought to be wholly objective. This refers to tribunals of enquiry.

There are also some statutory, yet non-accountable, bodies of a different kind which can affect large interests and perhaps destroy the livelihood of individuals. An example here is a body like the Egg Marketing Board which has power to pass regulations, and enforce them, governing practices and prices and allocation of contracts in the egg trade. As recently as last year, after complaints from companies aggrieved by some of the Egg Marketing Boards' decisions, a public enquiry was held into how those decisions had been taken and whether they were reasonable. The finding was that the Board had behaved in good faith and reasonably; but that one or two of its decisions were nonetheless objectionable and contrary to the public interest. On these it was compelled to retrace its steps. The main part of the complaint against it was, however, dismissed. This was a case where justice was probably seen to be done. But the fact remains that the British have a deeply ingrained belief in the common law; they are opposed in principle to statute law and have a strong distaste for removing the administration of justice from Her Majesty's independent judiciary, on which we pride ourselves as much as you do on yours. Of course these statutory bodies, whether tribunals or otherwise, can be checked if they go *ultra vires*. The Egg Marketing Board case is an example. But, that apart, there is little alternative in modern conditions but to accept them and suspect them. Their operations are

usually attended by such publicity that, in the event, standards are usually high. If Parliament is dissatisfied with their working in one particular area, it can, and must, amend the legislation which creates the authority. It is impractical to place the burden of administering this sort of delegated legislation on High Court judges. The real safeguard is publicity, plus a profound and continuing reluctance on the part of Parliament to give Ministers any but essential powers of delegation. In other words, the watchword here must, I think, be "accept and suspect".

NEW TRENDS SUMMED UP

As I have been discussing three newish developments in British public life a few continuing threads have emerged which should now be drawn together. First I identify the need for speed and standardization of procedure in dealings between the bottom band of the Civil Service and the public. This means not only work study of organization and methods but also fitting degrees of decision-making at the appropriate level, neither so low that a man's livelihood can be determined by a junior clerk, nor so high as to clog the machine. This applies also to the very necessary right of appeal, and hence the emphasis I have placed on regional officers.

Secondly, I identify the care which British Governments take to build up the prestige, the training and the *esprit de corps* of the Civil Service. Pay, security, power of decision, honours and awards, all play their part in giving the Civil Service confidence in itself, devotion to its standards, prestige, and a certain separateness and respect in the community. Let me quote to you one more relevant and revealing passage, this time from a collection of treatise on the Ombudsman, published last year. The writer is Donald Rowat, Lecturer in Politics at Oxford:

/ "Administrators in Britain may be criticized but they are not actively disliked. A good deal can be deduced from the jokes which are made about them. One of the better known specimens is Sir William Harcourt's remark that if politicians did not exist the country could be extremely well governed by the permanent officials, for a period of from 12 to 18 months, at the end of which time the public would hang all the heads of the Civil Service to the nearest lamp-posts.... But Englishmen have usually believed, rightly or wrongly, that officials are to be trusted. After all they are servants of the Queen and, at the higher levels, have attended the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In any event,

it is to Ministers that we look, as Harcourt added, to tell the Civil Servants what the public will not stand."

ESSENTIAL FEATURES

Further, as the civil servant gains seniority he must be enabled to acquire expertise *versus* his non-Civil Service counterpart. In any great service, mobility and interchangeability are organizationally essential, but it is equally important to select carefully and then to allow long stretches of service in a single department.

Thirdly, I draw attention to the importance of not necessarily equating administrative functions with political boundaries, which may be irrelevant to sound administration. The problem is difficult and we in Britain are still in comparatively early stages of solving it. But the basis of sound administration at any level is that it should deal with the most effective catchment area.

Fourthly, and we are getting near the heart of the matter, we believe in Britain that the Civil Service must be freed to the greatest possible extent from political pressures and be as far as possible self-policing. This is not of course to suggest that Ministers do not interest themselves in the administrative efficiency of their departments. Of course they do. But the normal and accepted working of the machine places that responsibility on the Permanent Secretary (who is naturally answerable to the Minister). His responsibility is to safeguard and improve the efficiency of the department to meet ministerial demands. The Minister's responsibility is to formulate the demands and answer for them in public. Policy decisions, in other words, remain with Ministers, their implementation with the civil servants. And the advice which civil servants give to Ministers remains, except on the rare occasions where a commission of enquiry is empowered to demand the exposure of departmental documents, entirely private and confidential. Thus Ministers carry the burden of unpopularity, leaving the civil servants to perfect their administration, secure in the knowledge that they do their job if they are soundly and justly executing ministerial decisions. It follows from this that ministerial or any other political interventions in Civil Service appointments, promotions and dismissals are regarded as being out of place—indeed potentially dangerous—and are, in Britain, very, very sparingly made and only on the grounds of real public necessity. The much publicized recent appointments of some outside economists at the top level of the present British administration are not contrary to what I have just stated. These men are in effect confidential advisers to Ministers only, and in no way responsible for implementing policy.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Fifthly and lastly, I come to the great constitutional buttress on which the whole British edifice rests—the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. With perhaps a single exception which I will define in a moment, the Minister is solely responsible for all that his officials do; the Cabinet is collectively responsible for all major ministerial decisions; the Prime Minister is answerable to Parliament and to the Queen as Head of State for the Cabinet itself. Thus the check and sanction on all acts by the executive is Parliament, which can call Ministers to account for every action taken in their name and holds in its hand the ultimate sanction of overthrowing the Government. In this connection, parliamentary questions are of the greatest importance, and it is worth noting that, in keeping with the desire to hold Ministers answerable, the procedures of the House of Commons ensure that between 40 and 60 oral questions to Ministers are habitually taken four days a week.

I referred a moment ago to a single exception to the rule of total ministerial responsibility. This is the case where a civil servant acts, either deliberately or recklessly, outside the policy of his Minister or contrary to that policy. By doing so, he relieves the Minister of the responsibility of protecting him—indeed the basic rules of sound administration demand that he shall be disciplined. Even then the disciplinary action is seldom public. But it may be. Let me give you an example which I think illustrates both sides of this question clearly.

CRICHEL DOWN CASE

Some years ago in the 1950s took place what has come to be known in Britain as the Crichel Down Case. We need not go into details. It is sufficient to say that a transaction by the Ministry of Agriculture was held to infringe the rights of some farmers in Dorset. After much investigation and parliamentary discussion, a committee of inquiry held that civil servants had misbehaved themselves in failing to consider their duty to the public as well as to their department. The ministerial reaction to this was important. The then Minister of Agriculture, Sir Thomas Dugdale, immediately resigned his office, doing so, as he said, not because he had been personally responsible for what had happened, not even because he personally knew what had happened, but because what had happened had been actions carried out by his civil servants, however wrongly, within the framework of a general policy which he had laid down and therefore he held himself responsible.

By doing so, he greatly added to the honour of public life and to the strength of the British Civil Service.

He said in the House of Commons: "I, as Minister, must accept full responsibility to Parliament for any mistakes and inefficiency of officials in my department, just as, when my officials bring off any successes on my behalf, I take full credit for them."

"Any departure from this long-established rule is bound to bring the Civil Service right into the political arena, and that we should all, on both sides of the House, deprecate most vigorously. I would only add, at this stage, that it should not be thought that this means that I am bound to endorse the actions of officials, whatever they may be, or that I or any other Minister must shield those who make errors against proper consequences...."

RIGHT CONSTITUTIONAL DOCTRINE

In the course of the same debate, Mr. Herbert Morrison expanded this theme with great authority. He said: "There can be no doubt that a Minister of the Crown is responsible for all the acts of his civil servants and all the absence of acts required. I remember one or two cases where it was thought that we had done something wrong and where I had admitted it and said that the responsibility was mine. Members wanted to know who was the officer who had gone wrong and I stated that I was not disposed to say, that I would deal with him and I did. And that if the House wanted anybody's head on a charger mine was the head it should have. That is the right constitutional doctrine. If we get away from it, we shall go wrong. At the end of the day the Minister is responsible."

So far Mr. Morrison has been stating the familiar doctrine, but he went on:

"It may be right in exceptional circumstances for the Minister publicly to criticize his civil servants. This is a delicate matter. I will give one instance from my experience although I do not want to go into undue detail because it is over and done with. I had given a specific order that something was to be done in a certain way and it was not done in that way. I had promised the House that it would be done in that way and the House was consequently after me and was right to be after me. In that case where the specific ministerial order had not been carried out, I thought it right to tell the House what had happened—that an official had

not carried out his instructions. I castigated him in the House. I think that was legitimate, good for him and what is more important good for everybody else because it teaches them that when the Minister gives the order he has given the order and it must be carried out."

PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONER

This all leads me direct to the final and most topical subject that I want to deal with—the Ombudsman, or Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration as he will be officially known in Britain. I make that distinction not pedantically but because it illustrates an important point about his functions. He is strictly the servant of Parliament. Moreover, he will be able to act only at the instigation of M.P.s. to whom individual citizens must first make their complaints. Nor will any of the existing rights of members be diminished. As the recent White Paper outlining the scheme puts it:

"In Britain, Parliament is the place for ventilating the grievances of the citizen—by history, tradition and past and present practice....

"We do not want to create any new institution which would erode the functions of Members of Parliament in this respect.... We shall give Members of Parliament a better instrument which they can use to protect the citizen."

And it will be a sharp instrument. The Commissioner will have powers to call for evidence and to compel the production of documents, including Government department minutes, with the exception of Cabinet papers. (Here, you notice, is an erosion of the doctrine of privacy of Civil Service advice to the Minister.) And where a department does not act to his satisfaction following the revelation of injustice, he will have the right to report to Parliament itself.

So I hope it is clear that though the Commissioner is a further refinement in the long process of protecting the citizen against the executive and though he is using methods of a new kind and degree, yet his total effect will be to confirm the responsibilities of Ministers and to strengthen the power of the back-bench M.P.s. He is, in fact, designed to help M.P.s. in redressing the minor injustices and stupidities of administration which are bound to take place from time to time even within an established Government policy and which are not of sufficient importance to rate investigation by a formally

constituted tribunal. His field of operation will be largely that which M.Ps. call "personal cases".

CONCLUSION

And that is where I end. One can talk till the cows come home about the refinements of the machine—and there is no end to the process of refinement. But ultimately the relation between the British public administrator and the British public is determined by the training and tradition of the Civil Service to execute ministerial policy faithfully, by the paramountcy of Ministers over the policy of their departments and of Parliament over Ministers. The Minister has learned to count on the implementation of his policies by a service which is trained to carry out ministerial orders without political bias, without expectation of political favour, and to discipline itself over its methods. That relation depends on the Civil Service being free of political pressure, political expression and political responsibility. So the other half of the relation is based on the Minister's obligation to shoulder the political responsibility and protect his defenceless officials, who cannot speak up for themselves, against both public and party pressure. Meanwhile the duty of Parliament is to harry the Minister, to expose, and force him to defend, his actions, to act in every way as the watchdog of the public. The M.P. knows that he cannot, and should not normally try to get at the civil servant who executes the policy. But he does not need to. The power of M.Ps. lies in their ability to savage the Minister.

The content of this lecture has been an academic treatment of a very human subject. None of what I have said today about the British view of the guiding principles will be new to most of you. Most of it, however, will be accepted as common form in India as well as Britain. I have dealt entirely with the British practice. And it should not be assumed that practices which have evolved for Britain are necessarily suitable for the vastly different conditions of India. Nevertheless I have said it with conviction, because I am sure that this is one of the most pressing and most human of the problems of modern democracy. If by making my own selection of what is most important in the wide field of British practice and experience, of trying in other words to highlight what has actually been achieved, I have perhaps stimulated even one new thought or perception in this distinguished and experienced audience, I shall be well content.

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION —NEW DIMENSIONS*

J. N. Khosla

DEVELOPMENT policies and programmes which have been initiated in the newly emerging countries during the last decade or so are primarily directed towards higher income and living standards through industrialization and modernization, expansion of social services and cultural activities as well as broad-basing and strengthening of the political institutions. The increase in scale, change in content and the growing complexity of administrative problems in the developing countries have led to the conceptualization of the administrative process involved in developmental activities as "Development Administration". Following the initial attempt made by Weidner to explain conceptually the meaning of Development Administration, several prominent scholars—notably Riggs, Heady, Montgomery, Esman, Pye—have made substantial contributions to articulate the concept and its implications, chiefly as a by-product of their comparative studies of administration in the developing countries of Asia and Latin America. In the following pages we explore in turn how different authors stress different aspects of the concept in their definitions, though they are agreed that it is an effort towards planned transformation of the economy, involving not only the sphere of administration but also politics and indeed society as a whole. Secondly, we try to show that much of the writing on the subject, therefore, concentrates on the synchronization of changes in all spheres of development. Special emphasis is placed, however, on the political and social context of administration. Under the former rubric, topics such as the political control of administration and the formulation of plans and policies are discussed. The latter includes issues like the citizens' reaction to administrative action, his active participation in the development effort, and the need to change the administrators' attitudes—attitudes that are conditioned by the society which is sought to be transformed. Thirdly, we turn from this political and social context to study the administrative structures and processes which would be more suitable to the context as well as the goal of planned overall transformation.

*A paper read on January 4, 1967, at the Second Conference of the Directors and Principals of Institutes of Public Administration in the Commonwealth.

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION AS A CONCEPT

Problems of development administration have come into sharp focus in the past decade or so with the growing emphasis on accelerated economic and social development and the initiation of national plans of development varying in scope and expanding in content. This does not, however, mean that there was no Development Administration before. Almost every emerging country, whether with experience of colonial administration or otherwise, has had a history of some attempt to build up an infra-structure of economy at national or regional level, long before the present organized effort at all-round economic and social development was initiated. Even in the advanced countries of the West, economic growth and social development have thrown up new administrative problems.

Development Administration as a concept is a part, in the developing countries a large part, of the broader discipline of public administration. The emphasis in the latter has over a period of time shifted from "fundamental" principles, similar to those of scientific management in industry, to a human-relations approach, and then to behavioural and decision-making aspects of the functioning of an administrative organization. The emergence of national programmes of development in new states, and of international and bilateral schemes of technical assistance for development during the post-war years, gave a fillip to comparative public administration studies incorporating a great diversity of methods and insights derived essentially from sociology, cultural anthropology and organizational theory. Out of this experience there has arisen a gradual realization that the Western concepts of public administration and Weberian type of bureaucracy cannot be introduced into the administrative systems of the developing countries without regard to their appropriateness or political feasibility.¹ The developing countries themselves have found that their existing administrative systems and practices are frightfully inadequate in coping with the new developmental responsibilities. Administrative changes needed for developmental purposes have to be considered in a much broader perspective than the conventional organizational reforms.²

Though some scholars consider development as a change-over from a transitional to an industrial society or as a process of modernization

¹ John D. Montgomery, "A Royal Invitation: Variations on Three Classic Themes", in John D. Montgomery and William J. Siffin (eds.), *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966, p. 276.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

in a generic sense, development may be conceived as planned mobilization and direction of scarce resources to achieve constantly rising national goals and objectives formulated by the national political machinery.³ Development needs to be conceived as a dynamic process, directed towards transforming an entire society (not merely some segments of it), enmeshing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects for an all round, balanced, upward change. As Weidner points out, "development is...never complete; it is relative, more or less of it being possible. Development is a state of mind, a tendency, a direction. Rather than a fixed goal, it is a rate of change in a particular direction."⁴

Merle Fainsod defines Development Administration as "a carrier of innovating values.... It embraces the array of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernization and industrialization. Development administration ordinarily involves the establishment of machinery for planning economic growth and mobilizing and allocating resources to expand national income".⁵ To Montgomery, Development Administration connotes "carrying out planned change in the economy (in agriculture or industry, or the capital infra-structure supporting either of these) and, to a lesser extent, in the social services of the state (especially education and public

³ According to Montgomery, "development is usually conceived as an aspect of change that is desirable, broadly predicted or planned and administered or atleast influenced by governmental action". *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁴ Edward W. Weidner, "Development Administration: A new focus for Research", in Ferrel Heady and Sybil L. Stokes (eds.), *Papers in Comparative Public Administration*, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, Michigan, 1962, p. 99.

In a UN publication, the term "development" has been defined as "the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspirations". See "UN Science and Technology for Development", United Nations, *Science and Technology for Development Report on the UN Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas*, New York, U.N., 1963, Vo. 1, (World of Opportunity), p. vii. Again, development has been conceived as "organised efforts which engulf concurrently the entire living organism in space and time to further the cause of material and social progress of mankind. It is a systematic endeavour to meet the challenge which has been thrown by lightening advancement of science and technology and integrate the forces thus generated in a way that a social system does not suffer major jerks of dislocation". Shaukat Ali and Garth N. Jones, *Planning Development and Change: An annotated Bibliography on Development Administration*, Punjab University Press, Lahore, p. 12. Prof. Tinbergen discussing about the design of development, suggested that the elements of development policy should consist of: "(i) the creation of the general conditions of development, (ii) awareness of developmental potentialities and advantages, (iii) basic government instruments, (iv) measure to facilitate and stimulate private activity, (v) development policy under varying circumstances." See, John Tinbergen, *The Design of Development*, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1958, pp. 4-8. However, the "general consensus among scholars is, to treat development as a total plan of action which encompasses all aspects of social activities, where growth rates of production and consumption form only one of the several forces which are geared to national progress". See, Ali and Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵ Merle Fainsod, "The structure of Development Administration", in Irving Swerdlow (ed.) *Development Administration: Concepts and Problems*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 1963, p.2.

health). It is not usually associated with efforts to improve political capabilities".⁶ On the other hand, Weidner points out that "development administration in government refers to the process of guiding an organization toward the achievement of progressive political, economic and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or other".⁷

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN ITS BROADER CONTEXT

It would, however, be seen that the definitions of Fainsod and Montgomery are rather narrowly conceived, in terms of planned economic growth. More realistically, considering the actual conditions in the developing countries, Development Administration is concerned with the will to develop, the mobilization of existing and new resources and the cultivation of appropriate skills to achieve the developmental goals.⁸ Development is essentially a directed or guided change with a heavy import on achievement of programmatic goals.⁹ Waldo argues that development affords a focus which helps to bring into useful association various cluster of ideas and types of activities that are now more or less separate and help clarify some methodological problems.¹⁰ Other scholars predict that development would become an integrated concept for the comparative study of public administration. All these definitions lead us to one common point: development administration is essentially "an action-oriented, goal-oriented administrative system".¹¹ It is increasingly directed to realizing definite programmatic values, not those of routine administration. In other words, it is the programmatic values that make the administration developmental.

⁶ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

⁷ Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁸ V. Jagannadham defines Development Administration as "a process of action motivated by and oriented to the achievement of certain predetermined goals". He adds: "It is a process which either has a will and the skills or, if it does not have, makes the preparations for the creation of the will and the cultivation of the skills necessary to discover or to mobilize the resources so as to reach the goals". He clarifies that the primary concern of Development Administration "is not only with the mobilization of the existing or potential resources but also with the creation of the necessary new resources to reach the predetermined goals or targets". See, V. Jagannadham's lecture on "The Scope of Development and Administration" in his lecture series on *Development Administration*, delivered at Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, in Bangkok (mimeo), October, 1966, p. 17.

⁹ V.A. Pai Panandikar, "Development Administration: An Approach", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol X, No. 1, 1964, pp. 35-38.

¹⁰ Dwight Waldo, *Comparative Public Administration: Prologue, Problems, and Promise, Papers in Comparative Public Administration, Special Series No. 2*, Comparative Administration Group, American Society for Public Administration, Chicago, 1964, p. 27.

¹¹ Weidner, "Development Administration: A New Focus for Research" in Ferrel Heady and Sybil L. Stokes (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 98.

In practical terms, such broader approach to problems of Development Administration would imply that the administrative structures, procedures, staffing pattern, techniques of planning, personnel policies and practices and even relations with citizens, all should be attuned and harnessed to the goals and processes of development. Development Administration not only envisages achievement of goals in a particular area of development by making a system more efficient, it must also reinforce the system, imparting it an element of stability as well as resilience to meet the requirements of future developmental challenges. This would further involve administrative innovation and ingenuity as well as breaking down of the bureaucratic resistance to change. Introduction of administrative and other innovations would call for "an earnest willingness to experiment and to take reasonable risks...a willingness, to question accepted practices in every aspect of administration and development...the ability and willingness to re-examine values which have hardened into dogma and apply to dogma pragmatic tests of its utility".¹²

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT: SYNCHRONIZATION OR SUCCESSION?

If Development Administration is to be viewed as planned change in administrative structure and processes in response to certain needs and objectives, how is it related to other areas of change or development, such as political or economic development? Riggs defines *administrative development* "as a pattern of increasing effectiveness in the utilisation of available means to achieve prescribed goals", and *political development* as "an enhanced ability to make organizational decisions involving value choices".¹³ He considers administrative development as a qualitative change in efficiency, and differentiates it from quantitative increases in bureaucracy which he calls "growth". However, the administrative problems of development in the emerging countries are not only those of qualitative improvements in administration but equally those of increase in the scale and scope of developmental tasks. In his concept of administrative development, Leonard Binder includes "increases in size, in specialisation and division of tasks, and in the professionalisation of its personnel".¹⁴ Without going into the sophistications put forward by Riggs and taking into account the broader perspective of "development" discussed earlier, administrative development would include both qualitative and quantitative

¹² Edward A. Kieloch, "Innovation in Administration and Economic Development", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1966, p. 610.

¹³ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

¹⁴ Leonard Binder, *Iran: Political Development in a Changing Society*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1962, p. 57.

changes in bureaucratic policies, programmes, procedures and methods of work, organizational structures and staffing patterns, number and quality of development personnel of different types and patterns of relations with the clients of the administration.

From a historical perspective, it may be noted that in many of the advanced countries of the West, industrialization and the consequential economic development preceded the mass education, and the latter came before the introduction of adult franchise. In countries like India, which is essentially a prismatic society, to use the terminology of Riggs, all the three national objectives—economic development, mass education and adult franchise—have been telescoped into a single all-out effort at a point of time. In this connection, it may be pointed out that there is a school of thought which holds the view that administrative development can precede and set the framework for the other two. Thus, according to the "middle-eastern theory of democracy", it is possible to reverse the order of these developments, because both economic and political development can be brought about by the administrative apparatus.¹⁵ This was carried out successfully two centuries ago by the great Electors of Prussia. Conversely, Riggs believes that "poor administration necessarily characterizes any 'modernizing' bureaucratic polity where the bureaucracy is more political than administrative in function, where external control groups are weak and where government influence over the population is limited". Further, he holds that "until the fundamental political framework changes, one can scarcely expect basic improvements in administration to take place in such politics."¹⁶

Synchronization of the three types of development—economic, political and administrative—has particular importance in countries that are characterized by Apter as constituting "reconciliation systems". There is an attempt at meshing of political and administrative developments in these countries and the main problem is to adapt the developmental goals, programmes and policies to public expectations.¹⁷ If the processes of political socialization, communication, and interest articulation are not advanced enough to enforce social and political control on the developmental bureaucracy, and if the peoples' expectations in the wake of political independence and plans of development

¹⁵ Leonard Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 57; also Fred W. Riggs discusses this aspect in his paper on "Administrative Development: An Elusive Concept", *op. cit.*, p. 226.

¹⁶ Fred W. Riggs, "Relearning the Old Lesson: The Political Context of Development Administration", *Public Administration Review*, March 1965, p. 77.

¹⁷ David E. Apter, "System, Process and the Politics of Economic Development", in Bert F. Hoselitz and Willbert E. Moore (eds.) *Industrialization and Society*, Mouton, UNESCO, 1963, pp. 135-138.

outweigh the ability of the governments to meet them, there would obviously be shortfalls and administrative failures in reaching developmental goals and targets.¹⁸

Dealing with another aspect of the same question Montgomery points out, "the most direct forms of governmental action are its own programmes but governments may help influence indirectly the actions of other groups and agents, by their use of ideology and doctrine they may affect as well the attitudes and efforts of the entire community. These three modes of action—programmes, promotion, and ideology—constitute the subject matter of development administration...." This is more so specially when the most mundane objectives of development administration may involve major problems in political theory". Continuing on the theme, Montgomery clarifies that, "imposition of modernizing ends upon traditional, post-colonial and otherwise economically stagnant systems lacking viable instruments of administration requires the use of political means: 'mobilising' one-party systems, government-organised and bureaucracy-dominated client agencies and special interest groups, traditional associations, ethnic groups and clans, and organizations of the youth, the educated, the dispossessed, and others whose existence poses a dilemma to the regime."¹⁹ Esman also stresses that in order to deal with ever-rising goals government must cope with a series of significant major tasks, such as achieving security against external aggression and ensuring internal order, establishing and maintaining consensus on the legitimacy of the regime, integrating diverse ethnic, religious, communal and regional elements into a national political community, decentralization and distribution of powers to various levels of governmental units and between different authorities and private sector, displacement of vested traditional social interests, development of skills and institutions and finally fostering of psychological and material security, etc.²⁰

Riggs is a little more modest about the range of such governmental tasks but he would discuss the converse, namely, the impact of positive and negative "sanctions" on bureaucratic behaviour in a given social system, of formal controls and informal influences, such as education and training, and of rationalism as a device to choose from different

¹⁸ J.N. Khosla, *Administrative Impediments to Development* (mimeo), Paper read at the IIAS Meeting of Directors of Institute of Public Administration, Brussels, June, 1964, p. 1-2.

¹⁹ Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 261. Montgomery means two different things when using the terms "political development" and "governmental action". The first means the proper expression or articulation of group interests and the latter implies mobilization of power through government to set in motion things such as economic development.

²⁰ Esman, "Politics of Development Administration" in Montgomery and Siffin (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 60-65.

alternatives the most appropriate means for achieving desired goals. Emphasizing the accountability aspect of administration, Riggs concludes, "administrative development occurs only if we find a bureaucracy becoming increasingly responsible, as agent, for the implementation of policies formulated by institutions outside the bureaucracy. In this sense, administrative development is a counterpart of political development, a corollary to the institutionalization of rule-making institutions capable of imposing accountability on public officials. This, as we have seen, involves the introjection by officials of norms prescribed by political organisations".²¹

Riggs and others have tried to show that certain factors, which may not be conducive to high standards of administration, may help in political development. It is even suggested that "premature or too rapid expansion of the bureaucracy when the political system lags behind tends to inhibit the development of effective politics. A corollary thesis holds that separate political institutions have a better chance to grow if bureaucratic institutions are relatively weak.... It may be that political development, at least towards a democratic type of political action, can be attained only at the cost of slower economic and social development".²²

It is true that the values and behaviour styles that are developing among new politicians in the rural areas, towns and small cities of India are in some ways contrary to those which these politicians would be expected to possess when they assume a ministerial office. There is thus emerging a somewhat basic contradiction between the new, behavioural dimensions of our political system and the requirements of an administrative system for pushing ahead with nation-building programmes. However, this could be avoided by appropriate political development. If the political elite had a clear perception of the national objectives, of inter-relations between political, socio-economic and administrative development and the priorities *inter se*, the political growth could be conducive both to economic and administrative development.

In the context of the present socio-political conditions, however, civil services in India would have to play, during the next two decades or so, an increasingly important role not only in the planning and implementation of programmes of development but also in the entire

²¹ Fred W. Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-53.

²² Fred W. Riggs, "Bureaucrats and Political Development: A Paradoxical View", in Joseph LaPalombara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 126 and 135.

process of transformation and modernization of the Indian society through governmental action. Here, while synchronization of administrative, economic and political development would be important, administrative development will obviously lead the way "...because the political and social process is going to be somewhat unrelated, if you want dynamism to emerge, if you must permit an unregulated pushes and pulls in the political and social process, that has to be counter-balanced by the administration functioning in more balanced manner."²³ The late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, emphasising the leadership role of the bureaucracy in India, said: ".it should be one of the principal functions of public administration in its broader context to direct democracy into right channels".²⁴

While in countries like India which have a well-established administrative system, the bureaucracy must necessarily give a lead in several directions, administrative development cannot but be only a few steps ahead of economic and socio-political development. In the long run all the three types of development have to proceed together, being inter-dependent.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Citizens' Participation

Another dimension of the Development Administration, which is more pertinent to the developing countries concerns the participation of the citizens in the development process. Such participation in view of the wide scope and the large scale of the developmental functions and responsibilities of the government in these countries, is a *sine qua non* for the success of the developmental plans. In most of the developing countries the governments are paying today an increasing attention to programmes of community development, plans for re-organization and re-orientation of institutions of urban-local government and mobilization of people's support. In India, the experiment with democratic decentralization or grass-roots-type of Panchayati Raj institutions represents one of the major items in the Government's efforts for evoking the citizens' participation in the developmental effort.²⁵ Broadly speaking,

²³ Asoka Mehta, Annual Address to the IIPA, October 1967.

²⁴ Address to the Third Annual Meeting (April 6, 1957) of the IIPA, Report of Proceedings, p. 8.

²⁵ It is imperative that "participation must be more than symbolic if popular energies are to be channeled into the developmental process and if self-sustaining institutions are to be created to give development coherence and meaning in political life". Douglas E. Ashford, "Bureaucrats and Citizens", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol 358, March, 1965, p. 91.

India's new democratic institutions, at the level of the village, the block and the district, have demonstrated greater potentiality for operating successfully the programmes of social services than in regard to schemes of economic development. The problem of effective involvement of the people in economic development plans still remains to be resolved for a large part. The added emphasis in more recent years on programmes of area development may help towards removing this deficiency.

Citizen's participation is specially important for accelerating social change in areas like family planning, community development, etc. Further, citizen's participation has to be viewed in the wider perspective of creating a plural society, in which a net-work of voluntary²⁶ organizations would relieve the government of some of its increasing burdens and responsibilities. The growth of voluntary institutions would also help provide a mechanism of social control over the developmental bureaucracy to ensure that it does carry out its tasks and obligations effectively. Another aspect of the problem which needs to be highlighted, and which may have a direct import in changing the attitudes of the clients of various programmes and services, is the role of demonstration and extension services of the government. Further, experience in several countries bears out that dynamic private-sector entrepreneurs can help create a favourable climate for developmental activity and change.

The programmes of development in the emerging countries have led to the creation of a plethora of new institutions—political, economic, social and administrative. Attention is being particularly drawn to the peoples' institutions because the programmes of development, it is generally agreed, are to be carried out not only by the bureaucracy but also through public participation. The new institutions, however, do not seem to have always been designed after careful studies of previous experience in the field. There are instances of duplication and diffusion of efforts by several of these institutions. Institution-building demands, first of all, a clear and definite policy and a master strategy in the context of the particular social setting, for creating viable institutions; and secondly, a sustained and integrated effort to make them work and grow.²⁷

²⁶ As has been very aptly pointed out by Stone that "no effective developmental plan or programme can be carried out by government alone. The widest possible mobilization of the voluntary agencies and participation of all elements in the national community must be achieved". Donald C. Stone, Education of Development Administration (nimco), Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Pittsburgh University.

²⁷ In this connection Esman has very correctly suggested that "Research into the process of institutional development can be highly significant....Establishing and sustaining viable institutions should be a critical concern of modern political leaders, planners and administrators in the developing countries, since this is a major element in their operating

Education as a Catalyst of Change

The most important modernizing influence concerns the proper development of manpower resources for each sector of the economy and the spread of education in the society. Serious qualitative studies of economic growth in U.S.A. and Germany have shown that education is the most significant single factor in such growth. Education—in social sciences or in physical sciences—needs to be oriented to the development of personnel with professional specialization tempered with wide general knowledge and liberal outlook for manning the administrative and technical services in a developmental bureaucracy. One of the obstacles in the initiation of a forward-looking educational system is generally the conservatism of the universities in the matter of changing their curricula to meet the need for propagating development education.

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION AS A PROCESS

Development Administration as a process invariably involves four crucial elements: (a) developmental goals and their feasibility, (b) development policies and programmes, (c) organizational logistics and personnel to implement these programmes, and (d) end-results. While the determination of developmental goals and policies may not characteristically fall within the jurisdiction of the administrative and technical personnel concerned with development administration, the processes of goal formulation and policy-making do have a definite impact on the programming and implementation of developmental activities entrusted to the bureaucracy. Here, one of the crucial problems which does not seem to have received the requisite emphasis is the plurality and multiplicity of developmental goals *vis-a-vis* the scarcity of the administrative means. This underlines the importance of : (a) treating administration as one of the resources in the planning process, (b) working out in operational terms the administrative requirements of each developmental programme or activity, (c) formulating a clear-cut scheme of priorities as between the different developmental goals and objectives, and (d) designing an effective strategy of implementation.

India's experience shows that planning may not always come up to expectations, due to the failure to create a matching system of

strategy". He also adds that "Foreign assistance personnel should evaluate their performance less by their success in the transfer of specific skills from one individual to another than by the creation and strengthening of institutions that can perform and sustain modernizing functions". See, Milton J. Esman, "Institution Building in National Development," in Gore Hambridge (ed.), *Dynamics of Development*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1964, p.143.

administration at each operating level. There exists also the problems of synchronization of complementary plans and programmes in terms of time sequence and co-ordination between agencies—from Central departments down to the field—engaged in the development effort. The successful attainment of one or more developmental goals may depend upon the realization of some allied economic, social or political objectives. The inter-dependence between different developmental goals and the need for priorities as between these goals *vis-a-vis* scarcity of available means highlight the problem of synchronization of socio-economic, political and administrative development.

Initially perhaps, therefore, a feasible strategy for any developing country would be to concentrate, to begin with, only on selected programmes of economic, social and political development. The net could be cast wider when the priorities as between the different developmental goals and programmes and assessment of the existing and potential resources have been realistically worked out. An attempt at development on a big scale in all the three areas would undoubtedly create a greater momentum for some time, but a pragmatic approach would call for a phased plan of clear-cut priorities and strategy.

We have already discussed earlier how development as a process calls for a blending and balancing of the different aspects of development, *i.e.*, economic, socio-political and administrative. In this connection it is proper to refer to three separate and apparently incongruous views of Riggs. Thus in *Administration in Developing Countries* (1964)²⁸, he looks upon administrative development essentially as functional differentiation within the structure of government. Secondly, he points out elsewhere that this differentiation need not correlate with the level of performance.²⁹ Riggs obviously implies that a differentiation in administrative structure out of tune with the level of structural differentiation in society itself does not produce any

²⁸ "We may speak of administrative development taking place whenever the structures of government become more specialized in function, stressing programme and techniques more, area and clientele less. Any increase in mere number of administrative units, where each unit is oriented primarily toward a particular area, or toward racial, ethnic, religious, or other communal clienteles, is not an increase in functional specialization". Fred W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1964, p. 422.

²⁹ Riggs adds ". . . the degree of structural differentiation in a social system need not correlate directly with level of performance. We can conceive of a system with a high degree of structural differentiation but a low level of performance. This might be because the actors were ineffective in their efforts to carry out their assigned roles or because they were unwilling to conform with these roles, and hence ineffective. . . . The more structurally differentiated a social system, therefore, the greater its performance requirements but also the greater the possibility that performance levels can fall." "Administrative Development : An Elusive Concept" in Montgomery and Siffin (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 238.

significant results. In a third place, he stresses the "rule applying" characteristic of the bureaucracy to the social system as its central function and that the bureaucracy's own functional differentiation is less important.³⁰ This simply confirms our interpretation that the effectiveness of a rule-applying bureaucracy consists in its own structural differentiation running parallel with or *just a little* ahead of its counterpart in society as a whole.

New Techniques and New Attitudes

While the developing countries have taken up several new developmental responsibilities, they have for the most part still to adapt and modernize their administrative tools, techniques, organizational structures and staffing patterns to the requirements of development. This is not totally a new aspect of Development Administration, but in terms of the urgency and magnitude of the need it is one of the core problems. Here, there is a wide scope for adoption of advanced techniques of project planning and management, programming, evaluation of results, etc. Two important aspects of the project management concern: (a) time targets for attainment of results, and (b) cost benefit ratios. There is equally an urgent need for expansion and improvement both of applied and basic research in social sciences to help in the evolution and adaptation of advanced techniques and tools of administrative management in a developing society.

Despite the pressing need, the bureaucracies of the developing countries are generally inclined to go slow with the introduction of new techniques and practices appropriate to the attainment of developmental goals and targets. They are even resistant to changes in organizational structures and personnel systems. Nor is perhaps there an adequate realization among the civil service of the need for new techniques and practices. Here again, if the government has a definite but phased programme of experimentation and introduction of new techniques and practices, the bureaucracy is less likely to feel that the administrative innovations would threaten and reduce its security and powers.

Closely linked with the above problem is the question of values, motivations and attitudes of the civil service entrusted with developmental tasks. There is a growing recognition that the attitudes of the civil service are ridden with procedural rigidities of law-and-order-state

³⁰ "Structural differentiation involves not so much programmatic specialization within the bureaucracy as the emergence of distinctive functions for the bureaucracy within society", Montgomery and Siffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

and have not changed to meet the demands of new developmental responsibilities. But no worthwhile attention is being devoted to research on attitudes and motivation and to the reorientation of training programmes thereof. Development Administration does call for some new attitudes and values, such as initiative, drive, a sense of responsibility to take decisions which are both quick and in public interest, a shift in the emphasis from procedures to end-results, a concern for the citizens' comforts and needs, etc. It, however, seems difficult to polarise civil service attitudes into developmental and non-developmental categories. Some of the attitudes developed during the law-and-order-state are equally relevant to the new responsibilities. Problems of motivation, values and attitudes would need detailed study and research in the context of the national cultural setting and societal values. It is being increasingly realized in India that a verbal homage to altruistic aims is not enough to commit civil servants and politicians to national or programmatic goals and objectives. A change in the individual and group values and norms is really important. It may be possible to reorient the values and attitudes of civil servants through appropriate training programmes and further professionalization of the civil services. Research on attitudes and motivations may help identify the nature and type of incentives and rewards which would be most appropriate to particular levels and groups of civil servants or type of development programmes.

Equally important is the question of the attitudes of the political executives.³¹ The masses in the developing countries of South-East Asia still tend to adjudge the political executive more by their charisma and status than by their actual achievements. The values held by the general public as well as the political executives are in many respects feudalistic. This again underlines the importance of the inter-relationship between political, socio-economic and administrative development.

By and large, the behavioural components of administration, at the level both of the individual and the groups, have not been taken into account by the foreign experts providing technical assistance to developing countries. Nor have these experts been able to suggest any particular administrative patterns suited to the ecological settings of these countries.

³¹ "Western 'universalistic' concepts of impersonality, technical supremacy, and loyalty to some abstraction, such as the public interest, remain alien in societies in which primary loyalties are directed to members of one's family and to personal friends". S. N. Eisenstadt, "Problems of Emerging Bureaucracies in Developing areas and New States", in Bert F. Hôselitz and Wilbert E. Moore (eds.) *Industrialization and Society*, UNESCO, Mouton, 1963, p. 165.

The problem of reorienting attitudes and behaviour is partly one of finding ways of removing what civil servants perceive as threats to their personal or institutional survival. Montgomery points out that in the West, this problem, in the sphere of industry, has been dealt with by the use of "participative" techniques of management, softening of hierarchic distinction without removing them and using group deliberations as a means of reaching decisions and establishing organizational goals without changing the legal structure of an organization.³² Braibanti feels that some administrative problems are highly resistant to direct change by foreign reform efforts. Certain bureaucratic modes of behaviour are so ingrained in a culture that any direct effort at change is not likely to yield result, except when the society as a whole is tackled.³³ Riggs holds that "bureaucracies might expand and proliferate through sectoral differentiation, stimulating administrative organs or rule-application, but in fact retaining autonomous decision-making powers. Under such conditions, the normal sanctions requisite for social control would be inadequate to ensure effective role performance by public officials. The necessary conditions for the socialization of bureaucrats to secure efficient responses to the requirements of a differentiated social system would also not be satisfied."³⁴

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS AND STRUCTURE

Another aspect of the problem concerns the role of the general administration in maintaining continuity and stability in the governmental structure. A very ambitious plan of development, or too quick a pace of development and the accompanying radical change in the basic governmental structure or procedures, though spectacular at a particular time, may, by undermining the roots of stability, hinder rather than help future development. There is, thus, a need for a proper balance between change and continuity at any given moment of time.

Development administration also poses other basic problems which can perhaps only be resolved by some deep empirical studies

³² Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265.

³³ Ralph Braibanti, "Transitional Inducement of Administration Reforms: A Survey of Scope and Critique of Issues", in Montgomery and Siffin (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³⁴ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 253. An example is also provided by Riggs how the values and motivations of civil servants can impede the effort to improve the competence of personnel. He poses the question: how could a trainee use his new skills in administrative technology and managerial principles, acquired through special training, if most of his actual working necessarily involves a struggle for influence in the bureaucratic arena rather than the implementation of policy? Fred W. Riggs "Relearning an Old Lesson : The Political Context of Development Administration", *Public Administration Review*, March, 1965, p. 77.

and organizational ingenuity. For instance, it is very essential in the developing societies to strengthen the merit system³⁵ in order to attract and retain the confidence both of the public and the civil services. However, the need for speed, high quality standards, and responsiveness to the citizens' requirements call for delegation of adequate powers of control over personnel, and some choice in the selection of the heads of the executive agencies dealing with developmental programmes or projects. While national planning has tended to centralize the decision-making process, the implementation aspect simultaneously demands extension decentralization of administrative and financial powers. Again, an administrative system structured hierarchically may be the only practical proposition in certain transitional societies with traditional values, in which the people, be they civil servants, or citizens, are apt to loose sense of responsibility and discipline if they have too free an access to their superiors. A hierarchical structure, however, is not conducive to the implementation of developmental programmes where team work is crucial for resolving numerous issues which crop up.

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Any worthwhile theoretical concept or practice of Development Administration cannot obviously afford to ignore most of the problems which have been posed in the preceding paragraphs. Some of these problems call for sustained empirical study and research. They also present some food for thinking on basic issues. Development Administration is a complex matrix in which political, economic, social and administrative forces blend together for achieving results. It calls not only for new techniques and skills but also for new perspectives, insights and understanding. Both these aspects should find a place in the programmes of education, training and research of governmental bodies and voluntary organizations devoted to promoting the study of public administration.

³⁵ Weidner explains that in the technical assistance agencies and in academic public administration circles, the objectives of a good personnel system are agreed upon : "a stable personnel system, 'an effective career service', 'a career service with merit as its base'. It is assumed that these objectives are compatible with national development aims. It is usually assumed that they are compatible with any and all legitimate governmental objectives, development or otherwise. These assumptions are false. The government of a less developed country may not want a stable personnel system. It may wish to terminate the current system and to keep a degree of flexibility in a new one, to make sure that recruits are action-oriented in the preferred direction. The government may not want a career service; if it is development minded it certainly will not want a traditional career service or a modern one that does not facilitate development objectives. The government may not want a career service based on merit as defined by the visiting experts." Edward A. Weidner, *Technical Assistance in Public Administration Overseas : The case for Development Administration*, Public Administration Service, Chicago, Illinois, 1964, pp. 179-80.

BUREAUCRACY AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC PLANS IN INDIA

H. C. Rieger

STUDIES of economic planning usually concentrate on problems of plan formulation: How are scarce resources to be allocated most efficiently? How should alternative investment projects be evaluated? And how can the balance of an economy's different sectors (agriculture, branches of industry, etc.) be achieved or maintained in the process of growth strived for? Which techniques—capital or labour intensive—should production units employ, and should the latter be privately or publicly run? What should be produced indigenously and what imported from abroad? These and similar questions have to be tackled by planning commissions (or their counterparts) in all countries relying on deliberate government action to bring about or stimulate economic growth. Economists of developed as well as of underdeveloped countries have devised sophisticated calculi for answering some of these questions and for testing tentative programmes as to their internal consistency and, if preference functions are sufficiently explicit, their optimality. No doubt, planning today—though not necessarily facilitated by modern input-output analysis and linear programming techniques—is to a large extent free of those elementary mistakes encountered in earlier plan documents of the early post World War II era. Individual targets are compatible with each other and—subject to the accuracy of the numerical values assigned to economic relationships involved (capital-output ratios, production functions, technical coefficients, etc.)—with the resources allocated for their achievement. Moreover, the individual targets selected are frequently geared to each other in such a way as to ensure not only the growth of income and consumption in the plan period but also the growth potential for longer plan horizons.

Economic plans of developing countries have become more realistic in this sense: With improving accuracy of technical coefficient measurements, greater realism in the appraisal of available physical and monetary resources, and with the avoidance of logical and computational mistakes, the plans are increasingly becoming correct statements of what has to be accomplished in order to achieve the desired results.

Does this mean that economic plans of developing countries have become more realistic in the sense of being realizable?

No. Knowing what has to be done is, of course, not the same as being able to do it. The fact that to get to the moon you have to get into Rocket "A" and press button "B" may be a useful piece of technical knowledge, but it won't get you to your destination unless you can "mobilize" the requisite transportation resources or "enlist the co-operation" of the man with the rocket. Similarly, a plan to increase agricultural production through improved farming methods depends on the ability to induce farmers, in sufficient numbers, by persuasion or coercion, into accepting and employing the better techniques. Where this ability is lacking or deficient, the plan is unrealistic in the sense of being unrealizable.¹ Of course, failures or shortfalls of economic plans may result because of wrong actions being planned and because of planned actions yielding unexpected results. But they may obviously result equally well because of planned actions turning out to be impossible or only partly realizable. If this is the case in Indian planning—and there is reason to believe it is so—the view occasionally expressed "The plan was good, but its implementation was bad" is more of a device for renouncing responsibility than a statement of fact.

Unfortunately, economists of developed and developing countries alike have devoted their attention in the past primarily to the formulation aspect of planning to the detriment of the implementation aspect, which is frequently—albeit wrongly—considered as the "practical" side of planning theory.² The problems posed by implementation are far less glamorous than those of devising and manipulating sophisticated programming models. But advances in this bottle-neck area may be far more useful for economic development than those achieved in programming techniques.³

¹ "The desired response will not be forthcoming unless a specific course of action is laid down and people are goaded into following it. Even in the government sector, action cannot be expected to issue from the mere statement of objectives. Neither the planning division nor the operating agencies will have the highly qualified personnel necessary for translating the general objectives of the plan into specific projects." Cf. A. Watson and J. B. Dirlam, "The Impact of Underdevelopment in Economic Planning", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. LXXIX, May 1965, p. 179.

² "It is traditional for the economist to consider these problems of implementation as technical issues and relegate them to the political scientist or the public administrator. And yet upon the manner in which these agrarian reform measures are implemented in the underdeveloped world may well depend the ultimate success of the whole development effort." Cf. K. W. Kapp, "Economic Development, National Planning and Public Administration", *Kyklos*, Vol. XIII, 1960, p. 187.

³ Speaking of growth models, F.H. Hahn and R.C.O. Matthews write, "While not disparaging the insights that have been gained, we feel that in these areas the point of diminishing returns may have been reached. Nothing is easier than to ring the changes on more

ADMINISTRATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Let us assume that the Planning Commission has formulated a plan for economic development—say a Five Year Plan, which itself is integrated into the Perspective (15-year) Plan. Let us further assume magnanimously that the plan under discussion is both consistent (in respect of targets and resources) and optimal (in the sense that no other plan can be devised that is both consistent and reaches a higher value on the government's preference function). Stripped of its retrospective appraisals and proclamatory and exhortatory frills⁴ it boils down to a list of projects and actions to be undertaken or sub-targets to be reached and an allocation to them of the financial resources expected to be available in the plan period. Now, it is important to note (however obvious it may be) that there are limits to the detail into which the statement of intended actions of a national development plan can go. This varies with the sectors of the economy: In steel production or ship building, for instance, it is easier to state details because of the greater "lumpiness" of investments in these areas as opposed to, say, agriculture. In the latter case, intended developments can only be expressed in aggregate terms, e.g., targets of agricultural production during the plan period: gross area to be benefitted by major and minor irrigation, by soil conservation and land development; area under food crops to be covered with improved seeds during the plan period; the consumption of chemical fertilizers and estimates for organic and green manures during the plan period. The figures given may be broken down according to departments (agriculture, community developments), products (food grains, cotton, sugarcane, etc.), inputs (ammonium sulphate, superphosphate, muriate of potash, etc.), and localities (states and union territories). But even after such disaggregation, the units of sub-targets are in thousands of acres, thousands of tons or thousands of bales.⁵ Obviously, then, there can be no talk of the plan in this form being a plan of action for those who eventually are to take the individual actions whose cumulative effect is the achievement of the target aggregates. Before knowledge of what is wanted reaches the individual peasant, farmer or village level worker, further breakdowns of the

and more complicated models, without bringing in any really new ideas and without bringing the theory any nearer to casting light on the causes of the wealth of nations. The problems posed may well have intellectual fascination. But it is essentially a frivolous occupation to take a chain with links of very uneven strength and devote one's energies to strengthening and polishing the links that are already relatively strong." "The Theory of Economic Growth : A Survey", *The Economic Journal*, Vol. LXXIV, Dec. 1964, p. 890.

⁴ These have very little effect anyway, as the people for whom they are meant are precisely those who could or would not read the plan document, even if they knew such a thing existed.

⁵ Cf. *Third Five Year Plan*, Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1961, pp. 324-331.

sub-aggregates have to be made, entailing at each step farther down the implementation hierarchy allocative decisions as between departments, regions and time spans.⁶ This complex task of filtering information of allocated resources and intended results from its verbal statement in the plan document down the innumerable bifurcations of successive departmental, regional and temporal breakdowns to the extremities of the pyramid, where the word is finally translated into the deed, is accomplished by an extremely complicated and intricate piece of information processing machinery called administration or bureaucracy. It is worth examining it a little more closely.

THE MECHANICS OF BUREAUCRACY⁷

In dealing with problems of administration it is usual to focus on one of two quite distinct aspects. On the one hand, one can think of the administrative system as a huge complex of mutually interdependent machine units interacting with each other according to given rules for the attainment of specific organization goals. On the other, one can study individual personalities within the formal organization of a bureaucratic system and attempt to analyse their individual needs and motivations. In this context *Gouldner* speaks of the *natural system* model as opposed to the *rational* model.⁸ There can be no doubt that both approaches are complementary in the sense that they deal with two different but equally important aspects of formal organizations, and no administrative reform measures are likely to meet with success unless they take account of both.

In the rational model we can think of a formal organization consisting of a number of information processing units, which we will call *machines*. A machine is here defined as any device for turning an incoming message into an outgoing message according to a procedural rule or *transformation function*. An information flow designed to change the transformation function of a machine we will term an *operating order*. Hierarchically-structured organizations, such as the administrative system, are characterized by having well defined one-way channels for operating orders, machines generating operating orders

⁶ Cf. K. W. Kapp, "There is not a single agricultural reform measure which does not depend for its implementation upon an administrative bureaucracy that initiates, promotes and applies the measures adopted at the centre. Such implementation calls for decision making all along the line of the entire administrative structure", *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

⁷ For a fuller exposition of this section see my earlier paper, "The Mechanics of Bureaucracy, An Essay in Social Cybernetics", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 1966, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 175-194.

⁸ For a good description of both models and an attempt at synthesis, see A. W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis", *The Planning of Change, Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences*, W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne and R. Chin (Eds.), New York, Holt, 1961.

being called *upper* machines with respect to the *lower* machines receiving them. Very often adjustments of the lower machine's transformation function will be made on the basis of past performance and its deviations from some indigenously or exogenously formulated goal or performance standard. The resulting set-up can be viewed as a *closed loop control unit* where there is a circuitous feedback of information to the upper machine on the effect of alternative operating orders originally generated. As information flow is a process in time, there will be time lags between the generating of an operating order and the registration of its effect by the upper machine. The distribution of these lags in the circuit and the response functions of the separate units (*i.e.* their reaction as a function of time) will be decisive for the behaviour of the closed loop control unit as a whole, which may converse to some well-defined equilibrium position (homostasis), diverging or fluctuating from it.

When machines are auxiliated by information storage and processing units which control the impulses they emit and organize incoming information in a meaningful way (*e.g.*, by classifying, tabulating, drawing conclusions, etc.) they are said to be *learning*. If preference functions over possible incoming messages are given from an indigenous or exogenous source, these types of machines are capable of *adjusting* to input from the environment by refraining from emitting impulses that lead to unfavourable reactions so as to maximize satisfaction. The higher up the hierarchy one goes, the greater will be the necessity of installing self-adjusting systems of this type.

Now, on paper, a formal system of organization can be devised for fulfilling the functions assigned to it exogenously in an efficient manner. This blueprint would consist of an arrangement of roles tied together with strings of communication,⁹ the roles being no more than more or less detailed specifications for the requisite machines of the system. However, this conceptual arrangement would be akin to the frictionless system of the theoretical physicist as opposed to the more realistic calculations of the technical engineer, because in real life bureaucratic roles are to an overwhelming extent played by individual personalities, whose preference structure can seldom be brought to precise congruence with the preference structure required by the bureaucratic system as a whole. Here the mechanical theory of bureaucracy has to be supplemented by psychological and sociological hypotheses of action motivation and individual need fulfilment in order to reach a greater degree

⁹ According to K. E. Boulding "...an organization might almost be defined as a structure of roles tied together with lines of communication". "The Image, Knowledge in Life and Society", Ann Arbor, 1961, p. 27.

of realism in the social engineering of administrative systems.¹⁰ It is the neglect of this aspect that has led to many of the shortfalls of planning in developing countries. Let us now turn to the Indian scene in order to be more precise.

BUREAUCRACY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

It has been frequently pointed out that, whatever else British Rule brought to India, it left a good net of communications and an excellent system of administration. Whereas it would go too far to say that starting from scratch in administration would have been better still, the adoption of practically the entire administrative system of British Rule in 1947 had at least two distinct disadvantages. First, before Independence the administration was frequently identified with British Rule and was, therefore, regarded with suspicion or outright hostility by the public even after the achievement of independence. Second, the purpose of the system was essentially one of keeping law and order, collecting taxes and generally blocking any initiative likely to lead to a disturbance of power balances. Whereas the functions of policing and tax collection obviously remain, Indian administration was singularly ill equipped for the development tasks assigned to it after 1947.¹¹

If we think of bureaucracy as an information-processing system interacting on the one hand with the government system and on the other with the client system (*i.e.*, the public or well-defined sections thereof) the purpose of the bureaucracy during British Rule was to react to impulses of the client system in such a way as to keep the client system in a more or less stable social equilibrium. Disturbances of internal or external origin were dealt with in a compensatory manner akin to the functioning of a closed loop control system. The watch-dog function of the British Government consisted in its turn in reacting to disequilibria impulses from the bureaucracy-public circuit, by adjusting or supplementing the transformation function of the bureaucratic machine. Meanwhile, the situation has been reversed. Government is emitting impulses *via* the bureaucracy to the client system with the express

¹⁰ For a discussion of role and personality factors influencing actual behaviour see J. W. Getzels, "Administration as a Social Process", *The Planning of Change, Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences*, edited by W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne and R. Chin, New York, 1961, especially the diagram on page 381. See also C. Argyris, *Personality and Organization, The Conflict between System and the Individual*, New York, Harper, 1965.

¹¹ Cf. K. W. Kapp, *op. cit.*, p. 188: "India offers a particularly good example of some of the difficulties which a district and local system of administration originally designed to collect revenues and to perform occasional police and judicial functions experiences when it is suddenly called upon to implement measures of land reform and agricultural improvement".

purpose of bringing about social and economic change. In this sense bureaucracy functions as a link in an open loop control unit. But not only does it have to translate impulses from the government system into the impulses it emits to the client system, it is also supposed to react to the client system's unexpected reactions in accordance with the government's preference function.

Bureaucracy is no exception to the rule that machines built for one purpose are not always easily adaptable to another. This immediately becomes clear when some of the sub-units of the bureaucratic set-up are analyzed in greater detail. At the bottom of the hierarchy we have sub-machines of a relatively simple nature with well defined more or less mechanical transformation functions. Because of their simple structure, they are equipped for dealing with a relatively limited range of information inputs from the client system and have to signal "upwards" whenever this range is exceeded. In a state of general social equilibrium this is of no great disadvantage. For it is precisely in such situations that impulses from the client system are restricted to narrow deviational limits. From this point of view it is quite sensible to have simple machines at the bottom and the more differentiated processing apparatus (*i.e.*, the "brains" for the principle of management by exception) at the top of the bureaucratic system. When this set-up is used to "disturb" the client system with the intention of initiating development in a desired direction, the main directions of information flow are radically changed, and this frequently entails a restructuring of the whole system:

- (a) Whereas messages from units higher up the hierarchy previously came as answers to enquiries or as correctives to incorrect operation—at any rate as reactions to the lower machine's information output—they now come as initial impulses. This may be quite difficult for a lower level functionary who "knows his job" (but no more) to learn or to accept, calling as it does for a previously unnecessary capacity to interpret and act on quite new types of messages.
- (b) Disturbing the client system will lead to its reacting beyond the narrow range for which lower level bureaucratic units are equipped. The necessity for communicating upwards becomes more frequent and indeed, for an initial adjustment period at least, the rule. The logical results are overwork at the centre and subsequent delay in reacting to initial inputs from the client system.

- (c) Whereas previously record keeping was necessary for purposes of accountability and for the operation of the precedence principle, the very nature of development administration requires reporting upwards of successes, failures and ideas, in order to stimulate corrective or compensatory action from above. Even if the requisite channels were adequate, the feedback of relevant information to the centre would necessitate the internationalization of upper machines' preference functions to an extent never necessary before.¹²

FUNCTIONAL PROLIFERATION AND REGIONAL CO-ORDINATION

Development functions of the bureaucratic system are, of course, additional to the traditional tasks of policing and tax collection. Thus, the size of the system as well as its structure have had to be changed by adding chains of command parallel to traditional lines of administration. Apart from the hierarchy based on regional criteria (Union Government, State Government, Commissioner, Collector, Tahsildar) there are hierarchies based on functional criteria, such as agriculture, irrigation, public works, education, etc. (departmental heads, Divisional heads, Sub-divisional or Circle officials, Extension officials, etc.). This leads to the necessity of co-ordination at the level at which actions of different functional units have to be combined to reach the desired results. Whereas specialization leads to greater efficiency in vertical information flow, it necessitates the creation of co-ordinating machinery in the regional units. Thus we find traditional regional administration augmented by district planning officers or development officers of collector rank, block development officers and so on. Now, obviously, co-ordinating the activities of specialized departments in a way leading to affective regional development requires machines of a far higher adjustive capacity than available in adequate numbers, calling as it does for an understanding of the growth process *per se* as well as of the government's development strategy. It is characteristic of these (and other high quality) machines that they receive their operating orders in the form of targets or results to be achieved rather than in terms of what to do. As Sovani points out, the problems connected with individual schemes at the level at which the administration communicates with the client system are not only physical and organizational but social, political and human. "Each is, in a way, a unique problem and has to be tackled with imagination, innovation, improvisation and experimentation by persons on the spot. It is exactly at that level that the present

¹² According to N. V. Sovani, "...there is no channel today through which there can be a feedback of local experience at higher levels in the planning process. No wonder implementation is as bad as it is". Presidential Address, 48th All India Economic Conference, Benaras, 1965, p. 12.

bureaucratic structure ensures a famine of talent varying directly with eminence in the bureaucratic hierarchy.”¹³

Another problem connected directly with that of increasing specialization and subsequent co-ordination is that of size. T. Morgan has pointed out some of the sources of error and bias resulting from the sheer size of an administrative organization, be it public or private,¹⁴ and Parkinson’s Third Law,¹⁵ though formulated with respect to private enterprise, applies here equally well. When an administrative system grows beyond a certain size the need for internal co-ordination supersedes the need for actual communication with the environment. The BDO who is tied to his desk answering correspondence from his state and district superiors is one who has lost the initiative. He is dealing with things that are brought to his notice, having ceased to notice anything for himself. He has been essentially defeated by his job.

The failure of the Indian bureaucratic machine to achieve the results expected of it by government, e.g., to implement the CD-programme effectively, led to the creation of *Panchayati Raj*. It may suffice to stress here *en passant* that, from the point of view of administrative mechanics alone, the grass roots programme throws up more problems than it solves. As Hanson points out,¹⁶ whatever else it may have achieved, Panchayati Raj has produced some deterioration in the morale of district administration, except where the officials have retained *de facto* control. This is not surprising when one considers that placing an administrative unit hierarchically below two operating order generators is to run the risk of “accelerating with the hand-brake on”. However, there may be something in the view that Panchayati Raj is still in the error stage of a trial and error process and that improvements in the system will be cumulative once it gets going.

CONCLUSIONS

There can be very little doubt that economic development in India is impeded, amongst other things, by inadequate implementation machinery. However, even if there is awareness of this strategic bottle-neck in the Planning Commission and in Government, there seems to be no willingness to take it into account in the formulation of the plans. Reviewing achievements of agricultural schemes of the Second Plan,

¹³ N. V. Sovani, p. 12.

¹⁴ T. Morgan, “The Theory of Error in Centrally-Directed Economic Systems”, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. LXXVIII, August, 1964.

¹⁵ C. N. Parkinson, *In-Laws and Outlaws*, London, John Murray, 1964, p. 185.

¹⁶ A. H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning, A Study of India's Five-Year Plans 1950-1964*, London, OUP, 1966, p. 433.

the Planning Commission states: "Programmes which require large-scale participation on the part of the people, such as soil conservation, made only limited progress."¹⁷ In spite of this, the Third Plan's success was based on the assumption "that the various development programmes will be carried out effectively and with widespread public participation and use of local manpower and other resources and that intensive efforts will be made in every block to adopt improved agricultural practices".¹⁸ It was further stated that "a plan of smaller dimensions than those envisaged would prove altogether inadequate,"¹⁹ and the administrative implications of such a plan were fully realized. They are "vast and call for the highest standards of efficiency attainable in every field of activity. Effective implementation requires the maximum mobilizations of resources, adaptation to changing needs, coordination and concentration of resources at every vital point, ability to anticipate difficulties and problems, readiness to seize upon favourable opportunities for growth and, above all, men of skill and knowledge and organizations attuned to the objectives of the Plan. A plan of development, however elaborate or precise, is at best a framework which sets broad patterns for action, for participation in the national endeavour, on the part of millions of people living and working under conditions of marked diversity."²⁰ In spite of all this, the Planning Commission came to the conclusion that "it is fully within the capacity of the nation to achieve the goals it has set itself."²¹

The discrepancy between the optimism of the planners and the experiences of reality can be interpreted in two ways: either excessive targets were once more being used to goad the people into greater efforts at all levels of the economy and the administration—in this case it is time to realize that the point has been long passed where the incentive value of excessive targets turns into the frustration of perpetual failure—or, in spite of contrary experience, the Planning Commission still believes that inefficiency, red-tapism and malcoordination of the bureaucratic machine can be eliminated or combatted by general exhortations to co-operate, rationalize and strive for greater overall efficiency, instead of realizing that in most cases to admonish the individual to behave in accordance with efficiency criteria of the system as a whole is to ask him to be subjectively irrational. Greater congruence of individual preference structures with those prescribed for machines in

¹⁷ *Third Five Year Plan*, Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1961, p. 303.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

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the ideal system can only be achieved effectively by incentive systems²² and to a certain extent through education. Whether this can be realized in India either economically or quickly is hardly a moot point. In any case, there are limits to efficiency standards in administrative just as in technical engineering, beyond which further advances will not justify the additional costs incurred. So to plan with an administrative efficiency coefficient of 1, as is currently done in India, is to plan the impossible and to believe in the *perpetuum mobile*.

Admittedly, it is easier to criticise than to improve, easier to diagnose than to devise remedial action.²³ It may be true that where development is concerned, only irrational optimism can break vicious circles. But on the other hand, a clearer understanding of the limitations of bureaucracy in general and of the individual bureaucrat in particular may lead to the recognition that in terms of final output a Rupee spent in improving a machine's performance may be worth more than one spent in increasing its initial input.²⁴ It is to be hoped that the various Administrative Reforms Commissions set up in several States and at the Centre will come up with more than the customary generalizations on present inefficiency, red-tapism and corruption and will have improvements to suggest that go beyond the perpetuation and institutionalization of their own work and the setting up of more investigatory bodies, co-ordinating agencies and working groups. Above all, no time should be lost in implementing the reforms already advocated, for a developing country is "a slow sort of country", as the Queen said to Alice. "It takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."

²² Incentive systems in development administration are of course problematic if they have to consist in removing the successful individual from his location or field of success.

²³ Cf. A. Watson, J. B. Dirlam, *op. cit.*, p. 193 : "What cannot be easily removed must be lived with and should be taken into full account....Effective planning will tailor the programme of development to achieve the most that is possible within the limitations beyond the planner's control".

²⁴ K. W. Kapp, *op. cit.*, p. 200: "Marginal social productivity of additional investments may be greatest in the field of administrative reforms".

DUAL CONTROL OF LAW AND ORDER ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA : A STUDY IN MAGISTRACY AND POLICE RELATIONSHIP

Haridwar Rai

THE District Officer as District Magistrate is the chief executive authority in the district. In this capacity, he is responsible for maintaining the public peace, tranquility and order and administering criminal justice in the district. The district police and magistracy function under his supervision and control for the purpose. He is the co-ordinator and motive power of these two organs of the criminal administration. The prevention and detection of crime and the trial of wrong-doers are the conjoint statutory duty of the two under the harmonizing influence and unified direction of the District Magistrate.

The district police force functions as the executive arm of the District Magistrate. It is an organized civil force representing the concept and practice of the maintenance of public peace, safety and seemly order, and denoting the operative agency for ensuring these essentials of a civilized living. To this end, the police are invested, under the law, with protective, detective and restrictive powers of wide ramifications touching the liberties of citizens at innumerable points in their lives. They are given wide powers of arrest with or without the warrant of a magistrate, as the case may be. They have been charged with the duty to collect and communicate intelligence affecting the public peace, to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisances, to apprehend and detect offenders and to bring them to justice. They have to obey and execute orders and warrants lawfully issued to them by a competent authority. They can lay any information before a magistrate and obtain summonses, warrants, search warrants and other legal processes against offenders. The District Superintendent of Police can be vested with powers to regulate public assemblies and processions. The police have to keep order on the public roads, in the public streets and at all other places of public resort. They have been empowered to take steps to prevent obstructions, inconvenience, annoyance, risk, danger or damage to the members of the public. Thus, the police work is basically a law enforcement calling.

The head of the police force in the district is the Superintendent of Police, a member of the Indian Police Service, who works under the

general control and direction of the District Magistrate. The latter, as head of the criminal administration and responsible for its efficiency, controls and directs the police, and can make such dispositions of the force, in consultation with the Superintendent of Police, as are needed for the maintenance of law and order and the control of crime. The Superintendent of Police is responsible for the efficiency and good behaviour of the district police, for all matters concerning its internal economy and management and for the proper performance of all its preventive and executive functions. It is his duty to keep the District Magistrate fully informed, both by personal conference and special reports, of all matters of importance affecting the peace of the district and the state of crime. The District Magistrate exercises "general functional control" over the Superintendent of Police. The latter exercises "organizational and professional control" over the police force. This arrangement is grounded in the system of dual supervision of the criminal administration and has been a subject of long-drawn debate in the history of Indian administration.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before the transfer of the Government to the Crown, the criminal administration was in a chaotic condition. The police was often oppressive, inefficient, and corrupt. "In the greater part of British India", to quote John Strachey "the criminal law and procedure were a jumble based on the old Mohammedan law, eked out and rendered tolerable by the Regulations and Act of our own Government, by fragments of English law, and by the decisions and instructions of the superior courts."¹ The enactments in 1859 of the Civil Procedure Code, in 1860 of the Indian Penal Code, followed in 1861 by that of the Police Act and the Criminal Procedure Code, were among the first fruits of the new period. The last three laws unified and simplified the criminal law and defined the duties of the magistracy and the police. The Police Act was the first important step to deal with the difficult problem of the police. The Criminal Procedure Code of 1861, as amended in 1898, has remained basically unchanged.² "Among all the laws of India" says Strachey "there is no one more important than this, which regulates the machinery by which peace and order are maintained, and by which crime is prevented and punished."³ The judicial-cum-police functions of the District Officer as defined in these enactments continue practically unchanged even after Independence.

¹ John Strachey, *India, Its Administration And Progress*, London, Macmillan, 1903, p. 92.

² *Act V of Cr. P.C. as amended in 1898.*

³ John Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Re-organization and improvement of the police was an important concern to which the British Government in India turned its attention after the "Mutiny". In 1860, a Commission consisting of representatives from each of the six provinces was appointed to consider and report on the whole question. They were instructed to devise a scheme which would ensure that the police organization was centralized in the hands of the executive government. A section of the instructions contained the following propositions:

"The working police having its own officers exclusively engaged to their own duties in preventing or detecting crime, the question is, at what link in the chain of subordination between the highest and lowest officers in the executive administration, is the police to be attached and so made responsible as well as subordinate to all above that link in the chain? The great object being to keep the judicial and police functions quite distinct, the most perfect organization is, no doubt, when the police is subordinated to none but that officer in the executive government who is absolved from the judicial duty, or at least from all duty involving original jurisdiction.... This raises the question—who is to be responsible for the peace of the district? Clearly that officer, whoever he may be, to whom the police are immediately responsible, under him it is the duty of every police officer and of every magisterial officer, of whatever grade, in their several charges, to keep him informed of all matters affecting the public peace and the prevention and detection of crime. It is his duty to see that both classes of officers work together for this end; as both are subordinate to him, he ought to be able to ensure their combined action..."⁴

The intention of the Government in placing police and magisterial officers, of all grades and descriptions, under the chief executive officer of the district, and making the latter solely responsible for the maintenance of peace and the prevention and detection of crime, was quite clear from the instructions. The Commission, in its report, suggested that in every district under the jurisdiction of one magistrate there should be at least one European officer of police, to be styled District Superintendent of Police, who should be departmentally subordinate to the Inspector-General of Police in every matter relating to the interior economy and good management of the force, and efficient performance of every police duty. The Commission, nevertheless, declared that the District Superintendent of Police should be bound also to obey the

⁴ See P. C. Mitter, *The Question Of Judicial And Executive Separation And Better Training Of Judicial Officers*, Part IV, Calcutta, Elms Press, 1913. See also, P.C. Rayed, ed. *The Separation Of Judicial From Executive Duties In British India*, Calcutta, City Book Society, 1903.

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[orders of the District Officer in all matters relating to the prevention of crime, the preservation of the peace and other executive police duties, and responsible to him likewise for the efficiency with which the force performed its duty.

Though the Commission favoured a complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities, they made an exception in the case of the District Officer, as a matter of practical and temporary convenience, in view of "the constitution of the official agency" then existing in the country. They observed:

"The Magistrates have long been, in the eye of the law, executive officers having a general supervising authority, in the matters of police, originally without extensive judicial powers. In some parts of India this original function of the Magistrates has not been widely departed from, in other parts extensive judicial powers have superadded to their original and proper function...it is impracticable to relieve the Magistrates of their judicial duties, and on the other hand it is at present "inexpedient to deprive the police and the public of the valuable aid and supervision of the District Officer in the general management of police matters."⁵

Origin of the System of Dual Supervision

The Commission recommended that the District Officer should be recognized as the principal controlling officer in the police administration of his district and that the civil constabulary, under its own officers, should be responsible to him, and work under his orders, for the executive police administration. It felt that this departure from the principle of separation would be less objectionable in practice when the executive police was kept departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers, and constituted a special agency having no judicial function. It made it absolutely clear, however, that "the District Officer is the lowest grade in whom judicial and police functions should be united, and that, therefore, officers below that grade who exercise double functions should be relieved of one of the functions."⁶

These proposals were embodied in the Police Act of 1861. Section 4 of the Act read:

"The administration of the police throughout a general police district shall be vested in an officer to be styled the

⁵ Report of the Bihar & Orissa Committee appointed to Formulate a Scheme for the Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions, 1922, App. A., Patna, Government Printing Press, 1922. See also, Paragraph 9 of the Memorial submitted to the Secretary of State in July 1, 1899, in P. C. Mitter, *op. cit.*, Part IV.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Inspector-General of Police, and in such Deputy Inspectors-General and Assistant Inspectors-General as the Local Government shall deem fit.

"The administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the Magistrate of the district shall, under the general control and direction of such Magistrate, be vested in a District Superintendent and such Assistant District Superintendents as the Local Government shall consider necessary."⁷

It is evident that the responsibility for the administration of the police vested in the Superintendent of Police under the general control and direction of the District Magistrate. The intention of this provision may be best understood by reference to Sections 7 and 12 of the Act. Section 7 placed all appointments in the hands of the Inspector-General of Police, the Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, the Assistant Inspectors-General of Police and the Superintendents of Police "under such rules as the Local Government shall from time to time sanction". Section 12 gave wide powers of making rules to the Inspector-General for the organization, classification and distribution of the force and its equipment and work, and of issuing all orders and rules for preventing abuse and neglect of duty and for rendering the force efficient in the discharge of its duties, "subject to the approval of the Local Government".

Thus, under the provision of the Act, the powers of appointment, suspension, reduction and dismissal of subordinates were vested in the Superintendent of Police working under the final authority of the Inspector-General and his deputies. In respect of maintaining discipline in the police force, the Superintendent of Police was not to be responsible to the District Magistrate. He was to be "under the general control and direction" of the latter only in detecting and preventing crime. But the District Magistrate tried criminal cases also and, therefore, he exercised double functions. This arrangement appeared to many to be the adoption of the principle of separating criminal justice from police work, at least below the level of the District Magistrate, in the administration of the district.⁸

It is clear from the provisions of the Police Act that the intention was that for maintaining discipline in the police force in the district,

⁷ See Section 4 of Act V of 1861.

⁸ A Bengal Civilian of those days refers to the fact that the higher officers of the police down to the Assistant Superintendents "loudly proclaimed the opinion that the power of the Magistrates was at an end, and that they were going to rule in their stead". See John Beames, *Memoirs of A Bengal Civilian*, Philip Mason (Ed.), London, Chatto & Windus, 1961, p. 142.

the Superintendent of Police was to be exclusively responsible. But the police force to be "an efficient instrument at the disposal of the District Magistrate for the prevention and detection of crime", was to be under his "general control and direction". This organization of the police force under the discipline of its own officers was intended to separate "the preventive and investigating agency from the authority which tries and punishes criminals".⁹ It was, in a sense, the adoption of the principle of separating criminal justice from police work in the criminal administration of the district. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were intended to be what Curry terms, "an interesting duumvirate". They were to be jointly responsible for the peace and good order in the district, discharging "separate functions designed to serve the common purpose".¹⁰ The general control and direction of the District Magistrate over the work of the Superintendent of Police was felt to be essential to preserve his responsibility for "the general success of the criminal administration of the district, and to afford him prompt means of ensuring the obedience of organized constabulary to his lawful orders".¹¹ The *general supervision* of the District Magistrate, it seems, was not intended to assume the character of a constant interference in *departmental economy*.

Nullification of Dual Control

But this arrangement, as contemplated by the Act, could not be carried out because the members of the civil service did not appreciate the separation of police work from district and divisional executive agencies. They were afraid the step would reduce the powers of the Commissioner and the District Magistrate in the field of the criminal administration and would weaken their authority insofar as it was needed for the collection of land revenue. They found strong supporters in John Lawrence, the Governor-General, and George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, both of whom believed in the paternal form of government. John Lawrence felt that the effect of the Police Act had been more or less to divide the authority of the District Magistrate, and in some cases almost totally to subvert it. He agreed with the majority of the civil officers that the District Magistrate should be vested with absolute control over the police.¹² He was a firm advocate of complete concentration of magisterial and executive duties in the hands of the District Officer. He wanted to make the District Officer

⁹ J. C. Curry, *The Indian Police*, London, Faber & Faber, 1932, p. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Report of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-03.* Simla, Government Central Printing Office, 1908, p. 79.

¹² Dharm Pal, *Administration of Sir John Lawrence in India, 1864-1869*, Simla, Minerva Book Shop, 1958, p. 22.

"a kind of terrestrial providence"¹³ and the "immediate instrument of rule".¹⁴ His motto was that the District Officer as the symbol of rule must represent the sovereign power, must be the sole ruler in his locality, must be ubiquitous, and must know everything affecting the welfare of the people.¹⁵

George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (1871-1874), was even more determined to bring the police completely under the authority of the District Magistrate. He had implicit faith in the divine despotism of the covenanted civil service, and was opposed to any administrative arrangement which kept an important department like the police under a system of dual control. He wanted to devise a system of control which would make the police completely subordinate to the District Magistrate for all purposes. He issued rules regarding police procedure in criminal cases, impressing upon the police that they were the "hands" of the District Magistrate, and "the proper agency" to be used by him for all purposes connected with the peace, order and conservancy of the district, the regulation of public meetings, and other matters of district management. The District Magistrate was to receive from the police active and loyal assistance, while being at the same time responsible for their proper employment. He further ordered that the District Magistrate must be consulted in regard to the appointment and promotion of the police. He promulgated a set of rules which prohibited the District Superintendent of Police from corresponding direct with the Inspector-General of Police or his Deputies. Besides, all matters, except accounts and returns, were ordered to be sent through the District Magistrate, except when during his absence, he had given orders to forward any particular case.¹⁶ Thus, he struck at the root of the system of dual control envisaged by the Police Act of 1861, reducing the police to an agency of the office of the District Magistrate.

This system of control continued to operate until it was found that it was a deviation from the principle laid down in the Police Act of 1861. The Police Commission (1902-1903) complained that District Magistrates in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa took resort to "a degree of interference" in the administration of the police department "which the law did not contemplate, and which has often been most prejudicial to

¹³ R. B. Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence* (Vol. II), London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1883, p. 53.

¹⁴ Michael Edwardes, *The Necessary Hell*, London, Cassell, 1958, p. 58.

¹⁵ John Beames, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁶ C. E. Buckland, *Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors* (Vol. I), Calcutta, S. K. Lahiri, 1901, pp. 537-38. See also, Sir George Campbell, *Memoirs of My Indian Career*, Sir Charles E. Bernard (Ed.), Vol. II, London, Macmillan, 1893, pp. 246 *et seq.*

the interests of the department".¹⁷ It observed that though the law left appointments in the police department to be made by the officers of the department, the power was to be exercised under rules to be made by the Local Government. The result of those rules as framed by the Local Government was that the appointment of constables became subject to the District Magistrate's veto, and that of any officer above the rank of constable could not be made without the approval of the District Magistrate being previously obtained. The law left punishment to be regulated by rules to be made by the Inspector-General of Police, subject to the approval of the Local Government; but the rules of most provinces, particularly of Bengal, prescribed appeals not to departmental superiors but to the District Magistrate and Commissioner: even a constable could not be reduced by the Superintendent without an appeal to the District Magistrate.

The Police Commission further found that the police manuals of most of the provinces spoke of the District Magistrate as "entirely responsible for the peace and criminal administration of the district", and of the Superintendent of Police as "his assistant for police duties, and, as such, bound to carry out his orders". This, the Commission felt, weakened the influence of the Superintendent, was prejudicial to discipline in the police force, and tended to destroy the Superintendent's sense of responsibility and his interest in his work. They held that matters like disciplinary arrangements of the district police, appointment, promotion, and punishment of subordinate police officers should be left mainly with the officers of the Police Department.¹⁸

Revival of the Dual Pattern of Relationship

The pattern of relationship that the Police Commission contemplated was that the Superintendent of Police was the head of the police in the district. Though he must carry out all the lawful orders of the District Magistrate, he was not his assistant in the sense in which an Assistant Collector was. He was not to be treated in such a way that deprived him of influence over his own men and of interests in his work. He was to be under the general supervision and control of the District Magistrate. He was to be advised, and reported, if recalcitrant. Unwise and unjust punishments were to be checked and improper appointments were to be prevented. The District Magistrate was rarely, and only of necessity, to interfere in ordinary police work or in investigation; but the discretion was to be left to him as to when interference was necessary. At the same time, the Commission insisted on

¹⁷ Report of the Indian Police Commission (1902-1903), *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-88.

"the subordination of the police force to the District Magistrate who is responsible for the criminal administration of the district and for the preservation of the public peace". "The District Magistrate" it added, "must be kept informed of the progress of criminal administration. The important diaries which are sent to him, and the fact that all arrests have to be reported to him, go far to secure his being kept informed. His own tours and his accessibility to the people of all parts of the district are also the most valuable means of keeping him informed of all that goes on." The District Magistrate's authority in respect of criminal administration in the district was to be maintained, because he was the officer "in every way marked out for the discharge of the duties of supervising both the magistracy and the police.... He is the connecting link between the executive and judicial functions of the administration."¹⁹

The Government of India passed orders on the Police Commission report in which they declared that the District Magistrate was, and must continue to be, the chief executive authority in the district, and in that capacity was responsible for the peace and good order of his charge; the police must be completely under his control and direction, and he must, subject to the usual control of the Commissioner and the Government, have unquestioned power to employ them as he thought best for the maintenance of law and order, and the detection and suppression of crime.²⁰ The Government orders, however, made it clear that the District Magistrate should not interfere in matters of departmental management and discipline, except where the conduct and qualifications of a police officer affected the criminal administration of his district. The Government resolution laid down that:

- (a) All matters connected with arms, drill, exercise, and internal discipline should be under the District Superintendent of Police.
- (b) The appointment, punishment, and dismissal of inspectors and lower police officials should vest in appropriate officers of the Police Department; but
- (c) The District Magistrate should be empowered to direct enquiry into misconduct on the part of police officers.
- (d) He should also have the power to call on the District Superintendent for report on, and for the removal of, incompetent

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

²⁰ For the Government orders, see, *Royal Commission Report Upon Decentralization in India* (Vol. I), London, H.M.S.O., 1909, para 546.

subordinates, and to issue orders as to the conduct of particular investigations.”²¹

The Decentralization Commission, agreeing that the District Magistrate should be relieved of “a considerable amount of detailed, and not altogether appropriate, work”, declared :

- “(i) That the control of the District Magistrate over the police for general purposes shall be absolute, and that there shall be no room for doubt as to his full responsibility for the criminal administration of the district.
- (ii) That the enquiry into misconduct on the part of police officers which the District Magistrate is empowered to direct, may be carried out, at his discretion, by one of his subordinate Magistrates as well as by a police officer.”²²

The Commission was in favour of empowering the District Magistrate to require the transfer of an inspector or a sub-inspector from any one part of his district to another, and emphasized “the necessity of inspection of police stations, and their records, by District and Sub-divisional Magistrates in the course of their tours”. These recommendations recognized the superior status of the District Magistrate in the system of dual supervision. As the custodian of law and order, he was responsible for all matters affecting the peace of the district, and exercised general supervision over the local police officers. As head of the criminal administration in the district, he had to be kept informed of the occurrence of serious crimes and of any sudden increase in the volume of crimes as also of all events of importance from the police point of view. He had the power to inspect police stations and to direct his subordinate magistrates to make inspections. No crime could be expunged from the crime registers except under the orders of the District Magistrate. He had vast discretionary powers in regard to important police investigations, received the diaries of the Superintendent of Police, and forwarded them with his confidential remarks to the Commissioner. He issued licences for fire-arms and could cancel them in case of a threat of general disorder or large-scale rioting. The maintenance of law and order—prevention of disorder as well as its suppression—was the most important, as it was the most anxious, of his duties.²³

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 547.

²³ Edward Blunt, *The I.C.S. : The Indian Civil Service*, London, Faber & Faber, 1937, p. 111.

THE EXISTING PATTERN

The old system of magisterial control and supervision over the Police which was based on the Police Act and the Police Manual remains basically unchanged. The District Magistrate is head of the criminal administration of the district, is responsible for its efficiency, controls and directs the police, and, where necessary, has power to make such dispositions of the force, in consultation with the District Superintendent of Police, as are needed for the maintenance of law and order and the control of crime. The District Superintendent is responsible for the efficiency and good behaviour of the district police and is in direct command of the force. He is also responsible for all matters concerning its internal economy and management and for the proper performance of all its preventive and executive functions.²⁴ The District Magistrate, therefore, cannot interfere under Rule 15 of the Police Manual:

- “(1) in matters relating to arming, drill, equipment, exercise or discipline;
- (2) except as provided in these rules, with the punishment of any police officer by the Superintendent;
- (3) generally in internal management of the force, except where the conduct, character or qualifications of a police officer affect the criminal administration of the district.”²⁵

Subject to Rule 15(3) of the Police Manual, the District Magistrate can direct the Superintendent of Police to furnish him with any documents relating to the conduct or character of any police officer subordinate to the Superintendent. He can also direct the Superintendent to enquire into any allegation of misconduct or neglect of duty on the part of any police-officer subordinate to him. If the District Magistrate is not satisfied with the result of such enquiry, he may cause another enquiry to be made, or forward the papers to the Range Deputy Inspector-General with his remarks. If the latter, after any further enquiry he may think necessary, does not accept the views of the District Magistrate, he refers the matter to the Commissioner, who decides all such cases in consultation with the Inspector-General of Police. The Commissioner is practically the final authority in this matter. In arriving at a decision, the Commissioner is generally

²⁴ See, *The Bihar And Orissa Police Manual*, 1930 (Vol.)I, Patna, Secretariat Press, 1955, Rule 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

guided by the views of the District Magistrate. Besides, there is not much scope for divergence of views between the Commissioner and the Range Deputy Inspector-General of Police, for the former initiates the confidential character roll of the latter.

As head of the criminal administration, the District Magistrate keeps himself in touch with the crime situation in the district. He receives fortnightly reports from the Superintendent on this matter, and is competent to direct him to submit either general or special reports on any matter connected with crime, the criminal classes, the prevention of disorder, the distribution of police force, etc. But he cannot depute a subordinate magistrate to hold a departmental enquiry. He has to exercise his power of control in such a way as not to weaken the authority of the Superintendent or to deprive him of his responsibility. He has, therefore, to avoid the issue of executive orders, as far as possible, until he has consulted the District Superintendent of Police.²⁶ This is designed to make the latter responsible for the discipline, morale and internal management of the district police force.

The Superintendent has to remain in constant personal communication with the District Magistrate, whenever possible, and to consult him on all important matters. It is his duty to extend all possible assistance to the District Magistrate in the criminal administration of the district. In case of disagreement between the two on any question, the Superintendent must carry out the orders of the District Magistrate. He can, however, request the District Magistrate to refer the point under dispute to the Range Deputy Inspector-General, and if the latter, after any further enquiry he may think necessary, does not accept the District Magistrate's views, he has to refer the matter to the Commissioner, who decides such cases in consultation with the Inspector-General of Police.²⁷ This is to ensure the authority of the District Magistrate and the Divisional Commissioner over the police force in matters affecting the general law and order in the district. This establishes the superiority of the general administrative hierarchy over a "technical" department of the Government.

The Superintendent of Police has to keep the District Magistrate fully informed of all matters affecting the peace of the district, and when he is on tour the police officer in charge at headquarters sends to the District Magistrate direct all important information which would not reach him soon enough through the Superintendent. In order to ensure constant communication between the District Magistrate and the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Rule 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Rule 19.

Superintendent, it has been laid down that whenever the latter is about to leave the station, he must report his intention to the former specifying, as far as possible, the places at which he may be found from day-to-day. Besides, the District Magistrate can ask the Superintendent to remain at headquarters if he is satisfied that the presence of the latter is necessary. Nevertheless, for doing so, the District Magistrate has to give his reasons in writing.²⁸

The District Magistrate exercises constant supervision over the prevention and detection of crime, for the proper conduct of which he is ultimately responsible. It is an important part of his duty to inspect the police-stations of his district at regular intervals, or to cause them to be inspected by subordinate magistrates. Though he does not examine the details of the working of the police-station, he has to give special attention to the following :

- (1) the station diary and the manner in which it is written up;
- (2) the recording of vital statistics;
- (3) the proper working of the Arms Act;
- (4) the method of collecting crop statistics;
- (5) the working of the rural police;
- (6) the general state of crime in the police-station and any reasons for its increase or decrease and the extent to which it is under effective control; the investigation and preparation of cases for court and such other aspects of the work of the police-station as affect the court;
- (7) whether the sub-inspector appears to have a proper knowledge of his duties, whether he is in touch with the respectable inhabitants of his charge, has acquired local knowledge and takes an interest in his work;
- (8) whether the police-station officials appear to be working properly and have proper knowledge of their duties and the neighbourhood; and
- (9) whether the police-station has been regularly and properly inspected.²⁹

The District Magistrate has powers to get enquiries conducted against police officers, order their transfers and postings within the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Rule 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Rule 21.

district, order surveillance proceedings against suspects, offer rewards, inspect the index of crime and guide investigations through his comments on the special reports. If the District Magistrate finds in any police officer of or below the rank of inspector marked incompetence or unfitness for the locality in which he is stationed, or unfitness for his particular duties, he can direct the Superintendent to transfer him to another locality or to other duties and to appoint another officer in his place. He issues such orders after consultation with the Superintendent. If the District Magistrate desires the transfer of an inspector outside the district, he asks the Superintendent to move the Deputy Inspector-General. He may himself refer the matter to the Inspector-General through the Commissioner. Again, if he observes in any police officer above the rank of inspector incompetence or unfitness for the locality in which he is stationed or for his particular duties, he can communicate with the Deputy Inspector-General, who after paying careful attention to the views of the District Magistrate, may determine the measures to be taken, and may inform the District Magistrate of the orders which he passes in the matter. If the District Magistrate considers that the action taken by the Deputy Inspector-General is insufficient or unsuitable, he can refer the matter to the Inspector-General through the Commissioner.³⁰

The Commissioner in Bihar plays an important role in the administration of the police. He exercises supervision and control over the action of the District Magistrate in police matters. All orders received from the Commissioner either direct or through the District Magistrate, are promptly executed. The Superintendent reports any such orders, if of an unusual nature, to the Deputy Inspector-General, who if he thinks it necessary, refers the matter to the Inspector-General. The Deputy Inspector-General is expected to see Divisional Commissioners and District Magistrate at frequent intervals, and discuss with them freely measures for the maintenance of the peace and the prevention and detection of crime. Thus, though the Police Act of 1861 did not mention the name of the Commissioner nor did it contemplate any role for him in the police administration, he has become, through rules and convention, the head of the police administration in his local charge, and the most important and reliable supplier of information to the Government on matters of law and order. The Indian Police Commission made a critical reference to this practice and recommended that Divisional Commissioners should be relieved of direct interference in the details of police administration and their responsibility should be limited to the duty of supervising and advising the District Magistrate.³¹

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Rule 22.

³¹ See, *Report of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-03, op. cit.*, p. 79.

The District Magistrate, as the chief executive authority in the district, is primarily responsible for the criminal administration of the district. Subject to certain restrictions, he exercises "general functional control"³² over the Superintendent of Police in particular, and the district police force in general. In the exercise of this control, he is guided by the Divisional Commissioner and by Government and not by the police hierarchy. He initiates the confidential character roll of the Superintendent and counter-signs his travelling allowance bills. The "organizational and professional control"³³ over the police, however, up to the district level is exercised by the Superintendent of Police, and above the district level, by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, and finally by the Inspector-General of Police. It is the duty of the Superintendent of Police to keep the District Magistrate fully informed, both by personal conference and special reports, of all matters of importance concerning the peace of the district and the state of crime. He is the "technical" head of the district police force and is responsible for its internal management. His primary duty is the enforcement of law and order, control of crime and criminals and the enforcement of discipline and the punctual and regular performance of the preventive and executive duties of the police force. He has to keep the force in good discipline and contented and to maintain cordial relations with the magistracy and other officials and non-officials. Therefore, it comes to this—that, subject to certain checks and supervision exercised by the District Magistrate, the officer actually and really responsible for the working of the force is the District Superintendent of Police. To him every man in the force looks for reward, punishment, promotion, transfer, leave and everything that concerns himself, his work, and his interests. In broad and general matters of the district criminal administration, the Superintendent is subordinate to the District Magistrate. But the latter is expected to leave the former alone in regard to the "internal economy" of the force insofar as it does not come in the way of the efficient administration of the criminal administration.

THE SYSTEM OF DUAL CONTROL: A CONTROVERSY

The concentration of police and judicial functions in the District Magistrate has been a subject of controversy going as far back as the beginning of British administration itself.³⁴ The nature of the -

³² See, *Compendium of Circulars and Orders of Appointment Department*, Government of Bihar (Cabinet Secretariat), Patna, Secretariat Press, 1961, p. 214.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ For a detailed discussion on the separation of police executive and judicial functions, see, Haridwar Rai, *The District Officer in Bihar*, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the Patna University, 1965), Chap. 4.

controversy has, however, undergone a change after the attainment of Independence. The separation of police duties from the judicial (criminal) functions was advocated in the past on the ground that the combination implied the concentration of powers of investigation and those of trial—the powers of thief-catcher and those of judge—in the District Magistrate. But the scheme of the separation of executive and judicial functions is being gradually introduced in the districts of Bihar and other states and most of the old arguments against combination have become obsolete. Now the argument advanced against the District Magistrate's supervision and control over the police is to the effect that it weakens the authority of the Superintendent of Police, impairs the morale and discipline of the force and erects a cumbrous system of dual control.

Arguments Against the Status Quo

The question was discussed at great length at the Police Science Congress held at Patna in August 1960. It was the unanimous opinion of the Congress that "the time had definitely come when the Superintendents of Police should be placed completely in charge of law and order...free from all interferences from non-departmental authorities".⁵⁵ The general control of the District Magistrate over the police was characterized as unnecessary on the following grounds:

- (i) The provision in the Police Act of 1861 regarding the control and direction of the District Magistrate was a temporary expedient. It was caution in excess, because in the wake of 1857 movement the Government did not feel like taking the risk and abolishing the system then existing.
- (ii) The separation of the police functions from the District Magistrate is a natural corollary to the separation of the judiciary from the executive which has been effected in many districts of Bihar and those of other states.
- (iii) The District Magistrate is saddled with heavy developmental and welfare work. He has hardly any time left to devote to police matters. "The exercise of police functions by the District Magistrate is bound to prove detrimental to his effectiveness as a Welfare Officer."
- (iv) With the abolition of zamindary, the District Magistrate is now necessarily a party to many land disputes and it is only desirable that the police should be completely

⁵⁵ Report on the Police Science Congress, Patna, Secretariat Press, 1960, p. 68.

independent so that they can discharge their duties relating to law and order and investigation of cases impartially.

- (v) The District Magistrate has, in practice, much greater powers of supervision and control over the police than was contemplated by the Police Act of 1861 and envisaged by the police Commission of 1902. Besides, it was never the intention of the Act of 1861 to invest the Commissioner and the Sub-divisional Officers with the powers of supervision and control over the police.
- (vi) The system of dual control makes it difficult to fix responsibility and also leads to delays in taking decisions.³⁶

The Uttar Pradesh Police Commission also examined the pattern of relationship between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police. Almost all the superior police officers who appeared as witnesses urged upon the Commission that the control of the District Magistrate over the Superintendent of Police was "indicative of want of confidence in the Superintendent of Police". "The Superintendent of Police" it was argued by them "is responsible for law and order and the power must go with responsibility. The control of the District Magistrate lowers the position of the Superintendent of Police in the eyes of his subordinates and causes loss of morale in the police force."³⁷ They further maintained that both the I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers were recruited from the same class of people, possessed similar educational qualifications and went through almost similar tests. It was further pleaded that the District Magistrate was too busy with planning and development work to devote adequate attention to the police work. Even the Commission was agreeable to their views. It was critical of the exercise of any control by the District Magistrate over the police force and felt that "if the police has to function as a disciplined and efficient force, it must work under the exclusive control of the Superintendent of Police."³⁸

Arguments for the Status Quo

The foregoing suggestions are too destructive of the existing system of Indian administration with the District Officer as its key figure and fulcrum to meet with the general approval. They purport to take the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

³⁷ *Report of the Uttar Pradesh Police Commission, 1960-61*, Allahabad, Printing and Stationery, 1961, p. 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

entire gamut of criminal administration out of his existing functions, transferring its judicial part to the district judiciary and its executive part to the district police. The end in view is to erode his traditional authority and influence, leaving him shorn of that agency and that power which enable him to function as the local agent and representative of Government in the district. This gives rise to some questions: who will act as the general *factotum* of Government in the district? And, who will exercise a restraining and humanizing influence on the organized district constabulary which is not particularly known for its integrity, efficiency and sense of justice?

The Bihar Police Commission (1960-61) which examined this aspect of criminal administration, was in general accord with the system of the magisterial supervision over the police, though it suggested some modification of the rules that guide the relationship between the magistracy and the police.³⁹ It felt that the present "conflict" between the magistracy and the police in general and the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police in particular is due more to "a conflict of personalities" than a defect in the system.⁴⁰ It suggested that various causes of misunderstanding that often led to conflict should be removed. But its diagnosis of the causes and its suggestions to remove them were not in accord with the purpose it had in view. For example, its recommendations that the District Magistrate should not initiate the confidential character roll of the Superintendent of Police nor should he countersign his travelling allowance bills would only weaken his authority in respect of the police and would reinforce rather than eliminate "conflict of personalities", as visualized by the Police Commission.⁴¹ Further, its suggestions, that the general control of the District Magistrate over the Superintendent of Police should stay,⁴² would become meaningless, if the former were divested of his power to initiate the confidential character roll of the latter. These suggestions would yield results opposite to those intended by the Commission.

It may well be argued that the existing arrangement "has stood the test of times and has functioned satisfactorily". Nor can it be refuted that "the District Magistrate has more intimate contact with the public and functions as a shock-absorber between the police and the public."⁴³ It is imagined that the District Magistrate, in view of his

³⁹ *Report of the Bihar Police Commission, 1961*, Patna, Secretariat Press, 1961, p. 150.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴³ This view was held by a group of witnesses consisting of serving District Magistrates and Commissioners who appeared before the U.P. Police Commission. See, *The Uttar Pradesh Police Commission, op. cit.*, p. 17.

judicial background of some kind, his executive experience and his awareness of social and political forces in the community, can look at the requirements of law and order in the perspective of liberties of the people guaranteed in the Constitution. The advantages of the District Magistrate's control over the police may be briefly enumerated as follows:

- (i) The District Magistrate brings about co-ordination between the prosecution and police. In the day-to-day working of various departments connected with the criminal administration of the district, his presence resolves conflicts of interests, reduces friction, effects co-ordination and fixes responsibility.
- (ii) The Police is a single organized force for the whole state, and, if it is left to itself, it would become rigid and oppressive. Therefore, the general control of the District Magistrate over the police means a healthy and restraining and humanizing influence.
- (iii) The Police looks at the problems of criminal administration from the narrow police angle, but the District Magistrate who comes into close contact with the people of all sections of the community and is the "custodian of the general interests"⁴⁴ of his area looks at them from a much broader angle.
- (iv) "The unique position of the District Magistrate as the chief representative of Government in the district, as *primus inter pares*, as the leader of the district team, and as the man who wields statutory responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in his district, demands that he should be given, in full measure, the confidence, trust, loyalty and support of the Superintendent of Police."⁴⁵
- (v) The present arrangement provides a superior authority nearer than the State Government itself to set things right when they go wrong, and apportion blame and praise.

ASSESSMENT

The pattern of relationship between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police is based on the system of dual supervision

⁴⁴ This is how a senior member of the Indian Civil Service described the role of the District Magistrate in course of an interview the writer had with him.

⁴⁵ *The Uttar Pradesh Police Commission, op. cit.*, p. 163.

which, in turn, rests on a dichotomy between the generalist and the specialist, assuming a double channel of supervision from the top down and a dual set of loyalties from the bottom up. This arrangement is suited for and promotes an integrated system of field administration which finds expression in our district administration. Under the arrangement, certain officers are *administratively* responsible to one superior and *technically* or *organizationally* responsible to another. We notice that in most of the Western European countries, there is always a senior state official at the level of a province or department, which is a standard administrative area like the district in India, who represents the unity of Government and is the principal governmental functionary in his area. This Governor-Prefect System, also known as "Empire model",⁴⁶ is based on the general principle "that the government needs its own representative in the provinces to co-ordinate the national services operating there, to ensure that local authorities act within the law . . . , to act as the ultimate authority for maintaining public order, and to act as a focal point for common local interests between different authorities."⁴⁷

The Indian system of district administration is based on the similar model of integrated field administration, giving rise to the theory of dual hierarchy and the system of dual supervision—"administrative" and "technical". The same operates in the field of criminal administration. In its very nature, this arrangement lacks what Curry calls "logical finish".⁴⁸ The Superintendent of Police is the "head" of the district police force and is responsible for its discipline, morale, and internal economy. But he works under the *administrative supervision* of the District Magistrate who, as the chief executive authority in the district, is responsible for the entire criminal administration of his area and is vested with statutory powers of *general control and direction* over the district police force. "While the police is under the control of the District Magistrate and not independent of him, yet it has been made a department upon its own self-contained and exclusive basis".⁴⁹ Though the District Magistrate initiates the character roll of the Superintendent of Police, conducts enquiries against police officers not below the rank of Inspector, orders their transfers and postings within the district, inspects police stations, etc., he cannot interfere in matters relating to arming, drill, equipment, exercise and punishment of officers below the rank of Inspector. Nor can he interfere in the internal

⁴⁶ Arthur W. MacMahon, *Delegation And Autonomy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961, p. 34.

⁴⁷ Brian Chapman, *The Profession of Government*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1959, p. 70.

⁴⁸ J. C. Curry, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁴⁹ Edmund C. Cox, *Police And Crime In India*, London, Stanley Paul, 1910, p. 58.

management of the force, except where the conduct, character and qualifications of a police officer affect the criminal administration of the district.

This sort of arrangement places premium on personal equation and assumes a reasonable degree of mutual understanding, tact and regard for the contribution of one another, for the structural arrangement alone never solves any administrative problem. The non-human element will have to be joined with personality, which is the human element, so that departmental self-centredness and compartmentalization in the administration are kept under check. This involves the making human of all relations and is, therefore, synonymous in administration with *team-work*. This arrangement, in order to succeed, needs to be based on mutuality, taking into account such human factors as ideals, fairness, friendliness, faith, concerns, human strengths, weaknesses, and personality. In short, it is part of the whole leadership structure. An experienced civilian has aptly observed that "great tact is necessary on the part of both... if that co-operation, which is essential for the efficient administration of the district, is to be achieved".⁵⁰ The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police have to work as partners and colleagues for a common cause, namely, efficiency, integrity and impartiality in the criminal administration. They will fail if they are guided by petty personal and departmental considerations. What is at stake is the very basis of a civilized existence, that is, peace and good order. They will succeed if they constantly keep in view the broad objective of the good of the people and the high responsibilities attached to their offices. This common interest can be used as a bridge to united effort, even when the short-term interests of the two are, or appear to be, in direct opposition. The following lines of Curry in this connection are worth quoting:

"Thus they may easily fail if there is anything of pettiness in their natures. Then again, if their functions as to the maintenance of peace are separate, the border-line cannot always be clearly defined. Where two human beings have to take action in concert, a clash of opinions as to ways and means is always possible".⁵¹

In the past, the controversy regarding this arrangement hinged on the anomaly of combining judicial and police functions in the hands of the District Magistrate. After the separation of judicial and executive functions, the old arguments have become obsolete. Now, the

⁵⁰ R. D. Macleod, *Impressions of an Indian Civil Servant*, London, H. F. & C. Witherby Ltd., 1958, p. 42.

⁵¹ J. C. Curry, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

tenor of arguments is to the effect that the dual system of control tends to impair the authority of the District Superintendent of Police in relation to the police force and is, therefore, detrimental to the morale and discipline of the force. It is further argued that this kind of control tends to blur responsibility and leads to duplication, waste and delays. These arguments appear to uphold the principle of departmental autonomy as against that of the co-ordinated and unified functioning of the magistracy and the police under the District Magistrate. The protagonists of this point of view are mostly police officers, who are guided by narrow departmental considerations of "empire-building". This point of view, however, is not consistent with the traditional system of integrated field administration. It strikes at the root of the unified administrative leadership embodied in the office of the District Officer.

As against this, it is found that the supervision of the District Magistrate over criminal administration resolves conflicts of interests and brings about co-ordination between various departments involved in it. The District Magistrate functions as a buffer between the people and the police and brings his liberalizing influence, his executive experience and his awareness of social and political problems to the working of the police which is an organized force and has so far behaved as a rigid and exclusive group of people. Besides, the arrangement is in accord with the traditional system of Indian field administration. It makes for deconcentration, obviating the necessity of higher intervention in normal affairs of criminal administration. In the absence of a local governmental agent of "tested competence", control and supervision will be concentrated in the State Headquarters. Thus, as a result of this arrangement, a single and intelligible "point of reference" is established which is intended to act both as the symbol of Government and the personification of human relations and enlightenment—a device intended to humanize the district constabulary. This system of supervision is very popular with those who are responsible for shaping administrative policy in India in view of their continuing fascination for the pyramidal, integrated form of field administration and their "utter" faith in the superiority of the generalist administrator.

FUNCTIONING OF THE BLOCK DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE

K. Seshadri

INDIA'S struggle is basically a struggle against starvation and to wage it successfully one of the strategic factors is administrative skill which must be so utilized as to enlist the full participation and co-operation of the farmers in the various programmes and to supply them their needs in time and in required quantities. This is not only a challenge to administrative skill but also to political and economic skills. If the estimated 160 million tons of foodgrains have to be produced by 1976, it is imperative that all the energies and resources available through the Panchayati Raj institutions are mobilized towards greater and greater agricultural effort even if it means a temporary sacrifice of other objectives.

This article tries to examine the re-organization of agricultural administration in the light of the requirements that this national priority demands, confining itself mainly to the needs at the Block level. It is not to be forgotten that administrative agencies at the higher levels and also the various non-Panchayati Raj departments impinge on and influence agricultural decisions. An examination of the conditions of agricultural service, the basis of agricultural policy, the political factors at the local levels, the pressures and pulls in the rural areas created by vested interests, the land tenure that affects proper democratic working of these institutions, the physical demarcation of the Blocks for agricultural planning are all germane to the discussion if it is conceded that this problem cannot be viewed in isolation. These are, therefore, spelled out in seriatim after which follows the discussion of the inadequacies of the existing administrative agencies at the Block level and their re-organization to meet the challenge ahead.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE SERVICE

In the choice of the students who pass out of the Universities, first preference usually goes to medicine or engineering and at the end of the

list of their priorities figure agriculture and teaching.¹ This choice pattern invariably depends upon not only the monetary gains that pursuit of such professions assure them but also on the dignity that the society confers upon them and it is a natural human psychology to win social esteem and to gain it through the choice of career that assures it. In the context of "underdeveloped" economy as social esteem goes with monetary emoluments it is not surprising that very rarely talent goes into these fields and if ever it stumbles into it, it does not stay there for long. This factor has a great relevance to the general lack of accelerated development of agriculture, because any service depends upon the quality and the enthusiasm of the personnel composing it. There have been many reports on agriculture and allied subjects, the most important and voluminous among them being the "Royal Commission on Agriculture in India 1928", which made many recommendations regarding recruitment, service conditions, promotions, etc., of the agricultural services.² Many of these recommendations simply lie in the records of archives and stack rooms where they are relegated for preservation. The need for attractive service conditions and encouragement of efficiency in preference to sheer chronological seniority, the constitution of an All-India Agricultural Services, were a few among many recommendations that the Commission made which hold good to this day if talented youth are to be attracted to agriculture. The prospect of spending most of their professional career in rural areas is hardly any compensation for the low scales of pay that induce *husbandry* !³

As the peasant goes on "gambling in the monsoon" which exhibits all the "vicissitudes of an oriental potentate", the agricultural service which ought to guide, educate and encourage him dissipates itself in general disgruntlement over its sad state of affairs. It is a truism to say that the agricultural sector depends upon various factors over which even the mightiest of governments have no control—the failure of the monsoons or excessive rainfall, or untimely rainfall, floods and such other "acts of god", conspire with the invasion of pests, harassment by rodents, monkeys and birds, attacks of cattle diseases and plant diseases, to make the life of the peasant miserable. Coupled with the ever-increasing problem of population, unless agriculture is put on a regular war footing, the prospect of avoiding a Malthusian dilemma is rather

¹ See also, *Report of the Agricultural Administration Committee*, New Delhi, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, 1958, p. 14.

² See, *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, 1928, pp. 626-656.

³ See, *Nalagarh Committee Report 1958*, pp. 7-25, especially under sub-heads, "Dead wood in the Departments", "Low scales of pay do not attract talent" and "Formation of an All India Agricultural Service", and also the *Report of the Joint Indo-American Team on Agricultural Research and Education*, 1955.

bleak. If, therefore, agricultural development has to be carried on a regular war footing, the soldiers in this front, viz., the farmers and the men in governmental and other agencies involved in agriculture have to fight with a high morale and a sense of dedication. It is to boost up this psychological feeling that the service should be given the proper place of prestige commensurate with the important role that they have to play in the future. Mere institutional, legal and organizational changes will fail to effect any perceptible change, nor will platitudinous speeches and patriotic appeals increase the agricultural yield.

THE BASIS OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY

With 70 per cent of the population directly depending upon agriculture, and contributing 48.5 per cent of the national income, the role agriculturist should play in a democracy with adult suffrage need hardly be overemphasized. The government has direct responsibility for achieving greater agricultural development because the very stability of any democratic government would greatly depend upon its capacity to feed the people properly. If the Government fails to equip the agriculturist with the various modern components like better seed, fertilizers and pesticides, better implements and other materials like cement and steel, veterinary service, timely credit, marketing and storing facilities, drainage and irrigational facilities, power, and extension services, it is not possible to step up agricultural production. Thus, though for all intents and purposes agriculture appears to be independent of government, it would in fact not be in a position to sustain itself if the government does not act in a big way.⁴ The response in the form of higher yield has not been very favourable not even proportionate to the investment. Conflicting reasons are adduced to explain this contradiction. As long back as 1893, Dr. J. A. Voelcker had said, "The smallness of the area also limits the obtaining or the laying out of capital, as well as the benefits of superior implements and the employment of better cattle. It has been rightly said that 'what is wanted is not increase in the number of five acre farms, but more capital put into the existing ones'."⁵ These remarks were made when social justice, elimination of all "elements of exploitation", "provision of security for the tiller of the soil" and assurance of "equality of status and opportunity to all sections of rural population"⁶ were not actively contemplated by the State.

⁴ See, Ashok Mitra "Tax Burdens for Indian Agriculture", in Ralph Braibanti (Ed.), *Administration and Economic Development in India*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1963, p. 283.

⁵ Report on Improvement of Indian Agriculture, 1893, p. 290.

⁶ Planning Commission, *Third Five Year Plan*, New Delhi, Government of India, 1961, p. 220.

Much later, even after the commitment of the State to the achievement of socialistic objectives almost similar sentiments are expressed by a large section of the people, who examine the problem from the overall point of view of eliminating the acute food crisis that the country is facing today. According to one view:

"It is wholly wrong therefore to proceed on the assumption that the dissemination of land ownership is necessary or helpful to increase farm production. On the contrary, in view of the great importance of private capital and management to modernizing and developing farm practices on scientific lines, it is not only desirable but essential that state policy for agriculture should encourage and facilitate the emergence of holdings large enough to enlist the interest or engage the resources and enterprise of men of means with farming aptitudes. There are at present various State laws or local practices which make it difficult for the better farmers to extend their holdings or for the inefficient ones to take themselves out of farming."⁷

An entirely different view is held by others of socialistic thinking that proper distribution of land to the small peasants can increase production and that the present pace of implementation of these reforms has been slow and such of the legislations as existed all along have been only for the purposes of "utilization of waste lands, adoption of improved seeds, control of pests and diseases, etc. Much of this legislation is fairly old and needs to be reviewed in relation to the present development programmes of agriculture and the extension services which have been brought into existence in the community development blocks."⁸

In the formulation of the Fourth Plan also the importance of land legislation especially the tenancy reform as a "motivational background for the promotion of agricultural production" has been re-emphasized. The relevance of this discussion arises from the definition in the Fourth Five Year Plan of the inter-relation between the Panchayat administration at the block level with its extension services and the acceleration of dynamic land reforms on a state-wide basis.

Since the national policy on agriculture is in favour of family holdings and co-operative holdings and not on large-scale individual

⁷ See "Agriculture, Strategy and Tactics", *Eastern Economist*, Annual Number 1966, p. 1324.

⁸ See also, Annexure I to Chap. on "Land Reforms", *The Third Five Year Plan*, pp. 236-238 for the ceilings on land holdings in different states.

* *Ibid.*, p. 234.

farms, much depends upon the help and assistance given by the government to the peasants through the Panchayati Raj institutions which have been entrusted with the functions of promoting agriculture. Large-scale farms with enterprising "men of means with agricultural aptitudes", aspirations, techniques and incentives do not have to depend on the assistance given by the Panchayati Raj bodies and in the context of such pattern the stress laid upon the role of panchayats would sound unnecessary. Main concern, therefore, is to be shown to the army of smaller peasants. The community assets will have no meaning to the peasant who does not own the land he tills and all the community development schemes will be viewed with indifference by him because they do not serve to increase his income.

POLITICS OF DECENTRALIZED DEMOCRACY AND AGRICULTURE

While the land legislations and the institution of democratic decentralization are intended to secure social justice and removal of concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few and a gradual elimination of absentee landlordism, yet, by clever circumvention of the law through *benami* transactions, bogus partitions and other manipulations of the records of title and lease deeds, which are well-known to any one acquainted with the village affairs, the rich peasant and the poor peasant and the landless peasant seem to occupy the same position they were occupying before these land legislations were ushered in. Very rarely does a poor peasant come to occupy a position of power in the Panchayati Raj institutions where much depends upon the character and enthusiasm of the Presidents of the Samitis and also the members of the agriculture committee for the proper utilization of the various services that the state governments provide. Mode of distribution of various types of assistance given by the government follows the general unwritten rule of political patronage which goes mysteriously to only those who are in the camp of the leader while the others have to "stand and stare". As more and more powers are delegated to the Panchayati Raj bodies unless this circumvention of the laws of tenancy and minimum holdings is checked the interest of the small land-holder and landless peasant in stepping up agricultural production will flag and gradually more and more farmers will desert the villages and migrate to the metropolitan chaos.

The National Sample Survey has indicated the inequalities in land distribution. Out of 66 million rural families 22 per cent do not own any land, 25 per cent own less than one acre; 65 per cent of the total area is owned by 13 per cent of the total households.

This problem is not dissimilar to the imposition and implementation of permits, licences and controls in the industrial and commercial sectors. The efficiency of these measures presupposes and depends upon the existence of proper administrative check against abuse. In the absence of this condition precedent these measures of state control would naturally lead to abuses that the country is witnessing today. A land legislation that opposes absentee landlordism is frustrated in practice because the absentee landlord shows on paper that he is himself cultivating the land with a paid headman or two, who in fact are lessees but have no lease-deed.

Even in the matter of legislation regarding ceilings on land holdings, there is wide disparity between State and State, presumably depending upon the local conditions and also cases where large tracts of food producing land had been converted into commercial crop like sugarcane-producing land to avoid the ceiling acts. A close study of the exemptions in ceiling laws will reveal that they are not based on objectively scientific conclusion but are tarnished by bad politics. For instance Andhra Pradesh which permits a family holding of a maximum acreage of 324 (with an additional one family holding for every member in excess of five) whereas Kerala permits only 15 acres of double crop paddy land—(with an allowance made for the size of family subject to an outside limit of 25 acres). This vide disparity is indicative, apart from variations in local conditions, of other political factors that seem to have determined the levels of ceilings.⁹

A detailed discussion of this is beyond the scope of this study, excepting perhaps to indicate the bias in the formulation of policy and the varying degrees of influence the land owners in different States command in the state agricultural policies as also the influence they wield in the Samitis insofar as obtaining the aids that the Samitis would provide.

Since most of the loans are given on the basis of solvency rather than on the basis of production requirements, it is obvious that aid would go only to those solvent peasantry whose need for them may not be so pressing. In fact, to increase their solvency, the poor peasants have to be given more aids to produce more than they normally would within their meagre means. Unless price and credit terms are advantageous to the peasant, he is unlikely to put to use the fertilizer,

⁹ In a note to the Planning Commission on Agricultural Plan, Shri V. K. R. V. Rao emphasizes the need for a proper reassessment of land ceilings. "A fresh look has also to be given to the provisions of land ceilings wherever the interests of rapid increase in special crops, especially those which have an export angle, and the promotion of modernization of agricultural emphasis is required. This however should be done consistently with the requirements of social justice and the prevention of the emergence of new qualities in agricultural sector."

new seed, water and insecticides and pesticides which are essential if our annual gain of a modest 5 per cent is to be achieved. There is considerable truth in the view expressed by *Eastern Economist* regarding the misuse of credit by smaller peasant: "...the notorious fact that co-operative credit has very considerably been diverted to non-farm or consumption expenditure has proved that a system of framing built around individual poverty is bound to turn out to be a bottomless sink for public money presumably poured into agricultural development."¹⁰

On the plea that only a rich peasant would utilize loans for farm purposes and that the poorer peasant would divert them for more urgent non-farm needs of consumption the latter should not be denied the assistances which he urgently needs. It is here that the skills in community organization, social education and the very process of social transformation of the tradition-bound Indian society especially of the rural area, have to be exhibited. While the Panchayati Raj officials should take care to check and supervise so that the governmental aids are properly used and not frittered away, a system of continuous education should bring about the psychological transformation among the peasantry. It is also in seeing that the deserving peasants get these aids and to prevent fraudulent preferences as a result of the political pulls at the village level that the officials of the Panchayati Raj have to play a courageous and a thankless role. It is not uncommon that many unscrupulous and powerful men who have entrenched themselves as perpetual presidents of the Samitis and gram panchayats appropriate all the monetary schemes to themselves indirectly by applying for them in the names of their wives, sons and henchmen. The B.D.O., who is more concerned about his security, stands as a helpless spectator of this sharing of spoils. In this unhappy position he is no friend, philosopher and guide of the equally helpless peasants who are denied these benefits. The direct access that has developed between the Samiti chiefs and the State ministers has reduced any protest and representation of any courageous B.D.O. into a cry in wilderness. It may be argued that these are the concomitant evils of democracy which have to be set right not by giving more powers to the official element but by the proper functioning of the democratic process. As the officials argue, if the responsibility is given to them, instead of to the Samiti, it will tantamount to doing away with democracy at the grass-root level. All these are inherent in any political situation, politics being "who gets what, when, how" and the Centre of gravity of real politics today is showing a shift to the Samitis or to the Zila Parishads as the case may be. Since agricultural development is the most essential function of the

¹⁰ *Eastern Economist*, Annual Number 1966, p. 1327.

Panchayati Raj institutions and all other activities are complementary and incidental to it, the democratic behaviour of the officials, non-officials and the people at large alone will in the long run pave the way for a substantial agricultural and therefore general development. If in the present context a democratic political functioning which assures all assistance to the majority of the poorer sections of the peasantry and encourages the richer sections to invest more from their own resources and guarantees complete security for impartial and independent action of the officials, is not facilitated all hopes of rapid agricultural development would be foiled.

UNPLANNED BLOCK-DELIMITATION

It is my belief that while demarcating districts into blocks, there has not been any rational or scientific basis on which these divisions were made. We have, as Balwantry Mehta Committee report said, not only variations between different blocks but also no homogeneity in land fustures and crop-economy between block and block. Even within the same Block itself there has not been any uniformity in many places. As the Balwantry Mehta Committee report, rightly, points out, "These variations in physical features are important to note because one would expect that these have a significance for the staffing and the programmes to be developed in these areas".¹¹

If, therefore, a Block has to be a good unit of planning, it must first be a planned physical unit delimited on the basis of the type of planning that is contemplated.¹² If agricultural planning has to be given precedence over any other consideration in a given area, the blocks should be so planned and demarcated as to maximize the exploitation of the existing physical resources and the technical personnel. These views are expressed with an almost cynical conviction that they would not be given a serious thought on the plea that it is impossible or not feasible now to rearrange the entire scheme.

A view that is gaining ground among Planning Departments seems to be that the district should be chosen as a unit for planning since all the departmental heads can be brought together in a district planning organization and the district being a higher level than a Block, the undue pressures of local privileged classes can be minimized. Even

¹¹ Report, Vol. II, p. 37. See also, Agriculture Division, Planning Commission Letter No. 14-3-(6)/65 Agrl., dated 6-5-65, p. 7 which speaks of classification of areas according to degree of suitability for implementing agricultural programmes.

¹² For a more detailed discussion of the delimitation of blocks see, K. Seshadri, "Co-ordination of Developmental Progress at the Block Level", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Jan.-Mar., 1966, pp. 62-73.

then our plea is that even these districts are not rationally planned "areas" but haphazard geographical strips which owing to long years of mute acceptance have gained the respectability of historic evolution. Such historic evolution has no relevance to the needs of modern planning. Secondly, giving prominence to districts at the cost of Samitis would defeat the purpose of democratic decentralization and grassroot approach. The pressure exercised by privileged classes has to be faced by greater and intelligent participation of the people and not by shifting the political centre of gravity.

THE ARCHAIC ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The Expert Committee, headed by Dr. S. R. Sen, Additional Secretary, Planning Commission, which assessed and evaluated the Intensive Agricultural District Programme for the period 1961-62 to 1964-65 has placed the blame for improper and inefficient implementation of the I.A.D.P.'s squarely on the shoulders of our "archaic administrative system" which has proved "woefully inadequate for any operation, the aim of which is not to maintain the *status quo* but to change it". Saying this is only stating the obvious problem that is plaguing the country. This has to be tackled by courage and foresight. These archaic administrative procedures which were instituted in a different context by British Government travel as in a conveyor belt from the Central Government to the village level. The disproportionate respect shown to the procedural ritual has become an endemic and has been responsible for the many delays in the farm front. The general outcry against agricultural administration is the lack of timely supply of the various types of assistance the farmers need ranging from monetary credit to oral advice.¹³ The filling in of the application forms with their formidable array of questions, and the number of petty officials on whose mercies he has to depend and the circuitous route through which it has to pass, make the offer of all governmental assistance infructuous to the really needy.¹⁴

¹³ The criticism that the Indian peasant is backward and has to be educated about modern methods is apart from being hackneyed, untrue. On the contrary, there is no adequate supply of fertilizers and pesticides like endrine. Especially for the enterprising farmers who use high yielding varieties like Taichung Native I and hybrid jawar, etc., prompt supply of pesticides is absolutely necessary. The growing demand for fertilizers has given an opportunity for the unscrupulous trader to sell common salt as ammonium sulphate. (Andhra Pradesh, Legislative Assembly Debate, July 7, 1966). The sprayers and pesticides are supplied by rate contract firms to Samitis. These firms adulterate. Tractors lie idle not because the farmer does not understand its use but because spare parts are not available (Valedictory address by Shri A. C. Subba Reddy, Minister for Food and Agriculture, Andhra Pradesh, delivered in the National Conference on Extension Training, Rajendranagar, July 9, 1966). These examples prove that the fault lies not with the farmers of today who are eager to learn modern techniques but with the administration which is not able to cope up with this development of increasing demand.

¹⁴ See Donald C. Pelz, "Coordination, Communication and Initiative in Agricultural Development" (cyclostyled), Indian Institute of Public Administration, Jan. 1966, p. II-20

In agricultural operations as in the hospital, too much slavery to procedural ritual would cause disaster. A farmer who comes rushing for a pesticide or fertilizer or a patient who is rushed to the hospital with a strangulated hernia is hardly the person to be advised to patiently fill in forms and run with it from tray to tray !

Apart from this strangle hold of the red-tape, the inter-departmental conflicts and the resulting "disordination" and the official non-official conflicts are many of the problems that beset block-administration in general. It is not the purpose of this article to go into further details on these questions regarding the general administrative malaise that has afflicted the country, but one cannot bypass this especially in a sector which vitally affects the country's very existence and progress. A break through has to be effected. Many administrative philosophers have interpreted this situation, but the point is to change it.

B.D.O., E.O. AND THE V.L.W., AND THE LINE OF COMMAND

One of the chief aims of Panchayati Raj is to promote agricultural development and the success of other functions depends upon the rural prosperity which is dependent again upon agricultural progress. Hence co-ordination should be brought about with the aim of maximizing the facilitation of the agricultural schemes. This can be achieved only if there is a proper co-ordination among the political leadership, the administrative agencies and the peoples' institutions. Since in all States where the Block is accorded a place of importance, the forces and influence that impinge upon the Block administration need to be analyzed, without ignoring the fact that the agencies above the Block and below it have their own part to play. Block is not an isolated unit but a "king pin" in the total machinery. It is the place where the services of the State Government take a tangible shape and the various farms and fields get their assistance. The extension officers and the V.L.Ws. radiate from the Block and at least in theory are to cover every nook and corner of the block.

The importance accorded to the District Collector and the fact that he acts as a co-ordinator of all the district officials and also the independent position he occupies in relation to the non-officials, are in no way comparable to that of the B.D.O. who is to co-ordinate at the Samiti level. The fact that the District Collector is a generalist, and

for a brief description of the complexity of procedures in Rajasthan for obtaining either a co-operative loan or a taccavi loan. In fact, no state has an exceptionally expeditious way of granting the loans. Apart from the official red tape, the play of local politics also cannot be ignored.

hence able to hold the scales even, may not be valid at a lower level like the Block. Viewed from a higher level of the district where, apart from agriculture other fields of activity have also to be given equal importance, the part played by a generalist is justifiable. But as we come down to the Block, agriculture becomes the hub and all other activities are contributory factors to it—including small-scale industries or social education. The former is there to give subsidiary occupation to the peasant and to relieve the pressure of rural unemployment and the latter to psychologically temper the tradition bound peasantry to change their way of living and working. This change in attitude, if brought about successfully, would have a great influence on agricultural practices though that is in the long run.

Generally, Management Science holds that at the higher echelons of administration what is expected of a leader is that he should have "the ability to organize the work of others on a grand scale. He may also possess professional skills as a lawyer, engineer or chemist, but his duties as administrator are not based upon them." But at the lower levels the need is for people whose "objectives are supervising day to day production and not high policy".¹⁵

It is submitted that at the Block level, it is not matters of high policy that have to be determined but programme-planning, co-ordination and supervision of the day to day implementation. In this context, and in view of predominance given to agricultural activities in the Block administration, would it not be better to have a technical official qualified in agriculture to lead the rest of the extension officers instead of one drafted, as in many cases, from the Revenue Department under the plea that he is a generalist?¹⁶ Two points need to be answered satisfactorily here to justify the superior suitability of a revenue official to act as a B.D.O.

- (1) Is a revenue official a generalist at all contemplated by Management theory?
- (2) In what way is an agricultural official not competent or less qualified to act as a general co-ordinator, notwithstanding the fact that his training and inclination are agriculture-oriented?

¹⁵ Pfiffner and Sherwood, *Administrative Organisation*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1962, p. 70.

¹⁶ See, B. Sivaraman "Programme Administration in Agriculture" presented in the Seminar on Agricultural Administration, I.I.P.A., Mar. 9-12, 1966, wherein he says "The present system of a generalist extension worker at the village and Block level with some orientation training in particular disciplines supported by specialists at the District level will not be able to manage the new programmes. In many of the disciplines, it is found that higher technical competence at levels lower than that of the district will be required."

Long years of British rule and their tax-collecting character of administration has tended to give the Revenue Department an importance in the Indian Administration. It has made the personnel in the Revenue Department attach an undue importance to rules and regulations. The pride of belonging to one of the oldest departments with punitive powers is a part of the psychological make-up of a revenue official. The traditional village official, it is known, cares very little for the Panchayat officials and his allegiance and respect are reserved for the revenue officials. It is also difficult for them to adjust themselves to the different treatment they receive from the non-official representatives in the Panchayat institutions. The fact that he does not specialize in any field does not automatically confer upon him the status of a generalist to qualify him more strongly to lead the subject matter specialists in the Block in much the same way as specialization in agriculture does not automatically disqualify agriculture-personnel from acting as generalists. As Appleby says, "No one is a complete specialist, who is unable to have any perception or any sympathy for other persons and for considerations not really his own. And, of course, no one is equally interested, informed and understanding with reference to everybody and everything."¹⁷

Moreover, due to the absence of any Panchayati Raj cadre in which one could aspire to rise in position, the B.D.Os. generally exhibit a "fellow-traveller" mentality in the Panchayati Raj institutions and bide their time to get back to their parent departments. The revenue official who is generally a Tahsildar, looks back to his happier days in the Revenue Department where he wielded more power, rather than work heart and soul in a field that does not give him such kudos (nor cash)!

What is required at the Block office where the majority of the clientele are farmers, is immediate attention to their urgent problems and timely assistance. In the absence of an agriculture extension officer a B.D.O. who is not qualified in agriculture finds himself helpless when such demands are made and hence has to ask the farmer to wait for the arrival of the agricultural E.O. or promise to send the E.O. to the farmer when he becomes available. The inconvenience and delay caused thereby, need hardly be stressed. During the season which needs intensive attention for a fortnight, the demands for agricultural advice are too heavy for a single extension officer to cope up with. Not fully conversant with the urgencies and needs of agriculture and suffering from a sense of false prestige the B.D.Os. often are disinclined to spare the jeep to the agricultural extension

¹⁷ Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration for a Welfare State*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965, p. 55.

officer even in case of emergency and himself be without it. The pilot study conducted by Prof. Donald C. Pelz also bears out this fact of the revenue officials in general not being sympathetic to developmental goals.¹⁸ This is not to suggest that all revenue officials stand condemned. On the contrary, as some revenue B.D.Os. claim and perhaps claim correctly—that it is only in the Blocks where Revenue B.D.Os. function that irregularities are least visible and the reports of the Local Fund Audit which audits Panchayat institutions bears this out. But the irregularities that are generally enumerated by our audit which, as Appleby said, is concerned with pedestrian functions having no competence to appraise performance, are not the indicators by which the efficiency of a developmental administration must be judged. A B.D.O. who takes a completely negative attitude towards implementing schemes and spending money for various purchases may be from our Audit's point of view within the bounds of legality. What would the verdict be if there were to be a performance audit? How far has such a B.D.O. who has not committed a single irregularity been able to fulfil the social and economic obligations that he has to fulfil as an officer of the development Block? This timidity to take an initiative and the fear of committing some mistake so inhibits the administrative cadre, especially those belonging to the *old house-keeping services*, that it seems a long time before administration acts as a catalyst of social change in the country. One of the reasons for the failure of an agricultural B.D.O. not doing quite as well as the one from Revenue Department is the fact that the former is drawn and promoted from Extension Officers whereas the latter is from outside the Panchayati Raj—usually a Tahsildar. The other E.Os. are likely to look upon the Agricultural Department's B.D.O. as one among them and thus tacitly do not accept his leadership. But if one from a higher rank in the Agricultural Department is selected and the general pattern is to have agricultural B.D.Os. this tendency can be curbed.

Viewed against this background, the notion that an officer of the Revenue Department would be more suitable than the one from the Agriculture Department seems untenable. On the contrary, in all Blocks where agriculture is the main feature, the leader of the team has to be a specialist in agriculture with a generalist orientation that is sufficient for him to take an all-round view of the works in the Samiti. The other fields like veterinary or co-operation are so linked up with agriculture that there is no warrant for the fear of his being incapable of functioning as a generalist. The modern trend of appointing specialists in administrative positions confirms this point of view. For the

¹⁸ See, Donald C. Pelz, *op. cit.*, p. II-9.

Samiti president who is a generalist, the B.D.O. who is a specialist is "on tap and not on top". As pointed out earlier, it is difficult to appreciate the fiction of generalist superiority of a revenue man as a general co-ordinator merely by virtue of his ignorance of agriculture.

Whether institution of an agricultural specialist as a B.D.O., is feasible or not, the confidential roll of the B.D.O. in regard to agricultural production must be initiated by the District Agricultural Officer as otherwise there will be no competent assessment of his work in this sphere. Once this principle is acceptable it seems inevitable that the B.D.O. should be one who is also well versed in agriculture to stand the rigours of a technical assessment of work.¹⁹

Much depends upon the capacity, enthusiasm and honesty of the agricultural extension officer, who has to infuse confidence in the farmers regarding the new methods of farming, efficacy of new implements and fertilizers. Hence he himself should be familiar with the handling of new implements. The E.O.s. are equally plagued by too much of clerical work and job charts which encroach on the domain of extension work. Both the V.L.W. and the E.O. are over-burdened with work other than demonstration and field work. The fact that the extension officer is overburdened with reports, periodicals, etc., to the detriment of field work for which he is mainly appointed must be taken serious notice of and all unnecessary paper work must be done away with. Mere supervision of the record without proper technical supervision which seems to be what is happening at present in the Blocks—enables them to dodge actual field work and fill in the charts with fictitious tour programmes. As mentioned earlier the jeep seems to be indirectly the cause of this dereliction.

Proper supervision of the Extension work can be facilitated only when the B.D.O. is one who is well-versed not only in extension work but also in determining agricultural needs. Though the supervision by the District Agricultural Officer of the technical work of the E.O.s. is done, yet the day-to-day check by the B.D.O. is essential in view of the emergency situation in agricultural front today. Attention to agriculture does not mean that other functions of the Block will be overlooked.

There is a general complaint by the B.D.O.s. that the District Agricultural Officers do not check the work done by the Agricultural E.O.s.

¹⁹ The Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj held in New Delhi in 1962 recommended and the Conference held in 1963 also ratified the step that the D.A.O. should initiate the confidential roll of the B.D.O.

though according to rules the A.E.O. is under both the D.A.O. and the B.D.O. Though the B.D.O. himself in rank is an inferior officer to the D.A.O., yet, since he is not under the control and direct supervision of the D.A.O., the D.A.O. is disinclined to visit the Block to supervise the work of the A.E.O. who is also under the B.D.O. Even when he visits, in many cases he does not meet the B.D.O. nor does he visit the Block office which he thinks is none of his concern. This leads to lack of co-ordination between the Agricultural Extension Officer and the Block Development Officer.

In this context the recommendations made by the Ram Subhag Singh Committee are relevant. To cite a few:

- (1) Placing the extension officer on the cadre of the department and getting his character roll initiated by the B.D.O. and forwarding it to the District Agricultural Officer,
- (2) Placing the V.L.W. under the control of the A.E.O. and getting his character roll initiated by the A.E.O.,
- (3) The District Agricultural Production Officer to write the character roll and to effect transfers of the B.D.O.,
- (4) The B.D.O. should function primarily as an agricultural production officer, and
- (5) There should be Advisory Councils on Agricultural production in every block.

The Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj held from 28th July to 30th July 1963, also made similar recommendations.²⁰ With slight variations, the general theme of all the findings is that those who have specialized knowledge in agriculture should be given the overall responsibility and for the proper execution of functions they should be vested with commensurate status and power.

In a note circulated to the State Governments on the "Approach and Strategy of Agricultural Development in the Fourth Five Year Plan", the Agricultural Division of the Planning Commission has emphasized, "What is necessary now is that Community Development should not only give the first and foremost priority to agricultural

²⁰ Recommendations of the Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj, Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Government of India, 1963, (cyclostyled). For details on other administrative changes, see, pp. 15-22 of the same.

production but focus on it more or less *exclusively* during the Fourth Plan" (italics added).

As we go down to the village, which is the basic unit for farm production plans, the position of the V.L.Ws. and the functions they are to perform (whether in fact they perform them or not) are to be subjected to a re-examination.²¹ During the period of inception the V.L.W. was conceived of as a multipurpose worker in the community development scheme. Then the realization came that he should devote more of his energies towards agricultural needs of the village. This brings a certain amount of confusion in the line of authority, because the relation between V.L.W. and the A.E.O. is not clearly defined. The general complaint of the A.E.Os. regarding the functioning of the V.L.Ws. is that, though their major part of the work is agricultural and allied fields, they indulge in other non-agricultural activities or pretend to carry out some other non-agricultural functions and dodge the A.E.O. by putting forth excuses that they were carrying out the orders of the B.D.O. The B.D.O. not being fully conversant with the needs of agriculture is not in a position to appreciate the difficulty of the A.E.O. in trying to make the V.L.W. attend to agricultural needs. If the V.L.W.'s main functions are related to agriculture as they ought to be, he has to be placed under the control of the A.E.O. and the heavy schedule of work and the clerical functions that he is asked to discharge have to be drastically changed; "But the village level worker has been, it seems everywhere agreed, overscheduled. Even originally he was to be a general development officer, and he has been made into a messenger, tax collector and intelligence officer, ever taking up new tasks he prefers to agricultural demonstration, for which his training has turned out to be insufficient anyway."²²

The general inadequacy of agricultural knowledge which makes him cut a sorry figure before the farmers (who are intelligent), makes him turn away from it to other tasks which would please the B.D.O. better. No demonstration plot looks worth emulating even as no weather forecasting is worth depending upon. As agricultural programmes are increasing in number and the needs of the farmers in regard to obtaining of loans, fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, etc., are bound to rise, greater and more personal and intimate attention has to be

²¹ The "village fetish" coupled with "generalist fetish" that characterises the C.D. movement in India has resulted in 600,000 minuscule jurisdictions and renders the V.L.W. a jack-of-all-trades, a boy sent to do a man's job. See for an interesting discussion of the agricultural work in the C.D. Programme, John P. Lewis, *Quiet Crisis in India*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1963, pp. 155-161.

²² Charles E. Lindblom, *op. cit.*, p. 241. There are 60 million farmers spread over 5131 blocks and it is worked out that 12,000 farmers on an average in each block are being served by 10 V.L.Ws. This is a bad ratio compared to Scotland, Japan and Netherlands.

bestowed on agriculturists. This the present V.L.W. is certainly not in a position to do. The suggestion made by Shri Tarlok Singh is relevant in this context. He states : "It has now become imperative that there should be a bifurcation of functions at the village level between those concerned directly with agriculture, including co-operation and animal husbandry, and those working with village panchayats and helping them to take their full share in intensifying agriculture and accelerating development at the village level. The creation of two separate cadres of village functionaries is a necessary reform which has to be carried out first in areas marked out for intensive agricultural development and later in all areas."²³

ORGANIZING AND FINANCING OF AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

As has already been stated, agricultural production has to be visualized only by ensuring a co-ordinated effort of the various agencies and also the people at the rural areas. The State plans cannot be formulated without a proper communication with the Block plans and taking into consideration the variations at the local level. All these factors are generally acceptable and the Planning Commission issues periodical directives on similar lines. Shri V. T. Krishnamachari had placed special stress on the preparation and implementation of village agricultural production plans, block development plans and district development plans.²⁴

While there should be proper direction and guidance from the higher level of administration like the State Government to the Blocks, the success of Block plans depends to a great extent upon the judicious amount of autonomy granted to the Block organization in not only formulating their plan and implementing it, but also in the time and manner in which they feel it most efficient to spend the finances in accordance with the progress of their plans about which they alone are competent to judge. There is also the principle of real delegation of powers to the local bodies involved in this financial autonomy granted to them. Not only is there "need for much greater delegation of powers, both administrative and technical than exists at present"²⁵ but

²³ Tarlok Singh, "Planning and Productivity in Agriculture", paper presented in the Seminar on Agricultural Administration, Indian School of Public Administration, 1966.

In I.A.D.P. areas in some villages there are already extra V.L.Ws. attending exclusively to agriculture. See also, Seminar on Self Sufficiency in Food, Bombay, April 25-26, 1966, sponsored by U.S.I.S., Bombay, p. 24, for the recommendation made in Maharashtra for the creation of three categories of Gram Seva krs—(1) Village Panchayat worker, (2) Land record Keeper, (3) Agricultural Extension worker.

²⁴ The Third Plan, Mid-Term Appraisal, Planning Commission, Government of India, Nov. 1963, p. 67.

²⁵ *The Third Plan, Mid-Term Reappraisals*, Nov. 1963, p. 67.

there is also need for granting greater elbow room in financial administration at those levels than exists at present. Financial delegation is a good test of real delegation and the confidence reposed in the self-governing capacities of the local bodies. Unfortunately this is not prevalent today as is evident from the fact that the Block administration is not permitted at present to change the financial allocations from one head to another apart from what is fixed at the higher level. This causes inconveniences and thwarts all that is said about advising the blocks and even gram panchayats to draw up and implement their own plans.

Dr. S. R. Sen suggests setting up of production targets from village upwards instead of the country downwards, as an alternate approach to fixing targets on the basis of indices of agricultural production and area and unit yield, since the constraints on exports and imports would make adjustments difficult through international trade.²⁶ As our position in international trade is in none too favourable a position and is not likely to improve either, it is therefore advisable not to depend upon such adjustments. It is better we lay more stress on intensive local plans and work upwards. If, therefore, production targets and plans have to be formulated and implemented from below with a "plan of investment" and "a plan of implementation"²⁷ as its counterpart, it is inconceivable that these could be successfully worked out if there is too much of direction and control from above, as seems to be the case at present.

If the Block administration is not even permitted to change the financial allocations from one head to another according to the expediency of the situation, the plan of implementation becomes too rigid and the "self-government" granted to them unreal. This rigidity is a result of the suspicion-syndrome that is exhibited by every higher level towards lower levels. Why should there not be a procedure to change appropriations on the approval of a majority of Samiti members ?

Another bottleneck that develops in the implementation is the rigid application of the principle of lapse. There is hardly any need to go into the reasons for this principle in the context of traditional budgeting. But in the implementation of projects unless there is a certain measure of latitude in the time limit it is difficult for the projects to be completed successfully and expeditiously. It is a notorious fact that Departments

²⁶ Dr. S. R. Sen, "Planning for Agricultural Development"(cyclostyled), Seminar on Agricultural Administration, I.I.P.A., 1966.

²⁷ *Ibid.* The first is to provide physical inputs, the latter would provide organization, personnel, training, direction, co-ordination and supervision.

fritter away their money just before the financial year ending to avoid the lapse. Once the money is lapsed, it becomes very difficult and time-consuming to reclaim the money from the state government for completing the project left unfinished. Agricultural production schemes would suffer a great deal if timely attention is not bestowed and state governments take their usual time to examine the case for releasing such amounts.

Therefore, the question of giving a certain measure of autonomy in matters of financial adjustments commensurate with the capacity and needs of the various blocks needs to be examined. A system of concurrent audit may be instituted to avoid misappropriations and such an audit should serve as an aid to the B.D.O. in management rather than an incubus that it tends to be. This would safeguard the position of the timid B.D.O. against a bullying President.

THE PROBLEM OF CO-ORDINATION

Neither institutional arrangement nor procedural device nor formal fixation of lines of authorities by themselves can ever succeed in bringing about proper co-ordination in a developmental context. At the Block level, various forces operate and in such a situation, work at cross-purposes resulting in tensions are bound to arise unless all those who are involved in the process of development are not imbued with the spirit and devotion to work unitedly for achieving results. Officials and non-officials, departmental heads and field officers, developmental departments and the non-developmental departments, Panchayati Raj officials and the non-Panchayati Raj officials, are tossed into a vortex wherein a variety of alliances and antagonisms are created thwarting the main purpose of rural development. Each clamours for a fixed line of control, a unity of command, a formal authority, more power, all of which are irrelevant provided every one concerned in agricultural development is prepared to co-operate and hold informal talks and cut bureaucratic rituals and pride. A revolution in the administrative behaviour to suit the developmental and democratic process and the spirit of empathy at every level are the needs of the hour. This should put an end to the old traditional departmental loyalties and jealousies and the petty notions of false prestige while dealing with non-officials and subordinates. The genuine feeling that every one is working "with" and not "under" somebody should be fostered if co-ordination has to be co-operative and productive and not an implicit sheep-like obedience of command, which may also be mistaken for co-ordination.

One thing that has to be borne in mind by all the official elements is that agricultural schemes and other schemes of rural development have to be carried out through a process of democratic participation of the people and not through official agencies alone. The ushering in of Panchayati Raj is a result of the realization that developmental schemes cannot be successful unless the people themselves are involved in them and that it is at once a process of imbuing the people with the spirit of self-reliance in improving their condition and also of carrying the process of democracy to the remotest areas of this vast country. Governmental services especially the older and conventional ones like the Revenue Department and the auditing agencies exhibiting an undue sense of self-righteousness in actuality tend to become drags on positive developmental administration.

The village officials in general pretend to be completely unconcerned with the Panchayati Raj administration while actually their functions are intimately tied up with it. It is the village official who has to inform the Agricultural Extension Officers when there is an outbreak of pests; he has to help the E.O. in securing good cultivators and suitable lands for the lay out of trial and demonstration plots. The Irrigation Department likewise, in spite of its close connection with agriculture, works independently of the Panchayati Raj administration. The tube-well operator, the canal patrol, the Assistant Engineer of Irrigation Department, the Forest Ranger, etc., should be closely associated with the Samiti administration, as they are intimately connected with agricultural operations. It has been a very old cry to dovetail co-operation and agriculture and unless there are institutional as well as informal means of bringing the representatives of both together and jointly holding them responsible for development, progress cannot but be tardy. Service co-operatives at the villages, co-operative unions and marketing societies at the Block should be actively involved. Possibilities for securing the representation of the Reserve Bank at the Samiti during the period of formulation of Block plans should be explored. There should be periodic meetings attended by all these officials to iron out their differences and work together as a team, though they may be under different departments. "Co-ordination is best assessed where representatives of functional groups which are directly affected by or are involved in carrying out new policies are parties to the decision-reaching process."²⁸

By means of periodic meetings of all those concerned in the various agricultural programmes, informal discussions, proper

²⁸ Ordway Tead, *The Art of Administration*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951, p. 183.

communication, fixation of responsibilities for specific operating duties and finally inculcating the spirit of collective responsibility, proper co-operation and co-ordination can be achieved. No amount of formal directives and fiats of high government, paper records and correspondence can substitute constant face-to-face discussion of problems and working out solutions. It is to enable this, *inter alia*, that decentralized democratic form of administration has been adopted. An intelligently exercised supervision, as opposed to paternalism fosters a spirit of creativity and responsibility which would remove apathy and diffidence.

Thus, all along the three tiers there should be periodical and structured meetings of all those who are involved in agricultural development schemes where there will not only be discussion of future plan of action but a reappraisal and review of results achieved. This is not a mere administrative truism or a mere hackneyed theoretical advice. At least one thing can be said in defence of what all the administrative thought says in this regard—there has been so far no instance wherein such methods of administering were tried and have failed to yield better results than what hide-bound bureaucratic administration that persists in the country has so far been able to achieve.

EXTENSION EDUCATION: PUBLICITY AND CO-OPERATION

Agriculture is an industry and in our country it is a major industry and like industry it has to be reinforced by latest scientific knowledge and the technique of making such knowledge operatively acceptable to the thousands of farmers who in the final analysis are responsible for the success in the farm front. This is the main function of extension education at the Block. Not only should the officers at the agricultural directorates but also the B.D.Os., the A.E.Os. and last but not least the V.L.Ws. should be equipped with the latest information regarding scientific achievements in agricultural research. The move to recruit agricultural graduates as V.L.Ws is a move in the right direction.

Unless the extension services themselves are well equipped with the latest knowledge regarding farm technology, they can hardly carry conviction to the farmer. Extension and research should be mutually complementary in the overall process of education.

The institution of extension agronomist trained in use of fertilizers, at every Block would serve to bring about an intimate dialogue between research station and the problem-seized peasant. This intimate dialogue between research institutions which have to take up the problems

faced by the peasant in his day to day operations and the agencies of government and local bodies which alone have to function as channels for this two-way flow of problem-presentation and problem-solution, is lacking. "A great deal of ignorance prevails regarding the organisations and institutions which deal with agricultural research in the country. This ignorance is also prevalent among the administrators who deal with agriculture in the states."²⁹ If this situation exists at high levels, it may be too ambitious to expect the extension workers and others at the Samiti to keep themselves posted with information. Ill-qualified, ill-equipped, unwilling extension workers, thinly spread out in the Blocks can hardly be expected to give guidance to the farmers or communicate their problems to appropriate agencies for technical solutions. The present rate of utilization of complex fertilizers and NPK mixtures must be properly geared to the land requirements and quality of the soils. Proper soil analysis, improved seed, pesticides and fertilizers have to go together not on the rule of the thumb methods but by close and continuous technical watch. Our use of these is comparatively much less than other countries, and as such the little quantities that are available for use should be put to maximum benefit. We cannot afford to incur loss due to lack of proper scientific knowledge.

There is one very great 'revolution of rising expectations' that is taking place at the agricultural front. Convinced that the Indian farmer is conservative and backward, the extension worker exhorts them to use fertilizers, pesticides and high-yielding varieties of seeds and other mechanical implements and through (rather unsatisfactory) demonstrations succeeds in convincing the farmer to use them, only to tell them at that stage that the required quantity is not available. Every block does display attractive pictures and photographs and charts of the various varieties of crops and chemicals as enjoined by the Agricultural Department. Especially when fertilizers are linked with foreign exchange, greater attention should be given to the indigenous manuring schemes and more research need be made in this sphere.³⁰

Much stress has been rightly laid on the formation of Farmer's clubs and such other organizations similar to the 4-H clubs in the United States. One has to go about like Diogenes with a lantern searching for finding one ! A formation of a good well-functioning club is a tribute to the efficiency of extension staff.

²⁹ M. S. Randhawa, "Agricultural Research in India", I.C.A.R., New Delhi, 1958.

³⁰ The Agriculture Division of the Planning Commission tentatively estimates 468 crores of rupees of foreign exchange for fertilizers. With devaluation this would have gone up.

Co-operative movement has been the weakest link in the agricultural chain. System of crop-loans, short-term credit, linking of credit with marketing,³¹ simplification of procedural ritual, ridding such of the co-operatives as are limping their way of the parasitical hold of certain unscrupulous men, are all tasks which are patently beyond the capacities of the Panchayat officials to tackle single-handed. These are all intimately linked with politics at the higher levels and an extension officer of co-operation is no David to fight this Goliath. This is not to be mistaken for a counsel of despair. Co-operation in India has always been nurtured by government and never was it credited with enrolling all the villagers at least as primary members or nominal shareholders so that they could for themselves see the tangible benefits like getting fertilizers, commodities and credit. For this primary cooperatives at the village level cannot play the proper role. They have the tendency to fall plumb into the laps of the privileged rural families which are not always composed of Hampdens. Co-operatives at a higher level would eliminate the local traditional leadership which stifles the rural peasantry and introduce leadership from outside that would also inject finance from outside. The co-operative would then be seen by the ordinary farmer as agencies where he could obtain his needs and would increase his participation in them.

CONCLUSION

The future economic stability of the country depends to a great extent upon the success or failure of the agricultural front which includes not agriculture alone but other allied fields that supplement it. Certain amount of over-emphasis on industrialization in the initial stages of the national developmental process, has by the inexorable operation of the law of priorities, failed to stimulate agriculture to a measure that is essential for self-reliance. In the rural areas, over-emphasis on the politicalization of the local self-governing units gave rise to new types of frictions, new challenges and new opportunistic alignments that have tended to be detrimental to a production-oriented administration. Such of the administrative skills that were employed in the rural areas dissipated themselves in playing safe and pleasing the 'new elite' than in giving direction and affording a functional leadership. The British-inherited generalist-dominated administration at the lower levels found itself unfit for setting itself to tasks of production. With its insistence on the letter of the rules, it produced a massive paper work where as production of goods and services were expected.

³¹ The working of the C.C.C. in the States guaranteeing the farmers their price is worth studying for a similar institution here. The Food Corporation of India does not adequately satisfy this need.

Excessive political interference has lead to a frustration and lack of devotion to duty.

Lack of a few attractive things that industrial advancement offers and other recreations in the rural areas have repulsed many a young man from seeking service and remaining in the villages. On the contrary, this deficiency has accelerated the abnormal flow of the rural population to the over-crowded cities. Many villages have been deserted. Instead of there being proper co-operation among the various developmental departments the bureaucratic set-up has fostered rivalries, conflicts of jurisdictions and mutual bickerings. The block has become a varitable example of these wranglings and frictions and the V.L.W. supposed to be working under every E.O. in fact works under none and the E.O.s. in their turn owing their allegiance to their parent departments do not feel integrated with Panchayati Raj institutions, while the B.D.O. himself silently suffers the 'martyrdom' and endures his tenure waiting for the day when he could get back to the Revenue Department. Instead of co-ordinating the services with a positive direction, he has to fritter away his time in controlling his staff and satisfying the non-officials.

The whole rural administrative set-up in spite of the democratization and decentralization has remained revenue-oriented and patronizing in its attitude. Where the administration demonstrated a change of approach and the services were properly agriculture-oriented as evidenced in the I.A.D.Ps. and I.A.A.Ps., there has been a slight breakthrough. Agricultural production, approach to problems, attitude towards modernization of methods, proper utilization of financial and other credit assistance have all shown a promising 'sea change'. If a similar change in approach is brought about throughout the country not only in those Departments involved directly in agriculture but also in other Departments like Co-operation, Transport, Power, Education, Finance so that all of them tackle this problem as a 'package deal' and help the field officials at the panchayat level, a silent but significant agrarian revolution can be brought about. For this purpose, well-co-ordinated State, District and Block-plans, a scheme for bringing in the participation of not only the members of the panchayat bodies but also others and a system of two-way flow between research institutions and local units are all concomittant needs.

The emphasis must be on integrated approach towards incrcasing agricultural production and it takes in its sweep the inter-play of official and non-official, Panchayati Raj and non-Panchayati Roj, state and local elements in all their complicated relationships. If agricultural

development fails due to natural calamities the nation has to work hard to overcome them by the proper use of science and technology. But the failure is due to the failure of administration; it is inexcusable. In spite of all this in the final analysis much depends upon the farmer in the fields.

"Experience has repeatedly shown that in a rapidly developing agriculture, the production decisions are essentially of a private enterprise character. It is in the nature of good agricultural planning to recognize this fact. There may often be scope for a few state-owned pilot or demonstration or research farms or even emergency production farms. But to get the whole agricultural sector in a developing country on the move, there seems to be no alternative to changing the environment of the ultimate producers in some vital way that is conducive to decisions on their part to increase output for the market. Needless to say, some of the needed changes in the environment may call for decisive intervention by the state, e.g., price guarantees, agrarian reforms and large irrigation schemes."³²

The task of 'changing the environment of the ultimate producers in some vital way...to increase output' is that of the Panchayati Raj bodies, while the decisive intervention in the matter of price guarantees, agrarian reforms and large irrigation schemes is within the province of the state and central governments. There is thus need for concerted action to help the farmer in the fields to produce more and help the nation to tide over the threatening crisis in the coming most dangerous decades.



³² E. M. Ojala, "Logical Steps in Agricultural Development Planning", *Agricultural Planning Course 1963*, Rome, F.A.O. of the U.N., 1964, p. 70.

A CONSTITUTION FOR RURAL INDIA: A TRIAL PLAN

Henry Ferguson

THE massive Constitution of India, landmark that it is in democratic constitutional history, falls short of the mark. It has delegated many responsibilities to the States which have failed to pass them on to subordinate authorities. The all-powerful nature of the Indian States is reflected in the welter of half-hearted and confusing legislation that has established Panchayati Raj. The lofty principle of democratic decentralization has run aground not only on the States' unwillingness to let the local people truly assume responsibility for their own development and governance, but upon the blind faith in the village unit (which is too small and ineffectual for today's government) and on sturdy reliance on the district unit (which is too big and too autocratic in tradition and conception). Given this set of barriers to effective government and effective development in India, it behoves all scholars and students of public administration and all lovers of democracy and self-government to cast about for ways of redeeming the errors of the past.

The present paper is offered by a foreigner who is motivated by his own deep dedication to democratic self-government and an old love for India. He wants—in the most desperate way—for India to succeed in achieving the political, economic and social goals she has set for herself. He has faith that the streak of rich creativity that runs through Indian society and psyche can assure success, but only if India stops negative self-criticism and starts thinking afresh and conjuring up new solutions. So this trial plan should be understood not as one more instance of the foreigner, ignorant of India's traditions and values, advising India to adopt the ways of the West (or the East for that matter). It should be construed as a working paper for a brainstorm among those Indians who are or should be honestly concerned with the problems. Let it serve as a basis for discussion and debate, and let the results of the dialogue find their way into legislation according to due process.

This does not purport to be an analysis or even a critique of the District Collector or Block Development Officer. But it is designed

to suggest how the lagging democratic institutions can be made a more central part of the governmental apparatus and how the gradual devolution of Government's powers to the people might be accomplished with a minimum of danger to the social fabric or to administrative efficiency. To be intelligible, though, two sets of suppositions must be at least tentatively accepted to sustain the argument outlined here. First, it must be acknowledged that the Panchayati Raj institutions have not flowered as they were expected to and thus have not brought about that central identification of the people with development and self-government as had been intended. Second, it must be acknowledged that rural administration, and particularly the Collectorate, an institution of hoary and honoured repute, are not the most effective instruments for engendering social change. If these two suppositions are accepted at least for the sake of argument, then the following trial plan may make some sense.

To make the panchayats of all levels more effective in identifying the people with change and to make the District and Block Administrations more effective vehicles for change are but the first steps toward the perpetuation and solidification of democratic self-government in India. Perhaps one of the major reasons for the failure so far of Panchayati Raj has been that it was designed to perform a temporary duty in relation to development and not enough thought went into the creation of institutions which would have an enduring and meaningful existence in a self-supporting India. No constitutional basis has been given to the panchayats to set them up as something more than empty gestures. Thus they have not been given the kind of political authority or governmental functions that are necessary to make them full institutions of local self-government. In particular the continuation of State control over all levels of government within a District forestalls the fullest development of local participation or even the sense of the people that they are indeed involved in their own administration of government. The hope that the Development Block would be the central institution of development efforts has not been borne out. The role played by a single party government is certainly crucial in the final analysis of self-government, but in the following model this does not need to be seriously considered. If a division of powers and responsibilities on a local level is established on a rational and functional basis, the name of the party or its organization in the party structure or the party structure itself becomes immaterial. Of course, this very fact may damn this little dream of reform from the start, but if the existing system is to be improved new ideas must be cast up constantly irrespective of their political chances. So here is one dream, but one that can be seriously considered for it builds upon the

Constitution, the existing panchayat system (assuming a kind of uniformity among the States) and the firm foundations of the District Administration.

First, wherever it may be necessary due to topography, demography, geographical features, ethnic composition or whatever, District boundaries deserve a close scrutiny and in some cases redrawing on a more rational basis.

Second, there should be a separation of legislative and administrative powers to complement the existing separation of the judiciary (toward which many Collectors direct complaints today). The Parliamentary system of New Delhi and the State capitals offers little of merit for the local level. It would be hamstrung by the very forces of particularism, communalism and favouritism that now plague the panchayats at each level. No, the administration, as at present, should be manned by professionals with distinct responsibilities for the execution of policy. But the administrative apparatus should be made responsible to the representatives of the local electorate. In the manner described below, the official becomes the responsible servant not of the State, but of the District or Block where he is concerned with the fortunes of the people. The difficulties of establishing and maintaining a system wherein the executive function is invested in non-officials on the local level should be manifest to any observer of rural India. For all of the obvious failings of the I.A.S. the present plan continues the tradition of resting administrative authority with the professionals, though it is hoped that the qualifications set for the professionals will at once offer incentive to non-I.A.S. civil servants of the lower echelons and break away from the intelligence-based closed society of the I.A.S. The main difference with the existing system is that the main responsibility of the civil servant is not to the State Secretariat—and thence to the Ministries which in turn are responsible to the Assembly—but to the immediate body which represents the people who are being governed. At the same time, the connections with the State are not severed, as a glance at the interlocking structure proposed will show. The check of the State upon the locality is preserved, but the State control is neither so authoritarian nor so paternalistic as at present. The legislature and the executive are independent of each other and of the judiciary, but are interdependent for one cannot perform the functions of the other.

These two sets of suggestions are designed to rest upon a third, the departure from the accepted developmental unit of the village and the accepted administrative unit of the District. This departure

is in line with economic and social realities. If India's most vexing and root problem today is the alteration of the traditional (*i.e.*, rural) value structure to embrace newer values of modern mass industrial society, surely the village must cease to be the main *point d'appui* of the development effort. Here, then, the Block is conceived as the institution with the most potential for both effective development and effective government. It should be remembered that this trial plan is designed to make administration more effective and more responsible within the territorial limits without making any changes whatever in the Constitution of India. It builds upon the democratic institutions of Panchayati Raj and autocratic institutions of the Collectorate and the experimental unit of the Block. It might make possible the achievement of the great aim of Community Development without either the anarchy presently found among the tiers of panchayats or the autocracy and paternalism found in the present District Administration of most States. This proposal should allow the local institutions to develop peacefully while protecting the administration from the whims and passions of local politicians who are able to use the flimsy apparatus of the panchayats today to serve their own rather than the people's ends.

But let the document speak for itself.

CONSTITUTION FOR RURAL INDIA

I. THE DISTRICT

A. Executive

COLLECTOR

(1) *Selection*

By Zilla Parishad¹ by majority vote from a panel of three nominated by the Government through the Chief Secretary.

(2) *Term*

Three years, renewable by the Zilla Parishad for terms of two years each.

¹ Unless otherwise specified, votes of representative bodies in this document are assumed to mean that a simple majority of members present and voting is needed to win.

(3) Removable

After impeachment by the Zilla Parishad, trial and adverse judgment by the State Legislative Council and Assembly sitting jointly.

(4) Qualifications

Not less than 30 years of age and at least 8 years' service at gazetted level and at least 5 years' experience in District or Block Administration, gazetted or non-gazetted.

(5) Salary

Minimum fixed by State legislation.

(6) Functions

General: Invested with all executive power of the District and exercised by him directly or through officers subordinate to him.

Specific: (a) Execute and enforce all laws made by the Zilla Parishad. (b) Prepare budgets and quinquennial plans to be submitted to the Zilla Parishad for approval with or without amendment. (c) Expend such public funds as permitted by specific act of the Zilla Parishad, and such funds as are appropriated for District use by the State. (d) Accountable to Zilla Parishad for expenditures, reporting annually and when so ordered. (e) Annual administration report to Zilla Parishad. (f) Appoint all District departmental officers, including a public prosecutor for the District except the Block Executive Officer.² All candidates named by the Collector from among the panel of available and qualified officers kept by the respective departments of the State. (g) District officers to hold office at his pleasure and the pleasure of his successor. (h) The Collector to be responsible for the execution of such laws of the State as apply to his District. The statutes and ordinances of the State shall be conveyed to the Collector and by him to the Zilla Parishad which shall have them enrolled upon its records. For the execution of these laws the Collector shall be accountable to the Zilla Parishad which in this case acts as the agency of the State Legislature. Accounts and reports on the execution of State

² The time has come for a more consistent and recognizable office on the local level parallel to that of the Attorney-General of the Union. The Government should be freer of advocates than it now is and it must recognize that it needs an ongoing professional prosecutor to argue cases for the "people", i.e., the Government.

affairs shall be made by the Collector at least annually to the Zilla Parishad and also conveyed to the Government through the Chief Secretary in the General Administration Department.³

B. Legislative

ZILLA PARISHAD

(1) *Membership*

24 to 36 members as provided by State legislation.

(2) *Selection*

Elected directly by popular vote from equal geographic constituencies. No appointed, co-opted or *ex officio* members.

(3) *Term*

5 years with no limitation on number of terms served.

(4) *Removable*

After impeachment by Zilla Parishad, trial and adverse judgment by the Legislative Assembly. No dissolution or prorogation or supersession by State.

(5) *Qualifications*

21 years of age, neither a convicted felon nor certified incompetent.

(6) *Salary*

Minimum established by State.

(7) *Chairman*

Elected by members to preside at meetings and to serve as official spokesman when so directed.

³ This provision, while obviously rather flimsy in its construction, would imply a devolution of considerable State power and function to lower levels. It is hoped that the number of State matters so handled would dwindle as the District and Block developed the capabilities to run things for themselves. Yet it is obvious that there does need to be a guiding, even fatherly, hand at this stage of India's development.

(8) *Functions*

General: Full power to enact, amend and alter laws for the benefit of the people of the District according to Schedule I.

Specific: (a) Approve and assent to raising of revenues and expenditure of funds of the District, not to include the funds appropriated by the State except as those funds are unrestricted in their use. (b) Demand and receive administrative and financial accounts from the Collector and, through him, from District departmental officers. (c) Confirm all executive appointments to impeach officers for dereliction of duty, malfeasance in office or wilful negligence. (d) Responsibility to keep accurate and complete records of all proceedings and to register with the Secretariat of the State Legislature all formal enactments of law. (e) Record all enactments, statutes and ordinances of the State that are to be enforced or executed by the District Executive within the District. Receive reports and accounts from the Collector pertaining to his execution of State laws, review these reports and accounts, conveying them unamended, but with or without comment, to the Secretariat of the State Legislature.⁴ (f) Confirm alterations in Village Government and boundaries made by the Panchayat Samiti and report them to Secretariat of the Legislature.

C. Judicial**DISTRICT COURT**(1) *Membership*

5 to 7 judges appointed according to Art. 233 of the Constitution.

(2) *Term*

Up to the age of 65 except as provided in Art. 124 and Art. 217 of the Constitution.

(3) *Qualifications*

As per Art. 233 and Art. 234 of the Constitution.

⁴ This means that while the Collector shall account to the Government through the Chief Secretary, the Zilla shall also forward these accounts with comment to the Legislative branch of Government. Thus both arms of the State Government shall be fully informed of the execution of State law in the Districts. Again, this may seem cumbersome, but it seems a possible way of permitting the District Administration to continue to serve as the agency of the State, while maintaining some kind of consistency with the principles of local self-government and true democratic decentralization.

(4) *Jurisdiction*

A court of appeal on all cases civil and criminal arising within the District. A court of original jurisdiction and of first instance in causes between citizens and the State and in all causes relating to legislation enacted by the Zilla Parishad of the District.

II. THE BLOCK

(supersedes existing Blocks and Taluks)

A. Executive

BLOCK EXECUTIVE OFFICER

(1) *Selection*

By Panchayat Samiti from a panel of three nominated by the Collector.

(2) *Term*

3 years, renewable by the Samiti for additional terms of 2 years each.

(3) *Removable*

After impeachment by Samiti, trial and adverse judgment by Zilla Parishad.

(4) *Qualifications*

Not less than 30 years of age and at least 8 years' service at gazetted level and at least 5 years' experience in either District or Block or Village administration, gazetted or non-gazetted.

(5) *Salary*

Minimum to be fixed by State.

(6) *Functions*

General: The executive power of the Block shall be invested in the B.E.O. and exercised directly by him or through officers subordinate to him.

Specific: (a) Enforce and execute all laws made by Panchayat Samiti. (b) Prepare budgets and quinquennial plans to be submitted

to the Panchayat Samiti for approval with or without amendment. (c) Expend such public funds as he is permitted to do by specific act of the Samiti, and such public funds as are appropriated by State or Zilla Parishad for Block use. (d) Accountable to the Panchayat Samiti for the expenditure of all public funds, reporting annually or when ordered to do so. (e) Submit an annual administration report to the Samiti. (f) Appoint all Block departmental officers, including a public prosecutor for carrying on Block causes in the Block courts. All candidates must be selected from a panel of officers drawn by the Collector and shall be confirmed by the Samiti. (g) Block officers to hold office at his pleasure and at the pleasure of his successor. (h) The B.E.O. will not serve as an officer of the State except as he is personally a member of an All-India or Provincial Service, but he shall serve *ex officio* as a District Officer and therefore shall be subordinate to the District Collector. He must, however, report and account to the Samiti for all actions taken on behalf of or at the direction of the Collector. Should he refuse to obey the Collector, the fact should be reported to the Samiti which shall either support him or order him to obey the Collector, the decision of the Samiti being final (subject only to superior legislation by Zilla or State Legislature). (i) The Block Executive Officer will also be responsible for the execution of such laws as may be enacted by the State or Zilla Parishad as may apply to the Block. The statutes and ordinances of State and District shall be conveyed to him by the Collector and by him to the Panchayat Samiti which shall have them enrolled upon the records of the body. For the execution of these laws, he shall be accountable to the Samiti, which in this case acts as the agency of the Zilla Parishad. Accounts and reports on the execution of these affairs shall be made by the B.E.O. to the Samiti and conveyed by him to the Collector. (j) Serve as Executive of Villages the Government of which is under suspension.

B. Legislative

PANCHAYAT SAMITI

(1) *Membership*

12-24 members as determined by State legislation.

(2) *Selection*

Elected directly by popular vote from equal geographical constituencies. No appointed, co-opted or *ex officio* members.

(3) Term

5 years with no limitation on number of terms served.

(4) Removable

After impeachment by the Panchayat Samiti, trial and adverse judgment by the Zilla Parishad. No dissolution or prorogation or supersession by State.

(5) Qualifications

21 years of age, neither a convicted felon nor certified incompetent.

(6) Salary

Minimum fixed by State.

(7) Chairman

Elected by the members to preside at meetings and to serve as official spokesman when so directed.

(8) Functions

General: Full power to enact, amend or alter laws for the benefit of the people of the Block according to Schedule II (*See p. 103*).

Specific: (a) Approve and assent to raising of revenues and expenditures of public funds of the Block, not to include funds appropriated by the State except those funds unrestricted in their use. (b) Demand and receive administrative and financial accounts from the Block Executive Officer and, through him, from all Block departmental and Village officers.⁵ (c) Confirm all executive appointments, impeach Block Executive Officer for dereliction of duty, malfeasance in office or wilful negligence; likewise impeach Village Officers. (d) Suspend operation of Village Government by $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of the entire membership of the Samiti, suspension to last six months or until new elections are held in the village, whichever comes first. (e) Separate, merge, consolidate Village Governments, redraw Village boundaries, subject to confirmation by the Zilla Parishad. (f) Keep accurate and complete records of all proceedings and register with the Zilla Parishad all enactments of law. (g) Record all enactments, statutes and ordinances or orders of the State or District as are to be enforced or executed

⁵ See later, III. A. 6c.

within the Block by the B.E.O. Receive reports and accounts from the B.E.O. pertaining to his execution of State and District laws, review them and send them unamended but with or without comment to the Zilla Parishad

C. Judiciary

BLOCK COURT

(1) *Membership*

2 or 3 judges appointed according to Art. 233 of the Constitution.

(2) *Term*

Up to the age of 65, except as provided in Arts. 124 and 217 of the Constitution.

(3) *Qualifications*

According to Arts. 233 and 234 of the Constitution.

(4) *Jurisdiction*

That of the present Sessions Courts, Magistrates' Courts.⁶

III. VILLAGE

A. Executive

EXECUTIVE OFFICER

(1) *Selection*

By the Block Executive Officer.

(2) *Term*

Two years with two additional terms of two years each.

⁶ A new Code of procedure would have to be developed (isn't it time?) to bring about this full separation of judicial and executive, but the present system of preserving the last vestiges of magisterial authority in the District and Taluk officers seems anomalous and open to serious question on ground of effectiveness as well as on grounds of justice. With the appointment of a prosecutor at each level, who would have his own paid staff of prosecutors, it would seem that the burden of seeking the arrest and conviction of malfactors—the main "law and order" function of the Collector today—could be delegated to him. Thus the Block court, supplanting all existing Taluk, Sessions and magistrates' courts, would be free of executive pressures and concerns. Admittedly this section of the Constitution proposed offers more obvious difficulties to implementation than the others.

(3) *Removable*

After impeachment by Panchayat, trial and adverse judgment of $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of Panchayat Samiti membership.

(4) *Qualifications*

21 years of age, successful completion of Gram Sevak or Village Officer training course of two years' duration.

(5) *Salary*

Minimum to be set by State.

(6) *Functions*

General: The executive power of the Village shall be invested in him and exercised directly by him or through officers subordinate to him, constituting mainly items delegated to him by the Block Executive Officer, but generally including the items listed in List A (*see p. 104*) which by this Constitution pertain legally to the Block Government in Schedule II. The Village Officer will have principal direction of efforts to combine and merge the village with the neighbouring villages into a more coherent and consistent organ of administration and government, a "town" or municipality. In which case, his emoluments will continue until the end of his normal term of office.

Specific: (a) Prepare estimates and accounts, render revenue and expenditure accounts to the B.E.O. with copies to the Gram Panchayat; (b) Advise and inform the Gram Panchayat in development plans, public works, welfare and education. (c) Report as required to the B.E.O. and the Panchayat Samiti.

B. Legislative

GRAM PANCHAYAT

(1) *Selection*

Elected to serve as presently legislated within the State.

(2) *Sarpanch*

Elected by the members of the Gram Panchayat to serve as chairman and spokesman for them, but without executive powers.

(3) *Functions*

To hear petitions of village citizens, hear advice and reports from the Village Officer, to advise the Panchayat Samiti and the B.E.O. on the Government and development of the Village. To work for the eventual merger of the village into a municipality.⁷

IV. SCHEDULES ⁸**Schedule I***District List*

- (1) Maintenance of law and order.⁹
- (2) Assessment and collection of the land revenue.¹⁰
- (3) Receive grants-in-aid from the State.
- (4) Receive such funds from the Block as shall be legislated proportionately by the State.
- (5) Administration of land reform and redistribution programmes, including the prosecution of cases in District Court.
- (6) Price controls of essential commodities, not regulated by the State.
- (7) Conduct of local, state and national elections.
- (8) Licensing of arms, explosives, petroleum.
- (9) Control of foreigners.
- (10) Prohibition enforcement.

⁷ Note here the distinct down-grading of the village as a unit of self-government. It appears to this observer, who has no axe to grind except as he is a wholehearted and convinced democrat and happens to want the best for India, that the high hopes of the Community Development programme have been dispelled by the unrealistic choice of the village as the basic unit for development. The village has convicted itself not only of being an archaic economic unit but now an inadequate governmental unit as well. Thus the thrust of this section of the Constitution tries to preserve the Gram Panchayat as an advisory system while reforming the institution to free it from the grip of those who have captured it and used it for their own purposes. Such officers as the Gram Sevaks and the revenue officers will report to Block Officers.

⁸ These Schedules should be read with the understanding that I feel the Block should emerge as the more meaningful unit of administration and representation, at least while the pattern of village consolidation and the urbanization of the countryside takes place. As this happens and more municipalities emerge, the Block assumes the role of the rural unit corresponding to the municipal corporation. The District continues to serve a useful purpose in the planned change of life within its bounds, but it ultimately ceases to be the key governmental unit as the Block matures in its responsibilities.

⁹ That is, the State Police continues as at present, but there is a clear acknowledgement that it is the Collector, not the S.P. or the D.I.G. who is responsible for it within the District.

¹⁰ The land revenue appears to have its days numbered, so this provision is in a sense archaic. When the land revenue has disappeared, this provision should drop.

- (11) Health and sanitation programmes that include more than one Block (e.g., specialized hospitals, sewage disposal where it covers more than one Block or municipality).
- (12) Water supply where it serves more than one Block.
- (13) Irrigation where it serves more than one Block.
- (14) Registration of District Co-operatives.
- (15) Amenities for people of the entire District, including District parks.
- (16) District roads and highways, paths, canals, etc.
- (17) Social welfare or relief programmes which are beyond the means of any single municipality or Block, including famine relief.
- (18) Extension educational institutions in agriculture and animal husbandry for the entire District.
- (19) Promotion of industrial location and development of industry in accordance with a District plan.
- (20) Mining.
- (21) Tourism.

Schedule II

Block List

- (1) Education, primary and secondary.
- (2) Social welfare of the citizens, including Harijans, women, children, poor relief and local famine relief.
- (3) Health and sanitation, including hospitals and clinics, sewers and refuse collection and treatment, environmental engineering.
- (4) Minor irrigation and drinking water supply.
- (5) Transportation, roads and highways, tramways, buses and taxis except where the State has already pre-empted public transportation.
- (6) Licensing and registration except motor vehicles, fire-arms, drugs and explosives.
- (7) Public amenities, including parks, conveniences, shelters, etc.
- (8) Promotion of agriculture and animal husbandry.

- (9) Other public works within the Block.
- (10) Promotion and location of industry.
- (11) Taxes on agricultural income.
- (12) Taxes on income irrespective of Union income taxes.
- (13) Taxes on capital gains irrespective of Union income taxes.
- (14) Taxes on land and buildings, restricted to non-agricultural land until the land revenue is abolished.
- (15) Tolls on public highways and waterways, but not to include octroi or goods taxes on goods in transit or wholesale goods.
- (16) Sales or use taxes upon retail sales or imports from other purchase points for use in the Block, not to include foodstuffs or drugs.
- (17) Taxes on entertainment and recreational activities.
- (18) Taxes on professions.
- (19) Fire protection service.
- (20) Weights and measures, but not the setting of standards.
- (21) Block gaols.

LIST A

Village List

- (1) Cattle and animal pounds.
 - (2) Village revenue records.
 - (3) Wells.
 - (4) Refuse removal for composting.
 - (5) Dispensaries.
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THE IIPA CASE-STUDY PROGRAMME: ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

K. N. Butani

[*This Note presents some ideas about the development of cases in Indian Administration. It is intended to invite discussion on the orientation of case-writing to some specific purposes (e.g. a particular training/educational programme, a problem-solving effort or a specific research project), and the type of case-writers appropriate to the Indian situation.—Ed.]*

THE IIPA Case-Study Programme was initiated in 1961. So far efforts in the development of this Programme have been somewhat diffuse both in the choice of subjects on which cases were commissioned and the choice of case-writers, with some notable exceptions, of course. The results in terms of the end-product, *viz.*, published case-studies have also fallen short of expectations. This was perhaps inevitable. The Programme was comparatively new. The "newness" of the programme was taken note of and a beginning made with a pilot project. The usefulness of case-studies in the Indian context had to be established. The methodology of case-writing had to be explored in relation to the local setting. Administrators and researchers had to be induced to write cases. In this exploratory process, sometimes case-writers commenced production without a clear perception of "what" a case is meant to be and "why" a particular case was being written. Because of these initial difficulties, the choice of cases could not be directed towards a definite purpose. Perhaps no one definite purpose was in view because of the experimental stage of the development of the programme.

The "newness" of the case approach is no longer a dominant factor to consider when settling the direction, nature and extent of effort that the Programme deserves. A stage has been reached when it may be desirable to organize this Programme on a somewhat more purposeful basis. The objectives could be more specifically spelt out and cases and case-writers chosen in relation to these objectives.

OBJECTIVES AND USES

What should these objectives be, that is the main question? The extent to which the Programme can acquire a purposeful focus will depend on the extent to which the objectives can be clarified.

In considering what the objectives may be, it would be helpful to consider first what the various uses of case-studies are. Generally these are: pedagogic, scientific and operational.

The case as a *pedagogic device* has been used to a varying extent in educational institutions in the U.S.A. Its use in in-service training and executive development programmes is more widespread. This is the most widely understood and accepted use of case-studies. The essence of its usefulness as a pedagogic device lies in the opportunity it provides to students to acquire vicarious experiences of administrative reality and understand how far orthodox "principles" and "proverbs" of public administration are applicable in the Indian situation today. It presents easy-to-grasp real and concrete situations rather than difficult abstractions. While the extent to which the case method can or needs to be inducted in the teaching of public administration in Indian Universities today or in the near future may be a matter of debate centering essentially around questions such as the intellectual level of students, the availability of appropriate case-material and the capacity of the instructors to adopt the case-approach, the usefulness of case-studies as training material has already been recognized by Government as indicated in the 17th May, 1962 Report of the Committee on Administration placed on the table of Parliament.

The case as a research technique for *scientific purposes* enables the researcher to acquire a good grasp of administrative phenomenon. Public administration is one of the fields of knowledge where there are no formulae for the solution of specific problems. Research based on clinical experience will help develop a body of knowledge of administrative behaviour and practice in the local context where theories and principles evolved in a different socio-political setting may have not much validity. The case-method enables hypotheses to be developed on the basis of the realities of the situation and offers ground for the testing of these hypotheses. In the Indian setting today the case-method could afford meaningful insights, based on clinical experience, into the political, administrative and technological processes involved in a developing country committed to promoting social and economic change by democratic means.

The *operational* use of cases is two-fold. First, case-studies can highlight areas or issues in which administrative reform is indicated for better performance. Secondly, studies of operating realities can develop a wider public understanding of the working of the government machinery. Such exposure of administrative processes to public gaze may help to direct criticism towards constructive channels and additionally earn a respect for the complexities of administrative processes.

A word of caution needs to be added here. This Note does not seek to present the case-approach as the best approach either in teaching, training, research, or making administrative improvements. The case-method has its limitations in all these uses. An awareness of these limitations is assumed. As long as it is recognized that the case-method is one of the methods—not necessarily the best one—in terms of the uses listed above we can proceed with the main purpose of this Note and consider the direction in which the IIPA Case Programmes may be developed over the coming years.

In this context a question will naturally arise as to whether a case-study can serve a single purpose? If it is to represent a "chunk of reality", it may not be possible, nor indeed desirable, to impose any such severity in case-writing. The multi-purpose case may immediately seem to be a more desirable objective; actually it may be argued that the "purpose" need not be the pre-dominant factor in determining the choice of a particular subject for case-study. A good case-study is a good thing any way. It can serve various purposes—some pedagogic, some scientific, and some operational. Its utilization for any purpose may be left to those who wish to utilize it.

While this may be the "ideal" approach it may not be the most fruitful in terms of producing a perceptible impact. A selective approach may have to be adopted and case-studies commissioned in specific relation to the uses visualized for them. An unyielding insistence on accuracy in presentation of "facts" and a constant admonition against yielding to the temptation of fitting "facts" to "purpose" may help to reduce some of the biases the "purpose" can have on case-writing.

Should the IIPA Case Programme aim at producing case-studies relevant to one or two of the uses or should it cater to all the uses? The author is inclined to the view that the Programme should aim at producing single-use case-studies for pedagogic and operational use. Cases which are prepared for purposes of research may, however, be

multi-use cases, in the sense that, they could also be of pedagogic and operational value. Even so, the Programme would need to be deliberately circumscribed, at least for a year or so, in each of its uses by *a conscious and deliberate attempt at limiting its scope.*

For example, case-studies with a predominantly *pedagogic purpose* may relate only to specific training programmes. At a very recent Conference on Developing Teaching Materials in Public Administration organized by the IIPA, most university faculty members who attended the Conference were of the view that, at least for the present, the case-method could not be inducted into university teaching. For the present, therefore, only in-service training and executive development programmes aimed at developing professional skills in preference to theoretical knowledge may receive the attention of the IIPA Case-Study Programme. Here also to begin with the writing of cases should be specifically related to one or two training programmes selected in collaboration with the newly set-up Directorate of Training in the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Department of Administrative Reforms. The IIPA executive development programme proposed in place of the MDPA course which is being discontinued, would also be a good programme to link with. The production of case-material under the IIPA Case Programme need not, however, be restricted to meeting the needs of training programmes organized in the IIPA, though this may receive higher priority.

In respect of *operational uses* case-studies should be mostly problem-oriented in the sense what they should be part of an effort directed to meeting a felt problem-solving need of an agency of Government—Local, State or Central. The needs of the Administrative Reforms Commission would fall in this category and should deserve the first priority. Actually the IIPA may even take the initiative in indicating the “need” itself. Often identification of the “problem” is the main problem. And the IIPA could help in locating pathological areas for study. In the long run, this aspect of the Case Programme could be very rewarding. Initial attempts, however, need to be cautious. While the author has no doubt that this aspect of the Programme would help in the establishment of a Consultancy Service in the IIPA, a cautious approach is favoured because it is in this area that the “pudding” produced will be tested in the “eating” and a bad start may adversely affect the development of the Consultancy Service. Consultancy Service will need professional skills which are not easy to locate or develop. Therefore initially a team-approach may be adopted with the IIPA providing a “junior” as a member of a team headed by an “official” of the agency which commissions the study or sometimes even providing a “senior” to lead such a team.

In respect of scientific uses, the Case Programme may aim at producing a "cluster" of studies around selected themes. There will always be room for *ad hoc* case assignments depending upon the specific interest of a particularly keen case-writer. But "cluster" of studies on a particular generic theme would be amenable to aggregative analysis. They could be strung together with an introductory and/or concluding essay in which the comparisons, cumulative insights and reference to central hypotheses in selecting cases could be indicated.

These cluster-studies could relate to a programme area of importance, a generic functional area or an administrative process. The author's preference for priorities is amongst the following :

- (i) Personnel Management in a Developing country.
- (ii) Financial Management including Budget, Expenditure authorisation, Accounts and Audit.
- (iii) Programme/project formulation and authorization.
- (iv) Policy planning, e.g., in Fertilizer production and distribution, Food procurement and distribution, etc.
- (v) Political, administrative and technological inter-action in social/economic development, e.g., in the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme, Management of Science, etc.
- (vi) Executive-Secretariat relationship and its impact on developmental programmes.
- (vii) Leadership in Local Administration.
- (viii) Implementation of development programmes at the district level, e.g., fertilizer/seed distribution, family planning, etc.
- (ix) Bureaucratic "neutrality" vs. "dedication" in promoting social/economic change.
- (x) Centre-State relationship.
- (xi) Panchayati Raj and Development.
- (xii) Citizen's view of Administration.
- (xiii) O & M in Government, with particular reference to attempts at re-organization and reform.

An additional focus could be achieved by partly relating efforts at cluster-studies to specific research projects already in hand or visualized in the near future, in the IIPA or even outside. For example, during the recent Conference on Developing Teaching Materials to which a reference has already been made earlier, the idea of producing Monographs on selected subjects found favour. Some of the cluster-studies could be directed to the same generic subjects and may produce illuminating research material for the Monograph project. Eventually over a period of time, such case-studies could also provide excellent support to any "Books on Indian Administration" project that may be undertaken. Similarly, a link could be established with some specific research projects undertaken in the IIPA itself. If these projects are listed in terms of priorities, case-studies could be organized in specific relation to some of the high-priority projects.

It must be clarified that in suggesting a classification of case-studies in terms of end-use or generic themes it is not the suggestion that a case can or should *exclusively* relate to a particular use or theme. Since it will relate to a real-life situation, a case will inevitably transgress all such neat classifications. For example, a case intended for training or problem-solving may relate to some generic subjects taken up in the cluster group of studies and may be found to serve research purposes also. In the latter group itself, there will be cases relating to functions such as personnel and financial management or administrative processes which may cover specific programme area such as Intensive Agricultural Development Programme, or Management of Science and *vice versa*. To quote Edwin A. Bock,* President of the Inter-University Case Programme in the U.S.A., "A case-study of a particular budget-making process, for example, will usually depict the range of activities and forces that materially affected its outcome. In so doing, it will necessarily present knowledge useful to specialists interested in such other subjects as co-ordination, communications, economic planning, delegation, human relations, generalist-specialist relationships, the dealings of officials with ministers—in some countries—executive—legislative relations, interest groups and federalism." It is very essential to keep this inter-relation constantly in mind. But a conscious attempt may nevertheless be made in the choice of a specific situation that a case-study is intended to cover, to ensure that the main orientation or focus does fall on the generic theme(s) chosen. A way of securing this may be to obtain from every case-writer, before a case is actually assigned, a brief statement of the working hypotheses

* "Case-Studies About Government: Achieving Realism and Significance" in "Essay on the Case Method in Public Administration International Institute of Administrative Science, 1962.

he has in mind in relation to the administrative "happening" that he wishes to cover in his case-study. This may be followed by personal discussions with the case-writer and, where necessary, with others interested in the same theme. The hypotheses may need to be sharpened as the case-writer goes along with his research. They may indeed have to be abandoned. But insistence on the hypotheses before a case-study commences may help give the case-writer's endeavour a sharper focus and the case-study a livelier orientation.

LENGTH OF CASE-STUDIES

A question is sometimes asked about the desirable length of a case-study. There are case-studies which run to over a hundred printed pages and there are case-studies contained in a page or so. The visualized use of the case is really the most relevant factor in this matter. For pedagogic purposes, shorter cases have much to commend themselves. The case-approach offers sufficient flexibility in this matter. With a careful choice of the commencement and the cut-off point a case can be made to suit requirements. Generally, to keep up the interest of the participants and to facilitate the task of the instructor, a conscious attempt may be made to limit the size of such cases to about 5,000 words (20 pages) or so. Actually cases of a much smaller length, sometimes only a page or two, have been used in some specific training programmes. The scope for use of such "case-lets" may be limited but they have been used with good effect and could be tried in some particular session of an in-service training or executive development programme. The writing of such "case-lets" will involve the wresting of a very limited facet from the real-life situations; therefore the writing of such "case-lets" will involve skilful handling.

Even in respect of operational-use case-studies and the cluster-type case-studies, a conscious attempt may be made to keep their size to around 40 to 50 pages mainly to keep up clientele interest.

The author hastens to add that considerations of size should, under no circumstances, be allowed to detract from the accuracy and completeness of the narrative particularly in relation to multi-use cases.

THE CHOICE OF CASE-WRITERS

Research and operational objectives together would ensure a good blend of "theory" and "practice" to be attractive to both the "academician" and the "practical administrator". The effort will therefore have

to be shared between them. The active involvement of "academicians" in the case-writing effort will be a good step towards reducing the hiatus between them and the "practitioners" which was widely commented upon at the Conference on Production of Teaching Materials. The interaction between the two will enrich the perspectives of both. Sometimes a team-approach may be tried—a junior "academician" with a senior "practitioner" and *vice versa*.

It may evoke a better response if a participant in the administrative "happening" which is proposed to be covered by a case-study, is got interested to undertake the study. Actually some potential case-writers may indicate a preference for this. While such an approach may produce single-perspective cases, it may make the task of locating relevant material easier and this is an important factor in determining the success of a case-study venture. Excessive subjectivity can be guarded against in several ways. The draft narrative may be exposed to the scrutiny of other participants in the situation covered in the study, and the narrative moderated in the light of their comments. Where this is not adequate, another key participant may be invited to do a case-study of the same situation.

Therefore in the Indian situation today a major share of the effort of case-writing may have to be borne by "practitioners".

In either case, the choice will need to take note of the case-writer's aptitude and interest for the theme chosen.

While most of the skills of case-writing will need to be acquired on a trial and error basis, a prior exposure to the case-method either as a student or as an instructor would be an asset and may be consciously looked for. It will also facilitate the task of the Programme Director since otherwise the bulk of the initial effort will get devoted to explaining the concept and methodology of the case-approach.

One last word about case-writers. Because of the diagnostic aspect of case-studies it is unsafe to leave them in the hands of raw and immature investigators. To quote Paul Appleby "In social matters—as distinguished from some of the natural sciences—the researches of young, inexperienced persons should be recognized for what they are—efforts to learn methodologies, not activities likely to reveal things of great value. In *all* systematic inquiry one must know how to identify important questions if one's inquiries, except for accident, are to produce anything of general interest or significance. This

is possible in physics and some other natural sciences without much *worldly experience*. I think it is not possible in social studies."

TARGET OF PRODUCTION

The IIPA Case Programme may aim at producing about twenty good cases (excluding case-lets) worthy of publication in relation to a year's effort, subject of course to availability of resources. The number of case-studies to be commissioned will need to be many more.

Twenty cases will not adequately serve even the limited needs of the selected training programmes, nor operational needs in a limited field, nor even the few selected themes for cluster-studies; but twenty good cases can pave the way for an intensification of case-writing effort so as to provide a good base of case-studies on Indian Administration for meaningful use. A three-year perspective may be adopted and over this period the publication of about 75 case-studies aimed at.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN DRAFT OUTLINE— AGRICULTURE

M. Y. Ghorpade

THE draft outline, which is now open to nation-wide discussion and debate, is a nicely worded document. But a constructive appraisal will have to ask the question, what does it really say and how far does it take us from where we are. The plan should indicate not only the broad framework of financial outlays based upon present policy, but also contain a significant margin of new thought, which has not yet become policy, but which can become policy after it has gone through the chastening process of democratic discussion and political churning.

What are the points of thought and experience which could be brought into sharper focus in the plan document so far as agriculture is concerned? In the last two years, agricultural commodities have started getting a remunerative price in certain areas mainly because of shortages in relation to the increasing money demand for foodgrains, etc. (The Agricultural Prices Commission is now engaged in the scientific identification and definition of this process.) What is now needed to increase agricultural production, is, the timely supply of adequate inputs, such as improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, credit, irrigation and electricity. The adequacy of these inputs, and the mechanics of supplying them to the farmer are matters which should be more closely examined and clearly expressed in the plan. To gloss over this, is to evade the main problem on which hinges the future of agriculture in our country. We cannot avoid expressing a view on whether the present structure and supplies are satisfactory or not and what exactly should be done to correct the situation. For instance, to quote an example, a Taluka Agricultural Produce Co-operative Marketing Society, during the kharif season, could not lift the agricultural inputs that were allotted to it, merely because the credit for this purpose was not made available to it in time. The rains came and the farmers, naturally, could not wait for the credit to come. The result was, that a three to five thousand acre programme for the supply of hybrid seeds, fertilizers and insecticides, just did not materialize. This is not an isolated instance. The problem of administrative co-ordination is real and crucial. In many areas the co-operatives are not functioning satisfactorily. The problem is not merely one of finance. Factors like the deteriorating socio-economic homogeneity of the village, and the social and economic disparities, also complicate the picture and mock at the assumption that a village should function like a well-knit unit. The co-operative movement has its weaknesses which should be frankly recognized. It also has its bright spots whose secret must also be recognized and differentiated. For instance, the co-operative sugar factories in Maharashtra are doing extremely well, because farmers belonging to the irrigated class and having a strong common economic interest have come together, to increase the value of their

produce, by processing it, by setting up a modern industry with institutional finance and techniques of modern industrial management. The sugar factories are already thinking of improving productivity by increasing the size of the new units. Irrigation facilities and assured off-take at a remunerative price, is the secret of successful cane growing for sugar factories. It is this, which makes the supply and recovery of loans and inputs a feasible proposition, a self-reliant process. What wonder then if these farmers vie with each other to increase yields. Sixty tons of cane per acre is not considered an abnormally high yield in South India. The economic strength of the grower enables him to effectively safeguard the price he gets for his produce, and ensure a relatively adequate supply of scarce inputs. The cane grower has developed considerable political influence and power. The poor grower of food crops has none of these advantages. The village service co-operatives have nothing in common with a co-operative sugar factory or a fertilizer factory except that they happen to be registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.

We glibly talk of crop loans against the security of the crop. But, in actual practice, only the rich farmer manages to get some loan which is not always repaid. The percentage of defaulting or defunct service co-operatives is alarming. It is obvious that the crop loan system for food and commercial crops, especially in the rainfed areas, can become a self-reliant movement only on the basis of (*i*) off-take at a remunerative price, and (*ii*) crop insurance to protect the farmer against crop failure due to adverse seasonal conditions, at least to the extent of the cost of the modern inputs he is expected to use in order to maximize his yields. The dual purpose of guaranteed off-take and social control over adequate stocks, could be achieved by asking the farmer to sell a given quantity of grain per acre, at a fair price, to the input-loan issuing body or organization. Loan recovery will then, not be a problem. For instance, a farmer who has been enabled to grow 10 to 20 quintals of hybrid jowar per acre, by loaning him inputs such as seed, fertilizer, insecticides, to the extent of Rs. 200 to 300 per acre, will not consider it a hardship, if he is expected to part with about 5 quintals an acre at say Rs. 60 per quintal. This idea of recovering at least the cost of inputs in grain, at a reasonable price, is crucial to the successful management of our food problem. It ensures both increased production and better distribution, and safeguards both the producer, and the consumer. It makes sure that no state fails to make its minimum contribution towards a national food policy. On this basis, the Food Ministry's plan, to intensively cultivate 32.5 million acres, should enable us to purchase, at a fair price, for planned distribution, about 16 million tons, consisting of 6 million tons of paddy, 4 million tons of wheat and 6 million tons of jowar, maize and bajra. Such a strategy should find a place in our Fourth Five Year Plan.

While addressing the Chief Ministers recently, even the Prime Minister commended the idea, of grains in return for inputs, as being consistent with the genius of our country, and as having been successfully tried in other countries like Japan and Taiwan. The Venkatappiah Committee on procurement and distribution of foodgrains has also referred to it favourably. This should become a national movement, and we should not fight shy of fully utilizing Government's revenue collecting staff for this purpose. The revenue administration of the district, which has its long standing link with the village, can thus be effectively used for a national cause of the highest

importance, with the District Collector performing a key, co-ordinating role. The co-operatives and Panchayati Raj institutions would also, naturally, play an important part in securing public participation.

Other forms of organizations, like the Food Corporation and Joint Stock Companies could also play a useful role. We need not have ideological inhibitions in encouraging joint stock companies, provided, they function within the ambit of this policy. In this context, what is important is not so much the form but the functional content. Joint stock companies should be encouraged to raise commercial, bank finance and use techniques of modern management, in the service of agriculture. If agriculture is to succeed, it must function like a modern industry. Persons owning land, within the ceiling limit, could be encouraged to form themselves into a Joint Stock company, to organize common supplies and services, and provide expert consultancy and extension service. The Joint Stock company need not necessarily own or take land on lease. But it could co-ordinate and provide crucial services in return for a service charge. This will enable homogeneous groups of progressive farmers to function with commercial dynamism for their common good. Like a good co-operative, it will also act as a catalytic agent in the area. A co-operative farm, but registered under the Companies Act, is an idea worth trying, wherever possible. This need not violate the basic principles of land reforms and the ceiling limit. The definition of personal cultivation will, however, have to be in keeping with the requirements of modern management and productivity and not be too restrictive. After all, if productivity increases by the optimum use of the factors of production, not only the income of the farmer, both big and small, but the wage of the landless labourer will also increase. Modern management need not mean depriving people of their ownership of land, but it does mean making the land pay more, and recognizing effective planning, co-ordination and supervision as an important factor of production. There is no virtue in a tiller of land carrying on with primitive techniques. The slogan "land to the tiller" should also mean land to those who manage it well, within, of course, the ceiling limit, which is a consequence of the heavy pressure of population on land. Optimum management in our conditions, as in Japan, need not mean extensive mechanization. And mechanization of the Japanese type does not mean extensive farming. It means intensive farming with the help of machines, wherever it is necessary, to complete an agricultural operation efficiently and in time. After all, the idea is to maximize the productivity of land and labour which are our two main resources. In this way integrated, diversified farming including horticulture, dairy and animal husbandry, will become more feasible. Progressive Joint Stock companies could function along with co-operatives in the national interest.

The draft Fourth Five Year Plan merely mentions, that the Food Corporation came into existence on January 1, 1965. Nothing is said about what it has done or what are the administrative or political difficulties it is facing. A more detailed functional definition of the role of the Food Corporation and other institutions in the field, is absolutely essential. It would not be wrong to say that the draft plan does not contain a clear-cut national food policy, giving the administrative strategy and mechanics of increased production and better distribution. It is stated in the draft plan that, in 1965, about 4 million tons were procured by levy on food grains, and about 8.2 million tons of foodgrains were supplied through about 1.1 lakh fair-price

shops, serving about 89 million people, while statutory rationing covered about 25.5 million people. But, in the face of growing population and our heavy dependence on increasingly-precarious food imports, what we must know is (*i*) the exact manner in which we propose to ensure and maintain at least our present per capita availability of foodgrains and (*ii*) the extent, and manner of social control, over-storage and distribution of foodgrains, necessary to ensure a certain minimum quantity, at a reasonable price, to every person in the country. It is obvious, that there should be social control over at least about fifteen million tons of food to ensure minimum, equitable distribution. Grains in return for inputs would be the most equitable, effective and democratically feasible method. If not, what is the alternative? A similar approach is needed for commercial crops like jute, groundnut and tobacco which occupy a pivotal position in our export trade. The draft plan mentions that "for groundnut, an export oriented development scheme is proposed to be taken up over an area of 3.2 million acres by the end of the Fourth Plan".

The nitrogenous, phosphatic and potassic fertilizer targets, in the fourth plan, of 2.0, 1.0 and 0.35 million tons respectively, (as compared to the third plan "achievement"—if it can be called that—of 0.60, 0.15 and 0.09 million tons respectively) is woefully short of our requirement. The fertilizer supply is only a fraction of our immediate demand and not much of this is available for our food crops. The fourth plan nitrogenous fertilizer target, if achieved, will be sufficient for about 40 million irrigated acres on the basis of 50 kg. N per acre. But our present irrigated acreage is, about 75 million acres which will go up to about 100 million acres during the Fourth Plan. And, what about twice this area which depends on rain but which also needs fertilizers to increase yields? The per acre consumption of fertilizer nutrients in our country is only $\frac{1}{6}$ th of Japan and $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the world average. It has been estimated that for about 70 crores of foreign exchange involved in food imports, it should be possible to set up for fertilizer plants, each with a capacity of 2 lakh tonnes of nitrogenous fertilizers per annum. This would result in an increased domestic production of 8 million tonnes of foodgrains, thus accelerating the pace of food self-sufficiency. Such a programme should find a place in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Have we detailed plans and estimates of the naptha that is, and could be, made available in the country by intelligent management of the production, consumption and import of petroleum products, and for the full utilization of naptha in fertilizer production? What is the Planning Commission's view on the vital naptha ammonia controversy? What efforts are we making to find and ensure adequate supply of rock phosphate, which is the main raw material for phosphatic fertilizers, which, along with nitrogen and potash, is absolutely necessary to maintain the nutrient balance in the soil? Have we plans for the internal production of the chemicals required for effective plant protection measures? Similarly, the programme for hybrid seed production and rural electrification is very much short of our requirement and does not even touch the fringe of the problem. A much bigger effort is needed in these fields. For instance, there are about 40 million acres under jowar in the country. Supply of hybrid jowar seeds is not sufficient for even half a million acres and is expected to go up to only 4 million acres by the end of the 4th Plan. Can we depend only on state farms for the production of parent seed material? What is the difficulty and delay in setting

such farms? There should no doubt be strict quality control and an effective seed law, but cannot progressive farmers be allowed to participate in the national effort to accelerate production of hybrid parent seeds? In my case, we must commit ourselves in the plan to a clear cut programme, which must deal with these all important inputs, on a war footing. It is stated that at 50,000 villages were electrified in the first three plans and another 50,000 villages will be electrified in the Fourth Plan. This means that more than four-fifths of the villages of India will be without electricity and, therefore, committed to primitive techniques even at the end of the Fourth Plan. This it will not do. It is not as though we do not have the power. As a matter of fact, less than 10 per cent of the total power generated in the country, is going towards irrigation pump sets and rural electrification. There should be a national commitment to electrify all the villages in the country, at least by the end of the Fifth Plan.

This appraisal of the draft agricultural Fourth Plan is, at best, only illustrative. Obviously it does not cover the whole field. But it is an attempt to recollect the words of the Prime Minister who said, "I should like each one of you to study and to take part in the debate on the plan, not in academic or doctrinaire terms, but as an action programme, which can and must involve the entire nation, every part of the country and all our vast human and natural resources. Ultimately it is what we actually do and implement that will become the plan."

THE PRICING OF FOODGRAINS: A CRITIQUE

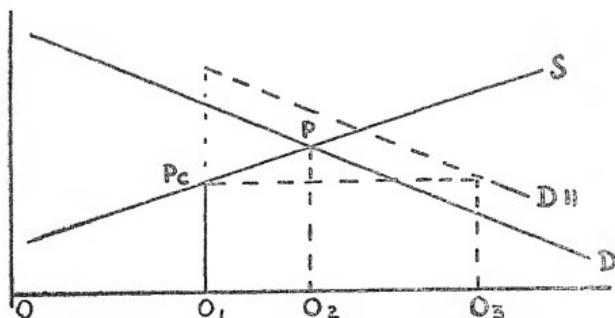
S. Mallick

FREE pricing in a competitive setting is an ideal which is not easy to achieve, besides being politically often impracticable. No one, however, denies that a strict imposition of price-controls does effect the production. If price-controls are nevertheless imposed, they are usually justified in those sectors of the economy where supplies are inelastic and the demands are also either inelastic or are expected to be kept under restraint by a system of rationing. The foodgrains sector is one such. The control of foodgrains prices is normally not expected to reduce the quantum of foodgrains production in the country. It is generally believed that the agriculturists are uniquely dependant on cultivation and that they do not have any other significant opportunity for diversifying their energy. Cultivate they must, whatever be the market conditions, for that is the way of their sustenance.

One is not, however, so sure of the validity of these assumptions in the fast changing context of today. The doubt has become rather persistent especially in regard to the decisions which involve marginal inputs. Should the fallow land be brought under foodgrains cultivation at some initial investment keeping in view the rising costs of labour, interests and other inputs *vis-a-vis* the return pegged at a low level by the State? Should or should not the cultivation of grains be substituted by that of a high profit-yielding item like potato (which is not after all perishable, thanks to the rapid expansion of cold-storages) or by other cash-crops? Should or should not the seasonal labourers be drawn away from their urban occupations with adequate inducements for cultivation and sowing during the season? How much inducements can be safely promised to these labourers keeping in view the anticipated return based on the State-imposed price? To what extent can the margin of production be extended by switching on to the quality foodgrain when the pegged price takes little note of qualitative difference? What is the size and spread of the open market and whether the quality foodgrain has open or restricted access to it? These questions are asked over and again by the agriculturists and the land owners at every important turn and the resultant uncertainties and handicaps are increasingly borne on them with deleterious effect on the foodgrains production.

It may be worthwhile at this stage to refer to the theory, as regards the effects of price-controls with a pair of demand and supply curves (*see p. 123*). Diagrammatically,

O_0O_2 is the natural produce which the market is capable of under free pricing. O_0O_1 is the produce at the controlled price. The short fall from the free market production is represented by the segment O_1O_2 . The unsatisfied demand is, however, larger than the above short-fall in



view of the artificial depression of the foodgrain prices which leave more buying power in the consumers' pockets and induce them to extend the margin of consumption. Besides, the comparative cheapness of the controlled grains *vis-a-vis* the uncontrolled food articles provides a standing invitation for substitution of the former for the latter. The natural Demand Curve for foodgrains shifts upward in consequence. This is represented by the broken line D_H . The adverse economic effects of the price-controls are thus two folds : (i) a reduction of the produce to the extent of O_1O_3 and (ii) creation of a further excess demand because of the controlled price, as represented by the segment O_2O_3 . The net deficit between Demand and Supply will thus be larger than either (i) or (ii) above and will be equal to the sum of both, i.e., O_1O_3 (assuming that there is no illegal sale and purchase above the controlled price).¹

The theory appears substantiated by our experience during the past two decades of frequent experimentation with control and rationing. The data of production trends during the last three plan periods unmistakably point to a very slow growth rate, which has been also unduly disproportionate to the growth in Demands. The following table indicates the estimated rate of increase of various agricultural produces as late as in the Third Five Year Plan, which is professedly more agriculture-oriented than the second.²

TABLE I

Commodity	Per cent Increase			
Foodgrains	31.6
Oil seeds	38
Sugar Cane	25
Cotton	37.2
Jute	55
Cashewnut	105.5
Coffee	67.7
Rubber	70.5

¹ Adapted from K. Boulding's Economic Analysis.

² Government of India, Third Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, p. 317.

Even though agriculture suffers from various natural and institutional constraints, there is no denying that the rates of increase of uncontrolled agricultural produces have been markedly better than those of the controlled ones.

The slow tempo of production in the foodgrains section is to an appreciable extent due to the difference in the market conditions of the former with those of the other agricultural produces. While there is no dearth of demand for foodgrains, it is but a pity that the same should be pressed at a price at which the opportunity cost of the marginal inputs cannot be fully met. The price-parameter on the foodgrains sector has thus acted as a brake on its rapid expansion. The following Table shows the marketable surplus of rice as a percentage of production before, during and after the period of control of 1946-49.³

TABLE II

(In Percentage)

States	Pre-war & pre-control	Periods of Control		Periods without control
		Average 1946-47 to 1948-49	1946-47	
PUNJAB ..	60	30	62	
WEST BENGAL ..	46	27	32	
MADRAS ..	65	32	75	
U. P. ..	34	30	30	

The correlation between Controls and the availability of foodgrains in the market has thus been established. While operation of other factors like speculative stocking and a general rise in the propensity to consume does affect the quantum of disposable surplus, these factors are generally considered as the results of price controls than independent causations in themselves.

There has also been a marked rise in the consumption propensity of foodgrains during the course of the last three plan periods. Table III illustrates the position.⁴

³ From Indian Rice Statistics, August 1956.

⁴ Based on the official hand-outs and the Census figures modified by the estimated rate of annual increase of population.

TABLE III

(Figures in Million Tonnes)

Year	Foodgrains production	Net import of food grains	Total available food-grains	Estimated population	Ratio of Col. (4) to Col. (5)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1950	55	2.1	57	350	0.16
1965	88	9	97	473	0.20

The ratio of available foodgrains to the estimated population in the country has gone up between 1950 and 1965 by a quarter without any visible lessening of shortages. Since the net per capital income has also risen during the same period by about a quarter (*i.e.*, by 27 per cent as per estimates of the Planning Commission) one should imagine that consumption of foodgrains in the country has become perfectly income-elastic. This cannot quite be true, as the expenditure on foodgrains is known to be a very inelastic item in the Budget of an ordinary householder.⁵ The other reason which should also account for the large offtake is what may be called the substitution demands. This has arisen due to the mass substitution of demands within the food sector itself. There has been significant departure from our accustomed consumption pattern because of disturbed relationships between the prices of different food articles. That this has been inherent in the logic of the situation will be clear from the following Table of relative movement of prices during the last fifteen years:⁶

TABLE IV

Index Number of Wholesale Prices

(Base 1952-53=100)

Period		Food articles	Cereals	Manufactures	General Index
3/50	.. ..	108.3	92	98.9	106.4
3/55	.. ..	82.9	70	101.1	90.8
3/60	.. ..	117.0	103	116.8	118.8
3/65	.. ..	153.6	135	141.2	151

⁵ Co-efficient for income-elasticity for cereals has been calculated at 0.5 by the F.A.O. Their "Agricultural Commodities projections for 1970" refers.

⁶ From the appendices to the Five Year Plans.

The table clearly depicts the relative depression in the prices of cereals *vis-a-vis* the food articles and the other items of consumption. In such a situation it is to be expected that the people should increasingly substitute the cheaper priced foodgrains for the other more high priced articles of food.

It will appear from the foregoing that some hope of a solution to the present food problem lies in pursuing a comprehensive pricing policy in regard to the foodgrains *vis-a-vis* the other food articles. This is not to deny that the food problem has many facades calling for a concerted and multi-pronged attack on it. However, from the point of view of pricing, it is clear that the problem of foodgrains should not be treated in isolation, but only in the larger context of all other food articles, which constitute its substitutes. An effective pricing policy should be comprehensive, covering not merely the foodgrains sector but also those of the other food articles. The main objective of such a pricing policy should be:

- (1) to level up wherever feasible the prices of foodgrains, and
- (2) to exercise greater restraining influence on the prices of all other food articles, which have tended to soar greatly in recent years.

The levelling up of foodgrain prices can be achieved through what may be called a multiple pricing formula. While a uniform rise in the controlled price of foodgrains may cause general hue and cry and may not thus be politically feasible, a graded and progressive rise in the prices of better quality foodgrains should evoke less of social resistance and may in fact meet with consumers' approval.

It is well to remember that the foodgrains market had traditionally been not one but a split up between various sub-markets. It had been charging not one but a wide variety of prices depending on quality and preferences of different classes of discriminating buyers. The system had a number of natural advantages over the present form of control:

- (1) The most important advantage from the present point of view was of course the fact that it helped production. It facilitated the flow of marginal resources to production of superior and quality foodgrains, which cannot now be undertaken to the same extent in view of the fixation of a uniform price.
- (2) The quality and superior foodgrains were consumed by the middle income groups and the well-to-do townmen. Consequently there was no social injustice or economic hardship caused by charging them a little higher prices. On the contrary there was generally a much higher consumers' satisfaction due to the consumption of preferred varieties.
- (3) There was also no built-in incentive to substitute more of cereals for the other types of food articles in the absence of an artificial depression of the foodgrain prices.

It is considered that the above advantages of the earstwhile market system can be restored to a considerable extent without its attendant drawbacks

by combining rationing with a system of discriminating prices, wherein the price differentials are based on the qualitative differences between the foodgrains. It can, thereafter, be left to the consumer to buy any one of the preferred varieties at suitably graded prices, even as it shall then be open to the agriculturist to undertake production of such of the varieties as promise more satisfactory returns.

An alternative course to the same goal will be to supplement the present form of single price rationing system with the leaven of free-market in respect of some specified varieties of foodgrains. In recognition of the free market, the rationing should be so modified as to make it progressive in its scale. It should seek to ensure a certain basic quota of supply at reasonable rates to the lower income groups and to the manual workers. The quotas allotted to the other sections of the population should be much smaller, both in recognition of their smaller requirements of calories and in order to induce them to buy from the free market and thus to discourage, if only, partially, the overflow of demands from the other food sectors into the cheaper foodgrains sector. It is necessary to point out, however, that the mixed system will succeed only if the free market is allowed all the required facilities for its existence, including a free movement of the specified foodgrains across district and regional boundaries.

This note can now be brought to a close with a reference to what may be called the peripheral controls. Any control system to be really effective must cast its net far afield. It should seek to regulate not merely the main market in question but also the large and loose-flung area around which comprises the potential substitute market. In retrospect, there is little doubt that much of our present woes have arisen out of relative high-pricing of the non-cereal food articles. It is the overflow of demands from these non-cereal food sectors which need now be halted. This calls for, apart from other things, an overall pricing policy for both the cereal and non-cereal sectors. The aim should be to maintain some form of parity in the relative movements of prices of these sectors so that no one sector is able to pass off its legitimate share of demands to another. Such a policy will call for maximum vigilance on the part of the State and wider use of its regulative powers on the market. It is also fair to point out that a more deliberate commitment of the State is simultaneously necessary in the matter of planning and development of non-cereal foods than has been done so far.

OF PLANS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

P. R. Dubhashi

WE are living in the age of planning. It is difficult to realize that fifty years ago, planning was only a matter of academic discussion. Soviet Russia provided the first concrete example of a planned economy. The aftermath of the great depression saw the emergence of planning for full employment in a free society co-existing, as it were, with the market economy. Planning made new gains in the post-war world. While the Eastern European countries followed the Russian model of socialist planning, for the Western European countries the pattern was set by French planning for accelerating the rate of economic growth. Finally, the emerging countries of Asia and Africa refused to leave their economic fortunes to be decided by the vicissitudes of the market and chose planning as the instrument for a conscious and deliberate process of socio-economic development.

Planning has not, however, been an unqualified success. In other words, there has been no invariable concommittance between the extent of economic planning and the rate of economic development. Some countries have enjoyed conspicuous rates of growth with little or no planning while others with its heavy overdose have managed with difficulty to maintain the parity between rate of growth of population and production. Though the belief in Planning as "an open sesame" has ended, agonizing reappraisals of economic planning have often been concluded with the reassurance that the plans are all right if only properly implemented. The fault lies in the implementation of the plans. It is suggested as a corollary to this conclusion that the key to successful planning is the reform of the administrative machinery for plan implementation.

In a sense the dichotomy between planning and its implementation is false. Planning does not consist of periodic proclamation of pious intentions. It is not an agenda of aspiration. It is an agenda of action. It is not a mere economic forecast. It is a conscious and deliberate, effort to shape the future. In other words planning, by definition, implies not only setting out goals and fixing up of targets but also devising adequate machinery of implementation and means of ensuring that the goals are in fact reached. Like policy and sub-policy making, planning also descends through successive stages to the point of action till ultimately it merges with it. In another sense also, planning is identified as public administration substituting the blind operation of the market forces to run the engine of economic production. If, therefore, there is anything wrong with planning, by definition, there is something wrong with public administration also.

In the sense, however, in which in common parlance we make a distinction between deliberation and action, a distinction can also be made between planning and implementation. The distinction would hold good in respect

of the national plan in the same sense in which it applies to plans of individuals and firm. But to the extent which national planning seeks to create only a general environment or a framework of incentives for private individuals or groups by whose efforts national targets are actually reached, relationship between planning and implementation becomes much more complex and complicated. In the view of the common man and even of the administrator and the technologist, relationship between planning and implementation is the same as the simple relationship between deliberation and action. But in the view of the economist, aware as he is of the wider ramifications of national planning, this is an oversimplification.

Once the distinction between individual planning and national planning is realized, the failure in the plan implementation may be seen to arise from more reasons than the mere failure of any particular administrative agency. The gap between planning and implementation may be attributed to the difficulties inherent in planning process itself, as well as faulty planning no less than faulty implementation.

The inherent difficulties of planning have been the subject matter of discussion amongst the economists long before the advent of planning itself. The opponents of planning led by Prof. Ludwig von Mises, Prof. Hayek and Lord Robbins held that a planned economy would not be workable because in any national economic calculation would be impossible. After fifty years of actual planning such views are not as stridently put forth as before but studies of experiences of the actual working of planning systems have disclosed certain difficulties which could be considered inherent in planning. They arise out of the disturbances caused by the imposition of the planner's preferences over the consumers' preferences. The most important of these is related to the rate of saving. In a poor economy the "natural" rate of saving is bound to be much below the planner's rate of saving. Other preferences are related to the ultimate product-mix. Planners' preferences may be in favour of a speedier rate of growth, a more elongated structure of production or a more diversified economy. These do create tensions and imbalances which may manifest themselves in the shape of shortage of capital, scarcity of consumer goods, material and commodity imbalances, disruption in the existing structure of wages, etc. These to the common man may appear to be the defects in plan implementation though in actual fact they constitute the price of planning.

Secondly, the defects in planning may cause the defects in the implementation of planning. Planning may be need-based rather than resource-based. Planners may have left a large financial gap uncovered thus causing a heavier dose of deficit financing than what the economy can bear. They may go far beyond the limit of *the taxable capacity*. The investment may be heavily weighed in favour of long-term gestation projects. Indirect or secondary consequences of investment projects might have been overlooked. The consequences of faulty planning of this kind may guarantee, at the very outset, failure in implementation.

It is only when the inherent defects of planning as well as consequences of faulty planning are identified and separated that one can locate defects in plan implementation which could be attributed to the failures of the administrative machinery. Administrative defects proper, should be

distinguished from what are only the "derived defects" of administration. Administrative reform can cure only the administrative defects proper. The examples of the latter are galore. Lack of detailed project planning, lack of co-ordination and synchronization leading to a failure to move the right things (even when available) in the right quantities at the right time to the right place, failure to release funds in time, inadequate training, wrong location, faulty communication, absence of popular participation, etc., apart from gross procrastination, red-tapism, and corruption are some of the causes of the failures in plan implementation which could be directly attributed to defects in the system of public administration.

Planning is a continuous process and so is its evaluation. Careful evaluation would not take the over-simplified view that all failures in planning are due to their faulty implementation. As in France, "evaluation of current developments" has to be attempted not merely to examine their consistency with plan estimates but also as a means of checking the validity of the Plan itself. In other words if there is a divergence between the Plan and its implementation, this may be due as much to something being wrong with the former as to mistakes in the latter."

THE ANNUAL ASSESSMENT AND PROMOTION SYSTEM IN INDIAN BUREAUCRACY*

(In this feature we give selected comments on the articles published in the previous issue of the Journal. Readers are, therefore, requested to send in their comments on the articles published in this issue by July 31, 1967 for inclusion in the next issue—Ed.)

It is refreshing to go through a review of the present situation regarding the Annual Assessment and Promotion System in Indian Bureaucracy. A similar problem was faced by industry in regard to the assessment of managers as merit is used by them as the basis for promotion. The American Management Association has recently come forward with a research project relating to "Setting of executive performance standard". Unless we have defined standards of performance clearly understood by the reviewing as well as reporting officer and the individual assessed, meritocracy as a system for promotion is not feasible. This is all the more important in this country where the senior cadre in most departments at policy making level now consists of officers who had their training and field experience during the pre-Independence period.

Another point which has looked to me rather unusual and has not been touched upon by authors is that none of the confidential report forms make any reference to the assessment of the officer in regard to his learning of new techniques and improvement of professional attainments. It is now accepted by most administrative science investigators that unless an executive keeps in touch with the latest developments on the subject, he is hardly in a position to perform his duties efficiently. In a developing country like ours the administrative changes are just as fast as the manufacturing methods and techniques in a developing technology. This aspect of self-development and investment of time for future development of the individual and his professional knowledge does not find a place either in the current confidential report forms nor in the proposed confidential report form in Appendix 'B'.

I entirely agree, whatever the method of the assessment of the officer, he must be made aware of the categorization and also specific factors which have led the reporting officer to come to this conclusion. The whole objective of the assessment should be to improve the individual rather than to judge his past. As rightly pointed by Drucker—the function of the management basically lies in "making the common man do uncommon things". Certainly any senior officer, given the best material, would be able to deliver the goods. It is, however, not possible to have the best as the supply of such persons is, by nature, bound to be limited.

Another aspect which does not appear to have been emphasized sufficiently well is the establishment of definite objectives proposed to be achieved

*The original article of this title by Shri Kailash Prakash was published in Vol. XII, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec.), 1966.

by each department. Once these objectives are clearly understood by all officers, the assessment of most by achievement of the objective could be a more feasible proposition. In the absence of such defined objectives, the books of regulations and notes attain far more significance than they deserve. The absence of objectives also leads to promotion by "high-visibility" and "Voluble" officers appear to be more important as compared to the "quiet valuable officers". This lack of objectives is a major reason for the fast developing frustration amongst the Government officers.

In brief, I would suggest for the serious consideration of establishment of clear objectives for each department, subordination of books of rules and regulations to the attainment of these objectives and undertaking of research project for description of job contents of officers leading to setting executive performance standards. These would be treated as the minimum requisites for developing our executive cadre, training them, and establishment of meritocracy as the basis for promotion system in Indian bureaucracy which has been accepted, in principle, more than a decade back by the late Prime Minister Nehru when Appleby visited this country and studied our administrative systems.

—BAHADUR MURAO

II

The annual confidential report form is the pivotal point round which the present system of promotions is built. It is intended to facilitate assessment of performance of the officer, make an appraisal of his abilities and other qualities with a view to identifying the potential for promotion as also assisting a proper policy of personnel placement, permitting timely corrective action and in that context influencing programmes of training. It must be conceded that the existing forms leave scope for vagueness and reflect the personal prejudices and predilections of the reporting officers with different standards of judgment, making the task of objective appraisal of the relative merit of officers difficult. There is thus considerable scope for improvement.

I agree with Shri Kailash Prakash that a detailed form with suggested alternative answers which can ensure a fairly comprehensive coverage of essential qualities, with provision at the end for general remarks where the reporting officer can convey a broad picture of the total personality of the officer, is preferable to the open form, which can tend to be too cryptic, vague or colourless. However, I cannot agree that a common form is required for all the Services. Indeed a common form is the negation of the concept of specialization in each Service. While the uniform pattern may be broadly adopted, it is essential that modifications as may be found necessary in the context of the requirements of each Service are permitted. This form is to be utilized not merely for comparative appraisal of merit of officers of different Services for selection for the few top posts in the Central Secretariat, but also for their placement and promotion within the cadre. This would necessitate incorporation of different items, which may be significant for one

Service while not for another. Even in the same Service, for field jobs and secretarial jobs, stress may have to be laid on different aspects. This element of flexibility is a pre-requisite for adoption of any detailed pattern.

Further, what is equally necessary is education of the reporting and reviewing officers so that the forms are filled in a manner that can achieve the purpose behind their formulation. It is not the lack of good instructions but the failure to follow the instructions and perhaps inadequate arrangements to ensure that they are followed, that are mainly responsible for the various shortcomings that exist, and unless this is remedied, similar shortcomings may be perpetuated even in the new system.

Shri Kailash Prakash has advocated the removal of the aura of secrecy which surrounds the present confidential form and introduction of a more open system, under which the officer reported upon will have an opportunity to discuss his performance with his superiors. This, it is argued, will enable the officer to know how he fares and where he stands so that he can try to improve himself, which is not possible under the present system, where only adverse entries are communicated, along with the substance of the good portion of the report. In the conditions obtaining in India at present, where there is an unhealthy desire to support one's own subordinates indiscriminately, and follow the line of least resistance rather than invite the odium of disapprobation and representations from subordinates, the "open" system which in theory may sound quite objective and fair, may only undermine the basis of reporting. To avoid recrimination and unhealthy debate, reporting officers may hesitate, all the more, to give their honest appraisal; and there may be a greater surfeit of "outstandings" and "very goods" than we already have today.

While it is necessary that too much premium should not be placed by the Departmental Promotion Committees on the final grading, especially if it is at variance with the assessment of individual items and the substance of the report, it is essential to retain the present feature of a final grading to have an assessment of overall merit. Otherwise, the task of relative evaluation by the Promotion Committees who have to consider a large number of cases would become extremely difficult. The author's intention behind his suggestion for introduction of a new feature, viz., grading at Cadre level is, however, not very clear. Perhaps this is intended to reflect evaluation of the officer in comparison with an average representative at his level of the Cadre. This, however, is taken care of under the present categorization. But it is true that the interpretations of the present gradings are not very precise and the line of demarcation between two consecutive gradings is thin. It may, therefore, be advantageous to define the gradings a little more precisely, say, (1) Outstanding, (2) Very good and above average, (3) Good average officer, (4) Indifferent but just fit for retention in the present post/grade, and (5) Poor and unfit for the post/grade. To this grading in the present assignment can be added what is termed terminal grading on the lines of the U.K. pattern so that the potential worth of the officer, as at present visualized by the reviewing officer, is reflected in the annual appraisal. Besides fitness for promotion to the next grade, the highest level the officer can reach in due course could be indicated in such terminal rank assessment.

The suggestion that a Board of senior officers from both inside and

outside the Service should interview the officer once in every five years can hardly be said to be a feasible proposal. The estimate that in actual practice it will involve interviews of about fifty officers every year, seems to err very much on the side of an under-estimate. The period of five years is a long interval and in between, assessment for promotion may become necessary which will have to rest satisfied with evaluation on the basis of a few reports written without the benefit of an interview and a few after such an interview. Comparative assessment may become more difficult in such circumstances. Supplementing the assessment reflected in the confidential report by an interview by the Departmental Promotion Committee at the stage of promotion has greater merit, as all officers in the zone of consideration will be interviewed and at a time, so as to permit an easy appraisal of relative merit. The Departmental Promotion Committee should also be free to send for individual officers for interview if it considers that the assessment in the report is not adequate or nonconsistent enough to allow of a proper judgment.

To inspire greater confidence in the promotion system and especially the merit system a more effective solution could be provision of an appellate or review agency. Today, while an officer can seek redressal of his grievance against a punitive action in the hierarchy of appeals and reviews provided under the disciplinary rules, there is no opportunity open to him to present his case against denial of promotion. No doubt, promotions and postings are matters strictly of internal management of the Civil Service. There are no strict hard and fast statutory rules laid down governing such promotions. This matter inevitably involves an exercise of discretionary judgment of the worth and merits of an individual officer but the fact remains that the grievance of an officer, real or imaginary, about the working of the Departmental Promotion Committee and its appraisal of relative merit, remains unattended to. An extra-hierarchical agency in the form of a Review Board composed of senior officers of more than one Department from both inside and outside the Services, with a representative of the UPSC, could provide the reference point for aggrieved officers. This would inspire confidence among the employees and also ensure that the work of the Departmental Promotion Committees at the middle and lower levels is done with a larger measure of objectivity. If this Board has to be entrusted the task of review of even the highest appointments made with the approval of the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet, it will have to have an autonomous character.

This proposal may sound a radical innovation requiring amendment of the Constitution, but other countries like U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, have experimented and found similar devices suitable to their indigenous needs and systems. I would advocate establishment of such a Central Personnel Agency rather than the one suggested by Shri Kailash Prakash, *viz.*, a Central Personnel Board for receiving and reviewing the annual assessment reports of officers at the level of Deputy Secretaries and above and charged with the task of locating talent in the various Services. This suggestion seems to lose sight of the existence of a Central Establishment Board which discharges these very functions.

Comparative assessment of career prospects in different Services and inter-service rivalry due to rigid compartmentalization of the career prospects is a subject to which justice can be done only by a detailed examination

which will require an independent article all for itself. However, since the author has commented on it in the context of the promotion system, a passing reference seems called for. There are cadre posts carrying a scale higher than Rs. 1800-2000 or Rs. 2250 in the Class I Central Civil Services. Apart from these cadre posts, there are other ex-cadre posts in scales higher than Rs. 1800-2250, to which members of these services can look forward to, just as they do to posts of Joint Secretaries and Secretaries. The staffing scheme for the latter posts already envisages recruitment from the Class I Central Services.

The present system of stratification of personnel into different Services is based on classification of functions of Government according to specialization, determination of pay scales with reference to the nature of duties and responsibilities and maintenance of a scheme of relativities. The logic of the system can be challenged, its wisdom doubted, and a case made out for common scales for all Services, equalization of promotion prospects and career opportunities, introduction of an element of mobility between Services as against rigid compartmentalization, provision of lateral entry and exit at various levels instead of a closed system or even abolition of the concept of career Services altogether; but all these require a careful assessment of the pros and cons. Before the present edifice is demolished, a more viable and workable alternative must be developed in all its details. A partial tinkering with the problem in the context of one facet, say, merit promotion and manning of secretarial posts, may prove not only inadequate but also hazardous.

Lastly, the proposal to fill 50 per cent of posts (or may be, the reference is to vacancies in posts) on the basis of merit with due regard to seniority and 50 per cent on the basis of merit without regard to seniority is a compromise formula intended to satisfy the justified or unjustified aspirations of the "drudge" and also provide an avenue for the meritorious to rise to the top. For the average plodder, the maximum of the long time scale is the adequate reward. For highest posts, which necessarily have to be selection posts, undue regard to seniority is likely to act as a drag on the efficiency of the Civil Service and thus prove unfair not only to the meritorious but also to the community which is entitled to the most efficient Service at a particular cost. The suggestion to limit the promotions on the basis of "merit" (without regard to seniority) to a percentage of vacancies is not likely to prove desirable or practicable; such an arrangement is likely to invite stronger criticism and allegations of favouritism and nepotism. What is needed is an objective appraisal of merit and a system which not only ensures that appraisal is objective but also that it is seen to be such.

—SMT. R. M. SHROFF

III

No area of personnel management is as crucial for smooth functioning of a personnel unit as its promotion policy; it is also, at the same time, the most difficult aspect of man-management. Direct recruitment—one of the two methods available for staffing a personnel unit—is much easier to

administer. The management can be objective both in laying down the qualifications and other requirements and in actual selection from open market. A promotion situation is somewhat different; subjective elements are likely to come into play as the individuals are known, many a time personally, to the management. Also, promotions have to be made in full view of the probing eyes of candidates themselves, as the qualities and capabilities of individuals in a small group are fairly known. The judgment, therefore, has not only to be right, but also must appear to be right, for keeping up the morale of the organization and the impartiality of the management beyond reproach.

Public services in India have experienced far-reaching changes during the last 30 years or so. The war efforts of the Government in early forties, problems faced just after Independence in late forties, and the impact of successive Five Year Plans, thereafter, have led to fast expansion of almost all cadres and classes of public services. Quite a few new services have been constituted which have expanded and gained respectable size starting from small nuclei. Certain old services, enjoying lower status, have been upgraded and, by now have also become well-established. Besides, the quantitative multiplication, another special feature of this expansion has been a proportionately higher growth nearer the top. Promotions have, consequently, been fast and, not infrequently, a large number of officials occupying low positions just before Independence got caught in the whirl and placed in positions of higher responsibility. This naturally resulted in a very low degree of selectivity. Anyone who was good enough has been able to move up one or more stages. A psychological atmosphere now permeates the services where promotion is considered to be something normal; one often hears that normal expectation in the public services should be one or two promotion chances above the level of entry. This is in complete contrast to the pre-Independence situation when the cadres were stable and the entry grade was considered to be the normal career. The few bright ones could expect to go up by one level and the very exceptional ones by two; the I.C.S. was no exception. It is on this principle that the entire recruitment and promotion system was designed. The long pay scales, which we have inherited and which are held dearly by everyone, high and low, in the services, are career scales, and define the scope of one's assured monetary advancement.

Perhaps, now a situation has again come in the history of Indian bureaucracy when the expansion, as we have been witnessing must slow down, if not come to a halt. The growth now has to assume a functional character and, therefore, will have to be qualitatively different. Presently, the structure of most of the services does not admit of more than 20-25 per cent posts in scales higher than the entry scale. With the retardation of growth, the promotion opportunities must return to their normal level. Inevitably, the cadre authorities have to make a choice between high selectivity and late promotions. If now promotions are to take place at early stages in one's career, as has been happening during the last decade or two, there has to be a high degree of selectivity. Perhaps, there are already clear indications of beginning in this direction which Shri Kailash Prakash mentions in his article. According to him, "There have been many upsets due to the merit criterion and naturally the supersessions have been greatly resented by those affected". There is no hesitation in saying that the Civil Services in India, specially the higher one,

have now to get used to this situation unless some drastic structural changes take place; till then, the normal career expectation of the members of various services have, by definition, to be limited to the career scale of their entry.

At this juncture, therefore, the entire mechanics of promotion including the institutional arrangements, the criterion for promotion, etc., need a close and careful examination. Broadly speaking, there can be two methods to assess an individual for higher positions: (i) evaluation of his performance in the lower positions; and (ii) an assessment of his competence for higher jobs through a written examination or an interview. A written examination is objective and impersonal, but its utility, is limited to the measurement of only such traits which can be reduced to a common denominator. Its results are, therefore, dependable only when selection is made for positions involving duties of repetitive nature. As one goes higher in a hierarchy, the nature of duties and variety of experience become diversified and the qualities necessary for success—maturity of judgment, initiative, etc.—are so prone to elude any attempt to standardization that it is generally agreed that examination results are, more likely than not, erratic and undependable. Examinations can, therefore, be useful only at comparatively lower levels; any plan for a common examination for higher positions, even as a supporting or screening devise, specially if attempt is to cover a large number of services, is likely to be fruitless.

An evaluation of individual's performance in his normal duty posts, therefore, remains the sole criteria for promotion. The Assessment Report has to be both comprehensive as well as objective. Comprehensiveness must not be confused with a drab evenness and cannot be achieved by mere markings of reporting officers on all conceivable points. A well designed report must bring out those qualities of an individual in full relief which make him better qualified for holding positions of higher responsibility. In a research department, the most important qualities are the depth of his knowledge of the relevant field and his facility in using the knowledge for developing new ideas; in an accounts organization comprehension of rules and regulations; and in an executive organization initiative, courage to take decisions and capacity to manage men and affairs. There will be yet some other qualities like, integrity, punctuality, etc., which would be common requirements of the entire Civil Service. In this context, any attempt to standardize assessment for all superior services of the entire Government of India is likely to over-crowd the assessment form with so many details that essentials for individual services may be overwhelmed by the not-so-very-important items. This is not to deny the need to help the memory of the reporting officer and to bring to his notice various factors of personality on which he should comment; but too much conformity is likely to routinize the report writing to such an extent that it may be difficult to get a clear picture of the total personality of an individual. Standardization, solely with a view to have inter-service comparability, strikes at the root of the assessment system whose basic requirement is primarily to assess the suitability of an individual for higher positions within his own field of duties.

So far as objectivity is concerned, the itemization and sophistication are not likely to be very helpful as, in the last analysis, assessment can be only as objective as the reporting officer. The real trouble at present is not the

imperfection of the system as such but its operational breakdown. It is generally felt that reporting officers tend either to be too liberal or too subjective in their assessment. An attempt to perfect the assessment form, to meticulously itemize personality traits and to introduce exactitude by marking system, etc., may really do more harm than good as a mechanical system is amenable to greater misuse than a system requiring a balanced and full picture.

There are, reportedly, large variations in the standard of assessment within the same service and, also, from service to service, which needs attention. A Central Personnel Agency should evolve standards for this purpose; frequency distributions can be worked out for guidance of cadre authority in grading its personnel. For example, theory of probability would point that in any group not more than, say, one officer out of ten can be "outstanding" and at least one out of the ten is bound to be "below average". Of course, the "outstanding" of one group will not be the same as "outstanding" of another and "average" officer of a high selectivity group is likely to be better than the "outstanding" of another low selectivity group. These factors must be taken into account while making inter-service comparisons. It would be worthwhile if the cadre authorities are given frequency distributions, based on statistical probability, of outstanding, very good, good, average and below average for their guidance. Even this system, may result in injustice to some well-deserving individuals if the reporting officers are not objective and are led by factors other than pure merit. Really, the key to all reporting systems is the responsible behaviour of the Reporting Officer and no procedural perfection can be even a partial substitute.

—DR. B. D. SHARMA

IV

In evaluating or establishing an assessment system, the most important question to be answered is: "what is the purpose to be served by this system"? In many European and American schemes, the major purpose is to provide management with data about an employee's performance and behaviour. Because of pressure from unions and, in some instances, because of recommendations from social scientists, a second and also major purpose is to provide information to the employee about his performance. In the States, this second approach has often been called "giving feedback to employees".

The question raised by Shri Prakash's article is the extent to which these two purposes may be effectively combined. First, from management's point of view, what is needed and why? Management needs a method of capturing and recording information about its employees in order that postings and promotions may be effectively made. In the course of years of employment, an employee is typically assigned to different kinds of jobs and serves under several different supervisors. Honest, objective records of each employee's work history are invaluable to management in selecting the best man on a merit basis for assignment to a more responsible or difficult post.

A second point of view is that an employee learns better when he has feedback about his performance. Management would benefit, therefore, from a system which provides regular feedback to employees about their good points and weak ones. This would encourage employees to improve themselves and discourage their bad habits and practices. These two approaches overlap to some extent.

To make a prediction as to how a man will perform in a new post, management should have data on such matters as that man's:

- (1) experience,
- (2) attitudes,
- (3) intelligence,
- (4) work performance,
- (5) personality,
- (6) initiative, and
- (7) ability to get along with others.

Note that from management's point of view in such circumstances, the concern is not so much with changing a man as it is in predicting how well he will perform in the future if he continues to be the same kind of a fellow.

To provide an employee feedback about his work, management should have data on such matters as:

- (1) standards of performance for his job;
- (2) extent to which he met or exceeded the standards;
- (3) behaviour on the job;
- (4) attitude towards work and others; and
- (5) attitude towards supervision.

There is similarity between the two lists, but they are not identical.

The major difference arises from timing. Management needs to accumulate data about an employee for prediction of future performance but such data could be collected periodically and is needed primarily when new assignments are planned. On the other hand, an employee needs feedback on his performance at the time he completes a task. That is, he needs feedback promptly. If he is performing a simple, routine task, he should know at the time he finishes a unit whether it was done correctly or not. If he is performing a complex task, one that takes days or weeks to do, he should be informed as soon after its completion as possible. The need for keeping feedback about performance as close as possible to actual performance has been demonstrated many times in both research studies in the United States and England as well as in empirical observations at the work place.

Accepting the fact that from both management's and the employee's point of view feedback is necessary and important, who should provide timely feedback? The obvious answer is that the immediate supervisor of the employee should be trained to do this and required to do it as part of his job. He should keep his employees fully informed about the extent to which they exceed or fall below acceptable job performance requirements.

Should supervisors who accept this responsibility for feedback also advise employees on personality defects and other matters? If an employee lacks intelligence, is emotionally unstable, lacks a good physical condition, or suffers from personality defects, the typical supervisor is seldom qualified to treat his subordinate. These matters lie in the realm of medicine or psychiatry. These are, however, important matters which should be considered when an employee's qualifications for more responsibility or a higher level post is assessed.

Thus we reach a dilemma: shall we or shall we not tell an employee all that is in official records about him? Long standing traditions in countries, such as India, England and the United States frown on condemnation of a man on secret evidence. Yet, management needs data on capabilities and disabilities which in some cases should not be disclosed since telling a person that he has a disability may make matters worse and is not likely to remedy the problem.

Faced with the need to respect democratic traditions and at the same time to carry out important missions entrusted to him by Government, what is a manager in the public service to do? A good manager is often faced with such difficult decisions. His decision must, in my opinion, be made in terms of the impact that it has upon the organization and the nation. Thus, government may decide that managers can do without personality data on lower-level employees without seriously impairing management's ability to attain assigned missions. Government must face up to the fact that it must have data on all middle and upper level officials in order to determine their assignments and that some of that data should be kept from the rated officer if he is to continue in employment. This will not be a palatable decision to those effected and officers may very well use political methods to force disclosure.

(The views expressed in this comment are my own and not necessarily those of the Ford Foundation or the Indian Institute of Public Administration.)

—ROSS POLLOCK



INSTITUTE NEWS

The Second Conference of Directors and Principals of Institutes of Public Administration in the Commonwealth organized by the Indian Institute of Public Administration was held at New Delhi from January 4 to 9, 1967. It was inaugurated by *Shri M.C. Chagla*, Minister of External Affairs, Government of India.

The Conference, presided by *Dr. C.D. Deshmukh*, Vice-Chancellor, University of Delhi, discussed the problems of interest to Institutes of Public Administration. The first two sessions of the Conference discussed some of the new dimensions of Public Administration. The third and the fourth sessions discussed questions of training all administrators for undertaking newer functions of Government, such as economic development. The fifth session discussed the specific responsibilities of Institutes of Public Administration in the field of training of public administrators, research and administrative problems and consultancy. The Conference also discussed the constitution and set-up of Institutes of Public Administration, the relative advantages and disadvantages of establishing Institutes of Public Administration for training of public officials in the departments concerned, as autonomous bodies or in university departments.

The Conference was attended by Directors and Principals and Senior members of the staff of Institutes of Public Administration in many Commonwealth countries including Great Britain, Northern

Nigeria, Western Nigeria, Kenya, Lasotho, Malawi, Malta, India, Malaysia and Ghana and by representatives of United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, International Social Science Council and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, USAID, Ford and Asia Foundations.

The concluding address of the Conference was addressed by *Shri Asoka Mehta*, Minister of Planning, Petroleum and Chemicals and Social Welfare, Government of India.

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At the invitation of the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration (EROPA), *Dr. J.N. Khosla*, Director of the Institute, and *Dr. Ajit M. Banerjee*, Reader in Public Administration, Indian School of Public Administration, attended its Fourth General Assembly and 10th and 11th Executive Council Meetings from December 7 to 14, 1966, in Teheran, Iran. They also attended a Seminar on "Administration of Social Development" which was convened by the EROPA.

The Director also attended the Conference of the International Union of Local Authorities, held in Bangkok from February 6 to 11, 1967.

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Prof. Ross Pollock, Assistant Director, Office of Career Development,

U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, has joined the Institute as an expert on "Personnel Administration" under the new Ford Foundation Grant to help the Institute in its work for the Administrative Reforms Commission.

Dr. V. Subramaniam formerly of the National University of Australia also joined the Indian School of Public Administration on January 28, 1967 as Professor of Public Administration.

Prof. Edwin A. Bock, President, U.S. Inter-University Case Programme, has joined the Institute in February 1967 for 2 months to assist the Institute in its case studies.

Dr. S. Subbaramaiah, who has recently joined ISPA as Reader in Economic Policy and Administration, has been assigned a study on "Union-State and Inter-State Relations in Multi-Purpose River Valley Projects".

Dr. Ajit M. Banerjee, Reader in Public Administration, ISPA, has been assigned a study on "Commitment of Civil Servants to Organizational Objectives—Role of In-Service Training Programmes". *Dr. Harry Seymour*, Ford Foundation Consultant, is helping in this study.

Shri N.H. Athreya, Director, Modern Management Counsel, Bombay, has joined the Institute as a part-time Project Director for a study financed by the new Ford Foundation Grant on "Communication to and Application by Industry of researches of scientific Institutions".

Shri G. Mukharji, I.A.S. (Retd.), formerly Joint Secretary in the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, and presently Chairman, U.P. Housing and Development Board, has agreed to conduct some research studies, including one on "Career Planning

and Placement of Senior Officers at the Centre and in States". These studies are being financed out of the new Ford Foundation Grant.

Shri M.M. Kohli, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, Government of India, has joined the Institute as Project Director for a study on "Job Classification".

Dr. A. P. Barnabas, Reader in Sociology and Social Administration, ISPA, left for Ceylon on 1st January, 1967. He will work there as Rural Sociologist on a Food and Agriculture Organization (U.N.) assignment for a period of six months.

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Under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration *H.E. Mr. John Freeman*, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in India delivered a lecture on "The Public Administrator and the Public" on November 22, 1966. *Dr. H.N. Kunzru* presided.

Prof. A.H. Hanson initiated a discussion on "Indian Planning—Lessons for the Future" at the Institute on February 13, 1967. *Dr. C.D. Deshmukh* presided over the Seminar.

Mrs. Thelma A. Hunter, Lecturer in Indian Government, School of General Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, delivered a series of two lectures in the School on December 12 and 13 on "Health Insurance in Australia" and "The Role of the Medical Profession in Health Insurance" respectively.

Lady Ursula Hicks of Nuffield College, Oxford (U.K.) gave a seminar on "The Application of Programme and Performance Budgeting to Traditional (British) Budget Practices" at the Institute on January

16, 1967. Prof. Sir John Hicks also participated in the Seminar.

Mr. Charles Curran, Director of External Broadcasting, British Broadcasting Corporation, delivered a lecture on "Running the British Broadcasting Corporation—The Functions of the Board of Governors and the Responsibilities of the Directors" on March 8, 1967 at IIPA. Shri A.K. Chanda presided.

Prof. Vladimir Kadlec, Rector of the Economics Institute at Prague, initiated discussion in a Seminar on "Czechoslovak Planning" on March 10, 1967 in the Institute. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao presided over the Seminar.

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Mr. V. Ingadoo, Education Minister of Mauritius Island visited the Institute on January 25, 1967. He discussed the role of Public Administration in National Development with the members of the

Faculty and Senior Research Staff of the Institute.

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The Government of Assam has recognized the Master's Diploma in Public Administration awarded by Indian School of Public Administration, as equivalent to Master's Degree in Public Administration of a recognized university for purposes of appointment to services and posts under the State Government.

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Sixth Appreciation Course on "Techniques of Administrative Improvement" was inaugurated on March 6, 1967 at the Institute by Shri D.L. Mazumdar, Director, India International Centre. The Course has been organized by the Indian School of Public Administration in Co-operation with the Department of Administrative Reforms, Union Ministry of Home Affairs. The course will continue up to April 29, 1967.



RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The country went to the polls in Jan.-Feb., 1967. Consequent on the results of polls new Ministries were formed in all the seventeen States and at the Centre. In Rajasthan for want of a clear majority by any party or group of parties, President's Rule had to be introduced and under a proclamation issued by the President, Assembly was suspended with effect from March 13, 1967. In the States of Haryana and U.P. the Ministries originally formed resigned and new Ministries were formed. A sequel to the verdict of the poll and the return of opposition parties in larger numbers, was that the lame duck session of the Third Lok Sabha which was scheduled to be held from March 13, 1967 was cancelled and the new Lok Sabha was summoned instead. Similar procedure was followed in States. Another significant change was the revival of the post of Deputy Prime Minister which was held by Shri Vallabh Bhai Patel during August 1947 to December 1950. These are some of the more significant developments which occurred in the wider field of Government and Politics in India and which have portents of changes in administrative field in future, particularly in the field of Union-State relations. We may now note a few purely administrative developments in the quarter.

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Of the various Study Teams appointed by the Administrative Reforms Commission, the following submitted their reports to the Commission: (1) Study Team on District Administration (Chairman:

Shri Takhat Mal Jain), (2) Study Team on Relations between Press and Administration (Chairman: Shri K. Santhanam), (3) Study Team on Machinery of Government (Chairman: Late Shri S. G. Barve), and (4) Study Team on Machinery of Planning (Chairman: Shri R. R. Morarka). The remaining Study Teams are expected to submit their reports during the course of next month.

Departmentally also some attempts were made to reform administration. For instance, the Government of India set up the Police Research Advisory Council in December 1966 with the Director (CB) as its Chairman, to guide the activities of the Research Unit of the Central Bureau of Investigation, and to make available to it the advice of knowledgeable persons in the field of criminology, law enforcement, police training and organization, police equipment, and other branches of police science. The Council will also consider the policy and programmes of police research, give guidance in the co-ordination of such activities, render advice on matters involving methodology and techniques of research, review the progress made from time to time and suggest further measures for the pursuit of such research.

At the State level, the Administrative Re-organization and Economy Committee constituted by the Government of Kerala in October 1965, under the chairmanship of Shri M. K. Vellodi, to study the question of bringing down

administrative expenditures and to formulate measures with a view to achieving efficiency in administration, has submitted its report to the State Government. (The digest of the Report appears on p. 155).

* * *

In the matter of Administrative Re-organization the most recent developments both at the Centre and in the States were the regrouping of Ministries. At the Centre by a Revised Allocation of Business some of the Ministries were regrouped. The newly grouped Ministries are: (1) Ministry of Industrial Development and Company Affairs, (2) Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, (3) Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, (4) Ministry of Planning; Petroleum & Chemicals and Social Welfare, (5) Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications, (6) Ministry of Transport and Shipping, and (7) Ministry of Steel, Miners and Metals. Earlier a major decision taken by the Government of India was to create a federal type of Government in Assam bearing in mind the geography and the imperative needs of security and co-ordinated development of the region as a whole. A federal structure, composed of federating units having equal status, not subordinate to one another, would provide the basis for this re-organization. Under this arrangement, a limited number of essential subjects of common interest would be assigned to the regional federation, leaving the rest of the State functions to the federating units, which will have their own legislative assemblies, councils of ministers, etc.

At the State level, the Government of Assam created a new administrative division putting the two adjacent districts of Cachar and Mizo Hills under the charge of

a third Commissioner. Previously there were only two Divisions, i.e., the Hills Division comprising of four districts, (i.e., United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and Mizo Hills) and the Plains Divisions comprising of seven districts (i.e., Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgaon, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Cachar) under two Divisional Commissioners.

The Government of Assam also decided to further develop Hill areas. For this 2 new P.W.D. Road and Buildings Devisions, 1 Mechanical Division, and 12 Sub-divisions with full complement of both technical and non-technical staff were started. Separate Departments for soil conservation, industries, technical education, general education, health, public health, engineering, community development, animal husbandry, agriculture, co-operation with full complement of technical and non-technical staff are being set up under the overall control of the Development Commissioner (Hill Areas) were also started (to undertake the development activities of the Hill Areas of the State).

The Government of Mysore reorganized the Agriculture Department on the lines of the recently modernized co-operation Department. In the new set-up, there will be seven Joint Directors of Agriculture, instead of the present five. The existing posts of four Regional Deputy Directors have been shifted to the district level. There will be four Divisional Engineers instead of two at present.

At the District Level, the post of District Agricultural Officers (Class I, junior scale) is being upgraded to that of the Deputy Director of Agriculture. The post of

District Agricultural Officer is shifted to the sub-divisional level.

Each Deputy Director will have the help of four technicians for Plant Protection, Mature Development, Seed Development, and Agricultural Engineering. The Deputy Director of Agriculture, will be the sole representative of the department in the district and will supervise the work of Assistant Directors who will be in charge of Taluks.

At the sub-divisional level, there will be 36 Agricultural sub-divisions covering 16 districts (Coorg, Chickmagalur and Bidar excluded). The Officer-in-charge is designated as Assistant Director of Agriculture.

* * *

While no further measures towards economy or efficiency were formally announced at the Center, at the State level some measures in this direction were taken.

The Government of Assam announced the following decisions: (1) Except for certain unavoidable expenditures, such as expenditures on account of national calamity, urgent law and order matters, inescapable expenditure on account of revision, if any, and T.A., etc., all Government Departments were instructed not to ask for supplementary demand for non-plan expenditure; (2) All administrative departments and heads of departments were advised to refrain from exercising powers of reappropriation delegated to them without prior consultation with the Finance Department; (3) Specific prior approval of the Finance Department was made essential for filling any sanctioned post in the non-plan budget remaining vacant as on August 11, 1966; (4) Rigid control over tours outside the State and Secretaries of

Departments ensuring that unnecessary tours are avoided by all officers; and (5) Non-plan expenditures on State Entertainments, Seminars, Conferences, Exhibitions, etc., should be reduced to the absolute minimum.

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir took various steps to effect a saving of about Rs. 1 crore as part of the State's economy drive: No new posts of inferior servants, numbering at present over 12,000 out of the total employees strength of 75,000 would be created, apart from not filling in of the sanctioned posts lying vacant for the past one year nor undertaking non-plan building works not taken in hand so far. The Government has already imposed a cut of 10 per cent in the contingent expenditure.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the High Power Committee for Economy in Administrative Re-organization, the Government of Madras decided to affect a cut of 7.5 per cent in the clerical strength of all officers in the State. The total number of clerks and assistants likely to be rendered surplus because of the cut is estimated at 1,200. Only such of those surplus hands appointed after October 1, 1965, will be retrenched while the rest would be continued and absorbed against future vacancies.

* * *

The formation of new Government showed in several states a resurgence of the anti-corruption drive. The Orissa Government has decided to constitute an Enquiry Commission to go into the charges of corruption against ministers and officials of the state during 1961 to Feb. 1967. Similarly, State Governments of Bihar and West Bengal have also decided to appoint such Commissions. The Government of

Punjab has also decided that removal of corruption will be its first priority.

As part of operational measures, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has instructed all Heads of Departments that should they see that in cases of serious irregularities, especially having financial implications, the date of retirement of the officials connected with the cases should invariably be brought to the notice of the Government or the concerned authorities, so that the responsibility of the officials in such cases may be determined well in advance before the date of actual retirement or before they leave Government service. The State Government has also directed that allowing the Government servants who are involved in cases of corruption, embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, to retire without instituting disciplinary proceedings will be viewed seriously and disciplinary action taken against persons responsible for the retirement of such persons.

In order to ensure that suspension is not resorted to for simple reasons in contravention of the rules on the subject, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has also decided that where the reinstating authority held that the suspension of the employee was wholly unjustified and it was made in order that for the period of suspension the employee concerned be paid full pay and allowances, proceedings should be instituted against the officer who suspended the employees and the question of recovering from the pay of such officer the whole or part of the pecuniary loss caused to Government due to payment of pay or allowances under F.R. 54, should be considered.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has, in respect of

Government servants who on being prosecuted for criminal misconduct are acquitted by the trial court or the appellate court, issued instructions to all appointing authorities that there is no constitutional bar to the departmental enquiry being held on the same facts on the termination of a criminal proceeding in favour of the delinquent Government servant.

* * * *

The Posts and Telegraphs Department has set up the first departmental council under the joint consultative machinery for Central Government employees. The new joint consultative machinery, which enjoins on parties well-defined time limits to reach an agreement, would supplement the existing arrangements and provide for expeditious decision.

Another notable development in the personnel field was the decision given by the Supreme Court in the matter of Seniority of Direct Recruitment *vis-a-vis* promotee Income Tax Officers. While partly allowing an appeal by Shri S.G. Jaishinghani and the writ petition by Shri Mohan Chandra Joshi and Shri J.P. Malhotra the Supreme Court of India held on 22nd Feb., 1967 that quota rule prescribed by the Government of India for recruitment of officers to Income-tax Service Class I, Grade II partly by direct recruitment and partly by departmental promotion was binding upon the Government. The Court upheld the constitutional validity of Rule I(f) (iii) and (iv) of the seniority rules holding that they were based on reasonable classification and did not offend the guarantee of Articles 14 and 16 (i) of the Constitution. The Government have now been ordered by the Court to prepare the fresh seniority list after adjusting the recruitment for the period 1951-1956 and onwards in accordance

with the quota rules prescribed by the Government.

At the State level the *Kerala* Government enhanced the maximum age limit for entry into public service. The maximum age limit for direct recruitment to all technical and non-technical posts (except last grade) will be raised by one year in 1967 by two years in 1968 and by three years in 1969, with the usual relaxation for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes.

In Uttar Pradesh, the Police personnel witnessed a major reorganization of their cadres. With a view to ensuring that the whole Police Department comprising of the Force and the ministerial staff works as a disciplined unit, the entire ministerial staff of the Department has been converted into a cadre of the Police Force named as Ministerial Cadre of U.P. Police Force with the ranks of Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Assistant-Sub-Inspectors, and Constables. This Cadre will comprise of 2 Sub-Cadres, viz., Police HQ Cadre and the District Executive Force Cadre. The PHQ Cadre is to consist of the staff in Police Headquarters, C.I.D. and Intelligence Departments, whereas the D.E.F. Cadre will have in its fold the staff of the Police Offices in districts, as well as P.C.C., Central Stores, P.M.T. Workshop, Radio Section, G.R.P. HQ and G.R.P. Sections. This new Cadre will henceforth be subject to the various rules, regulations and orders under the Police Act in respect of restrictions, liabilities, penalties, privileges and facilities.

Perhaps the most predominant development affecting public personnel in India during the quarter was the large scale revision in pay scales by the State Governments.

Earlier it will be recalled that Government employees in several States had prolonged agitation for revision of their pay scales, etc.

The Government of Haryana announced additional DA to its 96,000 employees at the following rates: Basic salary up to Rs. 50—10.00 p.m., between Rs. 51 to Rs. 300—Rs. 12.50 p.m., between Rs. 301 to 500—Rs. 15.00 p.m., between Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000—Rs. 20.00 p.m.

The Himachal Pradesh Government has granted additional dearness allowance to its employees tagged with Punjab Scales from January 1, 1967. Employees drawing basic salary up to Rs. 50 will get an additional DA of Rs. 10 per month. Those drawing a basic salary between Rs. 51-301 will get additional DA of Rs. 12.50 p.m. Those drawing Rs. 301-500 will get Rs. 15.00 and those between Rs. 500-1000 will get Rs. 20.00. This will also apply to police personnel at their basic salary (inclusive of the element of DA included in their consolidated pay grades sanctioned on the basic Panjab pay scales.

The Government of Jammu & Kashmir has decided to give increased dearness allowance of Rs. 30 to its employees drawing pay up to Rs. 200 a month. Those drawing pay between Rs. 201 and Rs. 400, and those between Rs. 401 and Rs. 1000 will get Rs. 29 and Rs. 20 respectively as dearness allowance. The Government had earlier enhanced the DA for its employees at the rate of Rs. 10 and Rs. 8 for those drawing pay up to Rs. 200 and those drawing pay between Rs. 201 and Rs. 400 respectively. Village chowkidars will get an additional allowance of Rs. 10.

The Government of Kerala

revised the scales of pay of their staff to equate the Government of Kerala earlier issued orders to revise pay scales of private college teachers as recommended by the University Grants Commission from April 1, 1966.

The Government of Kerala also appointed a Single-Member Commission under *Shri K.T. Koshi*, retired Chief Justice of Kerala, to examine and report on the whole-time state government employees including those borne on contingent and work establishments and staff in aided schools in the different pay ranges with effect from 1st January, 1967.

The Government of Madras has decided to revise the rates of dearness allowance of Government employees on pay below Rs. 1000 as shown below:

Pay Group	Existing Rates of DA of Now DA proposed	DA	DA
1	2	3	
Up to Rs. 89	..	38	47
Rs. 90 to Rs. 149	..	59	70
Rs. 150 to Rs. 209	..	76	90
Rs. 210 to Rs. 399	..	93	110
Rs. 400 and above but below Rs. 1000	100		120

There will be no change in rates of DA of employees getting Rs. 1,000 and above.

The Government of Maharashtra has enhanced the dearness allowance of its employees with effect from July 1, 1966, as follows: Rs. 38 up to Rs. 109; Rs. 52 for pay between Rs. 110 and 149; Rs. 70 for pay between Rs. 150 and 209; Rs. 84 for pay between Rs. 210 and 399; Rs. 89 for pay between Rs. 400 and 749;

Rs. 91 for pay between Rs. 750 and 1080; in the scale of Rs. 1081-1091, Rs. 80 or such higher amount as would make the total of pay plus dearness allowance equal to Rs. 1171; Rs. 90 for pay between Rs. 1091-1134; and in the scale of Rs. 1135-1213, such amount as would make the total of pay plus dearness allowance equal to Rs. 1214.

The Government of Orissa has constituted a State Pay Commission, under the chairmanship of Shri B.C. Das, Vigilance Commissioner, to review and revise the scales of pay, allowances, etc., of the State employees in view of the increased cost of living. The Committee will: (1) undertake a comprehensive review of the structure of pay scales of various categories of State Government employees and make recommendations for its rationalization of suitable revision; (2) examine the scales of dearness allowance admissible to the State Government employees and to make recommendations regarding revision of these scales; (3) consider impact of its recommendations in respect of (1) and (2) above on the employees of local bodies and educational institutions aided by the State Government and recommend a complementary structure of scales of pay and dearness allowance for them; (4) recommend the nature and quantum of financial assistance, if any, which the State Government should give to the local bodies and aided educational institutions to enable them to meet expenditure on pay and allowances of their employees; (5) examine the rates of House Rent Allowance and Compensatory (City) Allowance sanctioned by the Government of India to its employees and to make recommendations regarding sanction of such allowances to State Government employees stationed in expensive localities; and (6) examine the

existing system of grant of Special Pay and Deputation Allowance to State Government employees and to make recommendations regarding its modifications. Meanwhile the Government of Orissa decided to give to all categories of State Government employees DA at substantially increased rates from January 1, 1967.

The Government of Punjab has decided to revise the scales of pay of the Provincial Civil Service (executive as well as judicial). The new grades are : Rs. 350-1000 and Rs. 1100-1300 instead of Rs. 300-850 and Rs. 900-1100. The Government of Punjab also raised the DA of Government employees from January 1, 1967. The rates of additional DA are: Basic pay up to Rs. 50—Rs. 10.00 p.m., between Rs. 51 to Rs. 300—Rs. 12.50 p.m., between Rs. 301 to Rs. 500—Rs. 15.00 p.m., Rs. 501 to 1000—Rs. 20.00 p.m.

The Rajasthan Government decided to appoint One-Man Commission to examine the question of dearness allowance according to rising prices, needs of developing economy, financial resources of the State, etc., Shri V.V. Narlikar, former Chairman of Rajasthan Public Service Commission, has been requested to head it. Meanwhile the Government gave an *ad hoc* increase of DA to Government employees from January 1, 1967. The rates of this additional DA are: Those drawing below Rs. 70.00—Rs. 12.00 p.m., Rs. 70 to Rs. 109—Rs. 6 p.m., Rs. 110 to Rs. 149—Rs. 20.00 p.m., Rs. 150 to Rs. 209—Rs. 21.00 p.m., Rs. 400 to Rs. 999—Rs. 24.00 p.m., and Rs. 1000 and above—Rs. 44.00 p.m.

The Government of West Bengal decided that with effect from January 1, 1967 the whole-time

Government servants drawing pay as indicated below shall draw dearness allowance at the following rates: (1) Rs. 30 up to Rs. 124; (2) Rs. 37.50, in the pay slab of Rs. 125-Rs. 150; (3) Rs. 50.50 for the pay slab of Rs. 151-Rs. 300; and (4) Rs. 65.00 for the pay slab of Rs. 301-Rs. 1000.

* * *

The National Council set up under the scheme for Joint Consultative Machinery for Central Government Employees decided to liberalize the existing leave and travel concessions for the employees to the extent that in the future the full actual fare is to be reimbursed instead of 90 per cent as at present for travel beyond the 400 kilometres. The National Council has also decided to remove some of the existing restrictions on the quantum of hospital leave which were there on non-railway employees. Besides this some concessions in the grant of House Rent Allowance were also agreed upon.

At the State level in pursuance of the recommendations of the Pay Committee, the Government of Assam decided to offer travel concession once in 2 years to Government servants and their families (definition of family as admissible under the T.A. Rules) belonging to the Regular establishments completing one year service and whose houses are within the State of Assam and located beyond 200 kms. distance from their Headquarters.

A move seemingly in opposite direction was made by the Government of Gujarat when it restricted the grant of House Rent Allowance in all cases to the expenditure actually incurred by a Government servant less than the sum equal to 7½ per cent

or 10 per cent of his emoluments, as may be applicable to him. The element of Dearness Allowance will also be taken into account for the purpose of Recovery of House Rent Allowance.

The Government of West Bengal has decided that the benefit of Compensatory House Rent Allowance Order applicable to Government servants serving in Calcutta and Howrah should be extended to all Government servants in West Bengal working outside Calcutta and Howrah areas subject to condition that the allowance will not be admissible to Government servants drawing pay above Rs. 300 per month. It has also been decided that any Government servant drawing pay up to Rs. 300 per month, paying rent for accommodation either for exclusive occupation or jointly with other tenants (whether in Government service or not) will not be required to produce any certificate subject to the condition that he pays rent or contributes towards rent or house or property tax but without reference to the amount actually paid or contributed.

* * *

The Government of India has decided to give more concessions in respect of ordinary family pension of defence service officers. Now ordinarily family pension payable to officer's widow, will be assessed on the paid acting rank held by him on the date of death provided that he had rendered not less than 2 years continuous service in that rank. Where an officer at the time of death was holding acting rank more than one step higher than his substantive ranks, the benefit of acting rank would be assessed on the highest paid acting rank held for at least 2 years.

The Government of India has

further decided to grant ex-gratia pensions to railway employees who retired before April 1, 1957, that is, before the introduction of the Pension Scheme on the Railways. The ex-gratia pension will be granted to employees, who retired after completion of 20 years continuous service and are still alive, at the rate of Rs. 15 per mensem for those whose pay at the time of retirement was Rs. 80 or less; Rs. 17.50 p.m. for those whose pay was above Rs. 80 and up to Rs. 130; Rs. 20.00 p.m. for those whose pay was above Rs. 130 and up to Rs. 200; and Rs. 22.50 p.m. for those whose pay was above Rs. 200 and up to Rs. 500.

At the State level the Government of Andhra Pradesh decided to discontinue the present system of cash payment of pensions at the various Disbursing Offices in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Pensions now will be paid by both the pension payment offices at Motigalli and Secunderabad.

With a view to eliminating delays in payment of pensions which occur at present owing to the need to make references to a multiplicity of officers for verification of previous service, etc., the Government of Maharashtra has simplified the rules and procedure for the disposal of pension cases. The pension papers of Gazetted officers, both permanent and officiating, who retire on or after the 1st January, 1967, would henceforth be initially prepared by the Accountant General, Maharashtra, Bombay or the Senior Deputy instead of by the concerned departments or offices. In the case of non-Gazetted Government servants retiring on or after 1st November, 1966, the authority competent to sanction pension is required to authorise under intimation to the

Accountant General, a provisional pension including gratuity (death-cum-retirement gratuity) up to 76 per cent of the amount calculated by it as due to the retiring Government servant. Such payment of pension should continue up to a period of six months from the date of retirement or till the finalization of the pension cases in the Audit office, whichever is earlier. Where the pension cases cannot be finalized within six months, the provisional payment may be continued only on a specific authority from the Accountant General or the Senior Deputy Accountant General, as the case may be.

* * *

The Government of India set up a National Commission on Labour, under the chairmanship of *Shri P.B. Gajendragadkar*. The terms of reference of the Commission will be as follows: (1) to review the changes in conditions of labour since Independence and to report on existing conditions of labour. (2) to review the existing legislative and other provisions intended to protect the interest of labour, to assess their working and to advise how far these provisions serve to implement the Directive principles of State Policy in the Constitution on labour matters and the national objectives of establishing a socialist society and achieving planned economic development. (3) to study and report in particular on: (i) levels of worker's earnings, provisions relating to wages, need for fixation of minimum wages including a national minimum wage, means of increasing productivity including provision of incentives to workers; (ii) standard of living and health, efficiency, safety, welfare, housing, training and education of workers and the existing arrangements for administration of labour welfare—

both at the Centre and in the States; (iii) the existing arrangements for social security; (iv) the state of relations between employers' organizations in promoting healthy industrial relations and the interests of the nation; (v) labour laws and voluntary arrangements like the code of discipline, joint management councils, voluntary arbitration and wage boards and the machinery at the Centre and in the States for their enforcement; (vi) measures for improving conditions of rural labour and other categories of unorganized labour; and (vii) existing arrangements for labour intelligence and research.

* * *

The Government of India has decided to constitute a High Power Committee, under the chairmanship of Secretary, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation, to go into the programmes of the main export-oriented agricultural commodities including raw jute, raw cotton, tea, tobacco and oil seeds. The terms of reference of the Committee are: (1) to work out in detail the various programmes for development of production of the principal export-oriented agricultural commodities on the lines envisaged in the Fourth Five Year Plan; (2) to suggest from time to time the various measures required to be taken to achieve the production targets laid down for such commodities in the Plan; (3) to generally supervise the implementation of those priorities and programmes so as to ensure their smooth and timely fulfilment.

* * *

The Government of India further set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri P.C. Barooa*, Member, Lok Sabha, for undertaking

a comprehensive review of the economic conditions and problems of the tea industry in all its aspects and to make recommendations regarding the measures required to be taken for its appropriate development on the right lines during the Fourth Plan Period. In particular, the Committee shall look into: (a) the question of devising ways and means for the quantitative as well as qualitative increase in production (such as, through expansion of acreage and improvement of yields per hectare) to levels required to meet the rising demand for consumption whether at home or abroad; (b) the urgent problems of marketing, financing and research that are facing the industry and which may be standing in the way of its appropriate development; and (c) any other aspect which, in the Committee's opinion, is germane to the broad purpose of this enquiry.

At the instance of the Government of India, a joint committee of the councils of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India and the Institute of Costs and Works Accountants of India has been set up, under the chairmanship of *Shri G.P. Kapadia*, to consider the scope and structure of the profession of accountancy in India.

The Government of India has set up an 8-member Standing Technical Committee under the Chairmanship of *Dr. Ashok Mitra* to advise on the technical aspects of the scheme for collection of data on cost of production of sugarcane and other crops, for building up index of imput costs and organizing cost of production surveys on an integrated basis.

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Study Team, headed by *Shri Harish Chandra Mathur*, Member of Parliament, a Public

Relations Committee has been set up in the office of the Chief Controller of Imports & Exports. The Committee will be a consultative body and its functions will be to suggest measures for improvement in the public relations policy of the import and export Trade Control Organization.

The Government of Bihar has constituted a Bihar State Programme Board, with Commissioner of Mines and Geology as Chairman, to prepare the annual programmes of investigation in accordance with the scheme of priorities within the framework of national and State Plans of development. The terms of reference of the Board are as follows: (1) To suggest ways and means to make optimum use of the manual and material resources of the State for exploration and utilization of the material wealth with special regard to avoidance of duplication or overlapping of efforts by the various agencies engaged in the field. (2) To advise on the investigation of minerals related to development plans of the State subject to the availability of men and equipments, particularly in regard to coal from ore, manganese, bauxite limestone, etc. (3) To take note of the development tasks specially entrusted to Mineral Development tasks specially entrusted to Mineral Development Corporation in the public and private sectors. (4) To review and advise the Government on various steps which would lead to speedier exploration of various minerals.

The Government of Maharashtra has appointed a Forest Advisory Committee, with the Minister for Forests as Chairman to advise Government on all matters concerning the forest policy of the State, fixation of annual targets of achievement and such other issues (like grazing policy, the development of forest

industries, etc.) as might be placed before it by Government from time to time.

The Government of Maharashtra has decided to create a Central Pool of Machinery for large projects with effect from April 1, 1967. The Machinery comprising 32 specified categories existing under the various projects at present will belong to the Central Pool. The Machinery will be brought to the books (at the depreciated value) of the Mechanical Organization which will administer the Central Pool.

The erstwhile Punjab Legislative Assembly formed a Committee on Public Undertakings to examine whether the affairs of public undertakings were being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practice. The Committee will examine the functioning of the following and, in addition, such other public undertakings the affairs of which are referred to it by the Chairman for examination: the Punjab State Electricity Board, Punjab State Financial Corporation, Punjab State Warehousing Corporation, Punjab Export Corporation, Punjab State Small Industries Corporation, Punjab Dairy Development Corporation, Punjab Poultry Corporation, Land Development and Seed Corporation, Industrial Development Corporation and Agro-Industrial Corporation.

* * *

A major event in the Local Self-Government of the country was the presentation of its report by the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee appointed by the Government of India sometime ago. The Committee has recommended the setting up of a municipal finance corporation to meet the capital requirements of urban local bodies in providing public

services. The proposed corporation should have an authorized capital of Rs. 10 crores to be subscribed by the Government of India, the Reserve and State Banks of India, LIC, commercial banks and other financial institutions as well as local bodies. The corporation should be run on commercial lines and should have the power to issue debentures and raise market loans under the guarantee of the Union Government. The Committee has further recommended changes in the property tax with a statutory minimum rate of ten per cent of the annual rental value of the property as general house tax, two per cent lighting tax and five per cent each for water and sewerage. Property tax is a stable and elastic source of revenue which must be fully exploited to augment municipal finances. Vacant lands in municipal areas should also be assessed for the payment of property tax as unbuilt sites not only deprive the municipal bodies of legitimate revenues but also accentuate shortage of accommodation.

The Committee has called for the abolition of octroi and terminal taxes and emphasized that the loss should be made up by allocation of the proceeds of the entertainment and motor vehicles taxes to the local bodies. It has also urged that the distribution of Rs. 15 crores which the railways make over to State Government is in lieu of the tax on passengers among local bodies.

The Committee has suggested setting up of municipal finance commissions by the States every five years to review the finances of local bodies periodically.

While noting that inefficiency on the part of several local authorities has shaken public confidence in them, the Committee urges that

the State Governments should strengthen the organizational and administrative set-up of the bodies and allocate to them adequate resources.

The Committee has also deprecated the tendency on the part of State Governments to take over more and more local functions and suggested that the statute on local bodies should set out both obligatory and discretionary functions for them. Local bodies should not be made to look to the State Government for aid. Certain taxes and duties should be reserved exclusively for them.

The Committee has urged changes in the law and policies to tackle the problems of urban growth, such as congestion, slums and speculation in land and to bring about synchronized rural-urban development. One way of meeting the urban explosion is to disperse employment opportunities by locating new industrial and development projects in less developed areas.

* * *

Of special interest to Metropolitan bodies was the Government of India's decision to re-constitute the High Power Board for the implementation of the Master Plan for the Delhi Metropolitan regions. The functions of the reconstituted Board are: (1) to ensure that co-ordinated Plans are prepared for the Metropolitan area (including the Ring Towns) and, if necessary, also for the National Capital Region, though the agencies under the administrative control of each of the participating Governments; (2) to ensure provision of adequate funds for the preparation and implementation of the plans on a phased and integrated basis so that the development is balanced over the whole

area on the basis of the accepted proposals in the plan or plans; (3) to guide the various agencies for the implementation of the plans in the different areas; and (4) to consider any proposals that may come up from time to time from the various planning agencies according to changing needs and circumstances.

* * *

In the field of Educational Administration at the State level, the Government of Maharashtra constituted a High Power Committee, under the chairmanship of Minister for Agriculture, for taking decisions on all matters relating to the establishment of the Agricultural University in Maharashtra State. The Government of Maharashtra also set up a State Board of Teachers' Education, with the Director of Education as *ex officio* Chairman, for achieving an integrated planning and development of teacher-training programmes at all levels within the State. The functions of the Board are: to prepare periodical plans and detailed programmes for the development of teacher-education at different levels and to recommend them to Government/Universities as the case may be for adoption as also to supervise the implementation of such programmes as are approved and adopted by Government; to prescribe the standards of attainment in teacher-education; to organize regular inspections of teacher-education institutions at all levels and to exercise supervision over their work; to prepare the curricula and detailed syllabi for pre-service and in-service training programmes for all the categories of educational workers, such as teachers, heads of institutions, inspectors, etc., to institute diplomas and certificates in different areas of knowledge and professional skills for educational workers and to award such certificates.

and diplomas under the auspices of the Education Departments; to recommend rules for grant-in-aid to training institutions, etc. The Board may also set up panels for the inspection of teacher training institutions at all levels.

* * *

The Union Ministry of Health and Family Planning have constituted the following five Committees to co-ordinate and guide the preparation and effective use of various media for supporting the Family Planning Programme: (i) Family Planning Mass Education Co-ordination Committee (Secretary, Union Ministry of Health and Family Planning as Chairman), (ii) Radio and Television Committee (Dy. Director General of All India Radio as Chairman), (iii) Films Committee [Chief Advisor (Films Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting as Chairman)], (iv) Field Publicity Committee (Director of Field Publicity, Union Ministry of I & B as Chairman), and (v) Printed Material and Press Committee (Principal Information Officer, Union Ministry of I & B as Chairman).

* * *

The Chanda Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media presented its Secnd report on Press Information and Publicity suggested that the Press Information Bureau should be organised to provide greater facilities and more services to regional and language newspapers. It must provide factual information faithfully and operate with moderation and judgment to avoid being looked upon as a vehicle of propaganda. (A selective digest of the report appears on p. 169 of this issue.)

* * *

The Committee on Social Science Research, headed by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Member, Planning

Commission, has, in its report submitted to the Government of India, recommended the setting up of a central organization in the form of a Council for Social Science Research in the country. The Council should be responsible for promoting, stimulating and assisting research in social science, bringing, collaboration between social scientists belonging to different disciplines; provide technical guidance in the designing and conduct of research in social sciences and arranging documentation and other facilities for developing social science research in the universities and colleges, research institutes and organizations set up by the Government for studies in social sciences. The Council should also provide financial support to institutions engaged in social science research which are not eligible for financial assistance from the University Grants Commission.

* * *

Not as one which could be said part of the public administration development but which will certainly vitally affect the public administration in India is the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the matter of fundamental rights. The Supreme Court delivered on February 27, 1967, an epoch-making judgment to the effect that Parliament has no power to take away or abridge any of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution by the process of Constitutional amendments. These rights have been given a transcendental position and kept beyond the reach of Parliamentary legislation.

Giving the judgment for himself and four other judges, the Chief Justice rules as follows:

"1. The Power of Parliament to amend the Constitution is

derived from Articles 245, 246 and 248 of the Constitution and not from Article 368, which only deals with procedure. Amendment is a legislative process.

2. Amendment is 'law' within the meaning of Article 13 of the Constitution and, therefore, if it takes away or abridges the rights conferred by Part III governing fundamental rights, it is void.

3. The Constitution (First Amendment) Act 1951, Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act 1955 and the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Act 1964 abridge the scope of fundamental rights. But on the basis of earlier decisions of the Court, they were valid.

4. On the application of the doctrine of 'Prospective over-ruling' this decision will have prospective operation only, and therefore the said amendments will continue as valid.

5. Parliament will have no power from the date of the decision to amend any of the provisions of Part III of the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the fundamental rights enshrined therein."

The minority view was that the power of amendment conferred on Parliament included the power to amend the Fundamental Rights so as to take them away or abridge them. The implications of the Supreme Court decision are stated to be under study by the Government of India.

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DIGEST OF REPORTS

KERALA, REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION AND ECONOMY COMMITTEE, Trivandrum, Government of Kerala, 1967, p. 238.

The Government of Kerala constituted an Administrative Re-organization and Economy Committee in October 1965, under the chairmanship of *Shri M. K. Vellodi*, to study the question of reduction in administrative expenditure and to formulate steps necessary for achieving maximum economy "Compatible with security, efficiency and the paramount needs of the planned development of the State".

The terms of reference to the Committee were as follows. (1) The distribution of functions between the State Government and Local authorities, (2) The logical and convenient allocation of work among the different departments of the Government, (3) The organization of departments at all levels, State, Region, District and below, (4) The constitution and the structure of the State and the Subordinate Services, (5) The delegation of administrative and financial powers among the officers of the Government of different levels, (6) The expenditure of travelling allowance, supplies and services and contingencies and on construction of buildings, and (7) The existing pattern of subsidies and grants-in-aid and its rationalization.

The Committee submitted its report in February, 1967. The important recommendations/findings of the Committee are as follows:

APPROACH TO ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

(1) Administration in its narrow sense, namely the working of

a Department of Government, the prompt disposal of business in Government offices, the courteous and sympathetic attention to the problems of the individual citizen when he brings such problems to the notice of the Government, accessibility to the members of the public, impartiality in administration, the suppression of corruption, the observance of strict discipline—these are all matters which properly belong to the domain of the civil servant. It is to the civil servant that the Governments look for satisfaction in all these matters. It is through the civil servant that order, efficiency and justice are ensured. It is, therefore, quite right that there should be periodical assessment by Government of the extent to which civil servants have or have not been able to ensure this.

(2) There is in almost every office of the Government a deplorable slackness in the disposal of business. There is ground for belief that the average Government servant is lacking in initiative and independence. There is considerable scope for improvement in regard to attention to details and in regard to thoroughness. There is criticism—not always baseless—that the average civil servant in the State still remains inaccessible to the public. There has been an ever-increasing tendency to do the minimum of work and to cease to observe the rules of discipline. Such a state of affairs is both surprising and disappointing, as the Committee, in their contacts with the large number of civil

servants in the State, in the course of their work, have formed the opinion that the civil servants of all classes in Kerala State are as good as, and in several respects even better than, civil servants elsewhere in the country.

(3) Indiscipline among Government servants has been sweeping the State during recent times. If this were merely a reflection of the general unsatisfactory economic condition of the people, a solution could be found but it cannot be said that the wave of indiscipline has its roots only in economic causes.

(4) Government servants are the custodians of law and order and of respect for authority. If they conduct themselves in a manner calculated to bring Government into disrepute this will sooner or later recoil on themselves and they will find themselves in a position where they will be unable to discharge their functions. Today it may be the non-gazetted officers; tomorrow it may be the engineers, the doctors or the teachers. The cumulative effect of such frequent disregard of authority must be to make orderly Government impossible, particularly when it is realized that on every such occasion the organizers of these revolts are allowed to go scot free. All Government servants—whatever be their rank or status—should ponder gravely on the effect of such actions on the security of the State which it is their duty to safeguard.

(5) Good administration has its foundations in the integrity and efficiency, in the manliness, sturdy independence, and the devotion to duty not only of the civil servants, but of those that compose the Government, of Members of the Legislative Assembly and, indeed, of the people

as a whole. Democracy is one of the most difficult types of Government to work. It cannot work until and unless all parts of it function in unison, are imbued with the same ideals and also with a deep respect for one another. Without these no reforms will succeed; with these none may even be necessary. What is really required in the context of the building up of a welfare State is not administrative reform but administration; not productivity councils but production; not management associations but management; and not an unceasing flow of words but plain, hard, honest work.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

The Panchayat

(6) The following considerations should weigh with Government in the context of introduction of Panchayati Raj: (a) The lowest unit of administration should be a Panchayat, identical with a revenue village. (b) A Panchayat should have well-defined functions and adequate resources to discharge them. (c) Panchayat should link up with the sub-district unit, which should take in a whole number of Panchayats. (d) The democratic body at the sub-district level should have real powers. (e) The nature of the democratic body at the district level should be decided on pragmatic rather than on theoretical grounds.

Panchayat as Units of Administration

(7) All existing Panchayats as also the Municipal and Corporation areas should be notified as Revenue Villages. The Guruvayoor Township constituted under the Guruvayoor Township Act 1961 should be deemed as part of the nearest village for general administrative and revenue purposes; for

functions of local self-government it should retain its status as a Township.

Staffing of the New Unit

(8) The village and the Panchayat offices in the new unit should be housed in the same building to provide convenience to the public. The revenues of the Panchayats should be collected by the Panchayat's collection staff; land revenue and other dues to Government should be collected by the Village Officer as at present. It should, however, be open to such Panchayats as opt to do so, to utilize the services of the Village Officer for the collection of their own revenues by invoking the provisions of Section 75 of the Kerala Panchayats Act 1960.

Supervision and Guidance

(9) With a view to ensuring that Panchayats become effective democratic bodies and become part of general administration, it is essential that they receive constant guidance and attention as also the fullest co-operation from all departments at the District level. The successful evolution of Panchayats into units of administration and purposeful democratic bodies at the lowest tier of the scheme of Panchayati Raj can be achieved only by bringing the Collectors squarely into the picture of Panchayat administration. All District Collectors should be notified as Directors of Panchayats in their respective Districts. Since the Revenue Divisional Officer has necessarily to be involved in all programmes and activity for which the Collector is responsible, all Revenue Division Officers should be called Deputy Directors of Panchayats in their respective divisions. As there is no need for a separate Department of Panchayat, the Directorate of Panchayats and its

regional offices should be abolished. The District Panchayat Officers and subordinate staff should, however, continue in their present form. District Panchayat Officers should function as Personal Assistants to the Collectors in the Panchayati Raj Wing which should be organized in all Collectorates. For the same reasons, there is no need for a Directorate of Municipalities. There is no difficulty in notifying the District Collectors as Directors of Municipalities in their respective Districts.

(10) The staff of the Directorate and regional offices of the Department of Panchayats as also the Staff of the Directorate of Municipalities should be distributed among the nine Collectorates in the State. Panchayats and Municipalities should be administered at the Government level by the same administrative Secretariat. Therefore, Municipalities which now come under the Health and Labour Department of the Secretariat should be brought under the Agriculture and Rural Development Department.

Functions of Panchayats

(11) All mandatory functions under Section 57 (1) of the Kerala Panchayats Act should be undertaken by the Panchayats and these should not be abridged. Some of the discretionary items, such as land utilization, etc., should also be notified as mandatory immediately.

(12) Government should go slow in the matter of entrustment of agency functions to the Panchayats, since what is immediately necessary is their efficient discharge of mandatory functions. Effective functional committees should be constituted in all Panchayats, and that the services of retired officials, technical

men, etc., should be utilized for the purpose.

Resources of Panchayats

(13) If Panchayats should become effective units of local self-government their resources should be adequately built up. Basic tax collected from all Panchayat areas should be treated as a common pool and distributed among Panchayats as follows: (a) Grant towards meeting a part of the establishment charges should be given to all Third Grade Panchayats subject to the following: (i) the staff engaged should conform to the pattern approved by Government, (ii) the payment should be limited to the amount by which actual expenditure on establishment charges exceed 25 per cent of the annual income of the Panchayat (excluding grants, loans and contribution). (b) Grants should be given to Panchayats whose total annual income (including the establishment grant) is below Rs. 20,000, the quantum of grant being the difference between the total annual income and Rs. 20,000. (c) The remainder of the basic tax should be distributed to all Panchayats on the basis of population, a suitable *per capita* rate being determined for this purpose.

(14) Section 67 of the Panchayats Act, 1960 should be suitably amended for the disbursement of grants to Panchayats on the above basis. When basic tax is made over to Panchayats the payment of grants, *ad hoc*, should cease.

(15) Transfer of departmental funds to Panchayats for the performance of departmental functions should be outside the basic tax grants.

(16) The collection of their own revenues by Panchayats is not quite satisfactory; as a mechanism to

improve the collection of Panchayat revenues, Government may prescribe suitable provisions to withhold part of the admissible basic tax grant, if the Panchayat's collection of its own revenues falls below 75 per cent of the demand. The collection should be constantly watched and systematically reviewed by the Revenue Divisional Officers and the District Collectors.

(17) The transfer of power and authority to Panchayats can succeed only if the Panchayats consist of a body of persons devoted to the welfare of the people in the Panchayat area regardless of caste, creed and politics. It is not possible to keep politics out of Panchayats. In Kerala, the problem is aggravated by the existence of deep and strong communal feelings which cut across the entire social and political life of the people. The successful working of Panchayats amidst such an environment is beset by difficulties and in the early years of Panchayati Raj, it will be necessary for those in charge of District administration to keep a watchful eye on the working of these local bodies.

Taluk Samitis : Zilla Parishads

(18) For the successful introduction of Panchayati Raj, the unit for general administration and development at the intermediate level also, should be one and the same. Blocks and Taluks should be integrated, care being taken to ensure that the agency for development is retained and the size of the unit is manageable.

(19) The integrated unit should be called a "Taluk" and the officer in charge of the unit should be called a "Tahsildar". The Officer of the new unit should have two wings—a general wing and a development wing. In the General wing, the

Tahsildar should be assisted by the Deputy Tahsildar and in the development wing by the Panchayat Extension Officer.

(20) The full strength of Gram Sevaks and other field staff now in position in all the Blocks, should be retained and suitably deployed in the new units.

(21) All Block Development Officers who have been confirmed should be integrated with the category of Tahsildars; others should revert to their parent departments. It will be necessary to give intensive training in revenue work for six months to equip the Block Development Officers for revenue and general administrative duties. Similarly, training in Community Development and extension would be necessary for Tahsildars who have not worked as Block Development Officers. Government should take steps for the training of officers who are to head the new units on these lines.

Taluk Samitis

(22) The stage has been reached when development work in the Blocks should be transferred to a democratic body with the power to plan and to implement projects of local development at the sub-district level; this body should be called a Taluk Samiti. This body should prepare and sanction its own budget and should be able to formulate schemes and determine priorities for the implementation of the schemes.

(23) The Collector should be empowered to cancel resolutions passed by Taluk Samitis which do not conform to law or are in excess of the powers conferred or whose execution will endanger human life, public health, public safety, etc.

(24) The Chief Executive Officer of the Samiti should be Tahsildar and his functions should be as prescribed in Clause 23 of the Panchayat Union Councils and Zilla Parishads Bill, 1964.

Zilla Parishads

(25) District level bodies called Zilla Parishads, which are advisory in character, should be constituted on the lines indicated in the Kerala Panchayat Union Councils and Zilla Parishads Bill 1964. District level bodies have been formed as executive bodies with power and control over district staff of various departments connected with the Plan in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, etc. So far as Kerala is concerned, however, the balance of advantage lies in their remaining as advisory bodies.

THE DISTRICT COLLECTOR

(26) For efficient plan implementation, it is necessary to clothe the Collector with sufficient authority. The need to define the Collector's role and responsibility as also his span of control over the team of District Officers should be understood in the right perspective; the motivation should not be to build him up as a District-level satrap, but as the principal agent of Government in the District, playing the role of the captain of a team of District Officials. The Collector cannot be expected to scrutinise it in judgment over the technical details of, say a works-programme; but as the Chairman of the District Development Council he should decide on priorities and time-schedule items which always exercise the minds of the non-officials of the District Development Council. The feeling has to develop that the whole District team has a common objective, *viz.*, efficient implementation of the District Plan and that

individual officers of the team are only cogs in the total machine.

Other Functions

(27) The Collector should have a special responsibility in regard to agricultural production. The Deputy Director, Agriculture, should become an integral part of the Collector's organization. The Collector should also have control over Minor Irrigation and Co-operation. Since foodgrains production must ultimately stand or fall on land utilization in the villages and the formulation of village production plans, the Collector who will also be a Director of Panchayats in the proposed set-up, would be able to ensure a faster tempo in agricultural activities under Panchayati Raj.

(28) The appointment of Deputy Collectors to clear revenue arrears is unnecessary; where special staff is called for, special deputy Tahsildars may be appointed. It should generally be possible to handle additional land acquisition work by the appointment of Special Tahsildars with the necessary field staff. Land acquisition work should be done with greater expedition. The Collectors should consider land acquisition as a very important item of work for which they are responsible and conduct systematic reviews.

Law and Order

(29) The concept that the Collector is the head of the District Police and is responsible for the maintenance of law and order is a time-honoured one and has necessarily to be respected. It is to the Collector that the Government look for maintenance of law and order; it is the Collector who is taken to task by Government if

things go wrong. It is, therefore, essential that nothing is done to curtail his authority or to weaken his control. The assessment of local law and order situations should be the responsibility of the Collector, assisted, of course, by the Superintendent of Police; where the Inspector General of Police considers it necessary to issue instructions to the Superintendents of police, he should invariably keep the Collector informed. Intervention by the Inspector General of Police, will become necessary only in law and order situations having inter-district or Statewide implications; in such cases, instructions to the Collectors must issue from the Government. In all local situations the Superintendent of Police should take instructions from the District Collector.

The Collector as Government's Agent

(30) Even though it is fashionable to speak derisively about the pre-Independence paternalistic administration of the Collector, people still hunger for one officer in the District to whom they can take all their problems. This officer can only be the Collector and hence his role as Government's principal agent in the District should be reiterated. While doing so, Government should clothe him with more authority in areas of developmental and social welfare work, so that most problems are solved at his level.

(31) The Collector should be largely relieved of his work as a Revenue Officer; almost all items of revenue work should be attended to by the Personal Assistant (General) to the Collector who should be designated as the District Revenue Officer. Senior Deputy Collectors should be posted as District Revenue Officers. The Revenue Divisional Officer should work as an effective inspecting officer and the executive

assistant of the Collector, in development and Panchayati Raj administration.

(32) Occasionally, lapses have occurred which detract from the high standards of personal qualities of leadership expected of an officer holding charge of a District. Age has nothing to do with this, because in official life one finds young men who are "mature" and older persons who are "immature". However, what does matter is experience and that a Collector should be a person who has put in sufficient years of service and gathered a fund of experience which alone will enable him to play the varied roles expected of him. Usually an I.A.S. Officer now-a-days becomes a Collector in the fifth or sixth year of his service. Part of his period would have been spent by him under training and the remainder, as Sub-Collector and Under-Secretary/Deputy Secretary. Therefore Officers with a length of service of at least 10 years alone should be posted as Collectors and should be retained as such for a minimum period of 3 to 4 years. A beginning should at once be made by posting 3 or 4 senior officers—with a length of service of 10 years or more—to the Districts; it should be possible to find senior men for all the Districts in about two year's time. As a matter of policy, Government should decide on a system of tenure under which every Secretary to Government will return to the District after a term of 3 or 4 years in the Secretariat.

Accessibility

(33) Collectors should be accessible to the public and should halt in interior villages. They should meet their Development Officers as often as possible, to keep an effective watch on Plan implementation. They

should also have contact on the social plane with all important men in the District.

(34) A sumptuary allowance of Rs. 200 per month should be paid to the Collectors.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT AND THE SECRETARIAT

(35) Some Departments can be merged with others and some others grouped together and brought under one Head of Department, without loss of efficiency. The arrangement can be as follows: (i) The Department of Dairy Development should be merged with the Department of Animal Husbandry. (ii) The Department of Weights and Measures should be merged with the Department of Labour. The Department of Soil Conservation should be merged with the Department of Agriculture. (iii) The Department of Geology should be merged with the Department of Industries. (iv) The Department of State Insurance should be merged with the Department of Treasuries. A single Head of Department should be in charge of the Government Presses and the Department of Stationery. (v) The principals of the Ayurveda Colleges should cease to be Heads of Departments and should be brought under the Department of Indigenous Medicine. (vi) The principals of the Medical Colleges should cease to be Heads of Departments and should be brought under the Departments of Health Services. (vii) A single Head of Department should be in charge of primary, Secondary and Collegiate Education, the separate Head of Department for Collegiate Education being abolished. (viii) The Departments of Home Guards, Fire Force and Civil Defence should be merged with the Police Department.

(36) A Regional Office should be

necessary only if the Head of the Department cannot supervise and control directly the activities of his Department and its existence will be justified only to the extent to which it takes over the responsibilities of the Head of the Department.

(37) While it cannot be agreed that there is hardly any "policy making" at the Secretariat in these days of planning, time has come when it should be considered whether it is necessary to keep alive the sharp distinction between the Secretariat and the Heads of Departments—a distinction that was born and has been kept on largely due to historical reasons. The suggestion that there should be only four Secretariat Departments (Services, Law, Finance, and Planning) with other Heads of Departments being given appropriate Secretariat status and appointment of Administrative Secretaries to Ministers for such Departments cannot be agreed because, firstly, the need for a generalist to scrutinise proposals submitted to the Minister and, secondly, replacement of the regular Secretary by an Administrative Secretary is likely to lead to considerable mischief and consequent demoralization. However, it will be distinctly advantageous to confer appropriate Secretariat status on certain selected Heads of Departments, as follows: (i) The Revenue Department of the Secretariat should be abolished; the First and Second Members of the Board of Revenue should function as Secretaries to Government, *ex-officio*, for the subjects now under their respective charges, as Heads of Departments. Other subjects now dealt with in the Secretariat Revenue Department should be suitably allocated between these Members, (ii) The Second Member, Board of Revenue should also be Secretary to Government, *ex-officio*,

for the subjects now dealt with under "Transport A" and "Transport B" sections of the Secretariat Public Works Department, (iii) The Director of Harijan Welfare should be a Deputy or Joint Secretary, *ex-officio*, in the Agriculture & Rural Development Department of the Secretariat, (iv) The single Head of Department for Government Presses and Stationery should be a Joint Secretary in the Secretariat Education Department with *ex-officio* status as Head of the Department, (v) The Head of the new Department of Cultural Affairs should be a Joint Secretary, *ex-officio* in the Education Department of the Secretariat, (vi) The Director of Treasuries and Insurance should be a Joint Secretary, *ex-officio*, in the Finance Department. Secretariat assistance should be provided to Heads of Departments on whom *ex-officio* Secretariat status is conferred, on the lines indicated. (38) It is true that even as things are, every proposal of a Head of a Department with which a Secretary differs has to be submitted to the Minister by the Secretary, and that a Head of a Department has opportunities for discussion with the Secretary and the Minister, when he may press home his viewpoint. Yet, Heads of Departments seem to hold the view that their thinking is not always available to the highest decision-making levels. They resent the present practice of the examination of their proposals, all along the line in the Secretariat and nothing from the lowest levels upwards, a practice which leads to delays, and according to them, often confuses issues. It has been represented that a possible method of preventing delay and avoiding useless and unimaginative noting at lower levels in the Secretariat is to re-organize the Secretariat on

an officer-oriented pattern under which initial action will be taken by an officer not below the rank of an Assistant Secretary; such an arrangement coupled with wider delegation of powers to the Heads of Departments could in some measure minimise delay. However, an officer-oriented system is bound to be costly, because high-paid officers would be spending most of their time on routine work. Again, mere officer-orientation will not completely eliminate duplication of work in the Secretariat Departments. There is no getting away from the fact that the non-association of Heads of Department at the stages preliminary to decision making has led to an amount of frustration among them, and has resulted in the feeling that the Secretariat is a stumbling block to efficient and quick implementation of programmes.

(39) Finance Wings should be attached to the Secretaries to Government in the Administrative Secretariat; these Wings should attend to the files of all Departments under the charge of the concerned Secretary to Government; the Finance Wings should be associated even at the stage of formulation of schemes and should not confine themselves to a formal scrutiny at the final stage.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

(40) Special Rules should be expeditiously issued for the 13 State services and the 19 Subordinate Services which do not have such rules present.

Personnel Planning

(41) There should be proper Personnel Planning. The number of employees required in a year under the various categories to

which recruitment is annually made should be assessed in advance and the Public Service Commission moved to conduct recruitment against these anticipated vacancies. An officer of a sufficiently high status, should be responsible for Personnel Planning at the Government level.

(42) Departments should be grouped on the basis of prospects of promotion and recruitment of clerks separately conducted for these groups.

(43) The District should be the unit for recruitment and promotion for all categories of posts up to and including the lowest gazetted posts, in all Departments. This will prevent frequent dislocation of subordinate staff and also protect normal chances of promotion up to the lowest gazetted posts in the District unit.

Direct Recruitment

(44) There should be provision for direct recruitment at levels below the lowest gazetted posts in every Department. The feasibility of direct recruitment at intermediate levels in every Department should be explored and, wherever possible, introduced. To maintain the necessary vitality by the influence of fresh blood, the proportion of direct recruitment should be fixed at 40 per cent. Persons already in Government service should be permitted to compete for direct recruitment, relaxation from the age rule being given to them. Such relaxation should be up to 8 years for employees in the age-group 25 to 35 and up to 5 years for those above 35 years.

(45) Government should take appropriate action to correct the existing imbalances and inadequacies

in the administrative structure which lead to stagnation at lower levels and affect administrative efficiency.

(46) In the case of non-gazetted employees who are not associated with decision-making and who do not hold regulatory jobs, verification of character and antecedents before employment may be dispensed with.

Kerala Administrative Service

(47) The Constitution of Kerala Administrative Service is essential for building up an efficient second-line generalist cadre which will help to tone up administration. The initial cadre strength of the proposed Kerala Administrative Service has been worked out as 50, being 33½ per cent of the permanent feeder category posts which will be included in the cadre plus 25 per cent thereof, for junior duty posts. The Kerala Administrative Service should be constituted on the lines of the scheme formulated by Government, with the following modifications: (a) The posts proposed to be encadred in the Revenue Department should be increased, since it has been recommended that the abolition of the Departments of Municipalities and Panchayats and the integration of personnel in these Departments with personnel in the land Revenue Department may become necessary. (b) It should be clarified, to remove all doubt, that the eligibility of Deputy Collectors now in service for promotion to the I.A.S. under the promotion quota, under Rule 4 of the Indian Administrative Service (Appointment by Promotion Regulations, 1955) would subsist even after the constitution of a Kerala Administrative Service.

Exchange and Training

(48) Exchange of personnel as recommended by the Administrative Reforms Committee, 1958, should become a regular feature. Officers who are above 50 years of age may be exempted from the exchange programme.

(49) Training of personnel is as important in Government as in business organizations. To keep them acquainted with new developments and to help them to correct wrong work-habits, older employees also need training. Again, employees on promotion, especially from positions with no supervisory responsibilities to positions involving leadership of others need to be trained.

(50) A Survey of training facilities for Government servants should be conducted by the O & M Division and a scheme formulated to serve the following objectives: (i) Detailed programmes of training should be devised so as to cater for different levels of employees, with due regard to the functions and responsibilities which they are expected to discharge, (ii) Training should be given at different stages of service—soon after entry, on promotion to supervisory levels and later, at senior levels, the content and methods of training being adapted to each level, (iii) Wherever necessary, field training should be given, (iv) There should be a central agency to co-ordinate all programmes of training.

(51) Hardly any use is ever made of the power to terminate service on grounds of unsuitability. Government should impress on senior officers the need to terminate the services of new entrants, who during the period of probation are found

unfit to become full members of the service.

Promotions

(52) Appointments to the posts immediately below the lowest gazetted posts in all Departments should be by selection, based on merit. The select lists for the lowest gazetted posts in all Departments should consist of only those who on the basis of interviews by the Departmental Promotion Committees are found fit for inclusion.

(53) The term "fitness", should be interpreted as fitness to hold the posts in every respect. A person who has been passed over by a Departmental Promotion Committee on three occasions should not be considered again for promotion. For all posts other than the lowest gazetted, an upper age limit should be prescribed, on reaching which further promotion will be denied; the upper age limit should be 53 for promotion to all District and Regional posts and 55, for the posts of Heads of Departments.

Incentives

(54) It is often said—and there is a great deal of truth in this—that according to the rules that exist at present, promotion in Government services has tended to depend not wholly or chiefly on merit but mostly on seniority in service. "If" as someone has facetiously remarked, "a Government servant is able to keep out of jail, he is certain by the mere efflux of time, to obtain promotion to higher ranks". While this may be somewhat exaggerated, it is undoubtedly true that in Government service, proper incentives for good work do not exist. The institution of writ petitions under which an aggrieved Government servant could take his grievances to Court,

has had the result of fettering the discretion of superior authority in rewarding merit by suitable promotion. On the other hand the various rules promulgated by Government relating to departmental enquiries have made the enquiries complicated and prolonged, resulting in the postponement of punishment of Government servants whose work or conduct has been found to be unsatisfactory. The cumulative effect of all these is to create among Government servants the feeling that good work does not pay. Existing Government orders provide for the grant of good service entries, incentive cash awards and advance increments. However, the orders are hedged in such fashion that these devices are often not readily available. There should be a system of generous cash awards to officers of all revenue-earning, law-enforcement and Vigilance Departments, up to and including the lowest gazetted ranks; annual fund should be placed at the disposal of the concerned Heads of Departments, for this purpose.

(55) There should be a common forum where the employees of the Government can discuss matters of common interest with Government. Government should take expeditious action to constitute Whitley-type Councils in all Departments. Meetings of Staff Councils should be held at regular intervals; discussions should be free and frank and once a case has been established after discussion it should be the duty of the Government or the Department concerned to deal with the case promptly.

(56) The Kerala Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules which have been amended from time to time, should be republished incorporating all the amendments.

ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY—SOME ASPECTS

(57) In any discussion on "good administration", one hears the comment that our services had been organized in the British days for the performance of regulatory functions only, and have not oriented themselves to face the new tasks and responsibilities which democracy and the State's Welfare commitments entail. As pointed out earlier this criticism is not based on any sound reasoning. "Reorientation" is a much-abused word which means very little. What is required is Administration, the ability and the willingness of the civil servant to work hard and the determination and the skill of the Government to enforce discipline and to extract hard and honest work, to reward merit and to discourage slackness and inefficiency.

Responsibility

(58) Responsibility at every level has to be clearly laid down and a situation where everybody runs about, chasing the same problem, without anybody being squarely responsible for its solution has to be avoided. Every Department should issue job-charts for all categories of officers at various levels. To make a quantitative evaluation of work possible, weekly, monthly and quarterly targets should be prescribed wherever the work done would lend itself to such prescription. The observance of job-charts and the achievement of targets should be made the personal responsibility of the officials concerned as also their immediate superiors. Yard-sticks should be devised to assess to exercise of control over subordinate officials by District Officers, the quality of such control being determined by the results achieved in programme implementation.

Heads of Departments should be personally responsible for adherence to time-schedules in Plan implementation, for avoidance of shortfalls in targets, both physical and financial, and for the general efficiency of the Department.

Delegation of Powers

(59) Authority should be delegated to subordinate levels, commensurate with their responsibility, so that they can make decisions without constant reference back. It should be made an invariable rule that once powers are delegated, Government must trust the officers to whom delegation has been made and no action must be taken by Government which would create a reasonable doubt in the minds of officers that they (the Government) do not trust them to exercise correctly, through periodical inspections, it is quite wrong to interfere in individual cases falling within delegated powers; this will only result in demoralising and confusing the officers. Such interference curbs the self-confidence of officers and encourages them to bring even trivial matters to the notice of Government—in other words, "to play safe". Government should refuse to interfere in the area of delegated authority; when non-exercise of delegated authority is seen, a serious view of the officer's conduct should be taken; where such non-exercise is a continuous course of conduct, a finding should be made that the officer is unfit to hold his post, and, after due process under the Rules, he should be removed from the post, and adequate and appropriate disciplinary action should be taken wherever this is called for.

Inspections

(60) Urgent steps should be taken to prepare detailed questionnaires,

Department-wise, so that a review of work done in each Department's subordinate offices and its evaluation are possible. Prescribed scales of inspection should be scrupulously followed; advance programmes for inspections by Officers should be obtained by the next higher level and the programmes of inspections watched and reviewed. An inspection Register should be maintained by all Departments and Offices in which Inspecting Officers can enter remark during "cursory" inspections.

Departmental Manuals Reports and Office Procedures

(61) Manuals should be prepared immediately for Departments which do not have them; draft Manuals of some Departments pending with Government should be approved and issued without delay; preparation of manuals should not be held over till after the unification of laws in the component parts of the State.

(62) Government should instruct all Heads of Departments to scrutinise their lists of periodicals, to weed out obsolete, and unnecessary items, and keep alive only the bare minimum necessary to watch and review the progress of plan implementation, receipts, expenditure and personnel administration.

(63) A simple system of Office procedure, well-knit and free from loop-holes, which cuts down delays and unproductive work to the minimum should be devised by the O & M wing.

(64) The workload for a clerk in the office of a Head of Department should be fixed as 10 "currents" per day; for a clerk in a Regional or District Office it should be 12 "currents" a day and for a clerk in a sub-district office, 15 "currents".

(65) The ratio for supervisory ministerial officers, *vis-a-vis* clerks, should be 1 : 8 in the office of the Heads of Departments, 1 : 10 in Regional and District Offices, and 1 : 12 in Sub-District Offices. The ratio in the Secretariat should be refixed as 1 : 6.

(66) Persons who take earned leave for a minimum period of not less than a month should be allowed to surrender an equal period of earned leave if admissible and get leave allowance for the leave surrendered.

Corruption

(67) The problem of corruption among civil servants has been engaging the serious and constant attention of the Central Government and the Governments of the States. That the evil exists is not in doubt, but in a very large measure this is merely a reflection of the standard of probity and rectitude among the people as a whole. Where the standard of integrity among the public is low, it is futile to expect that one class of the community, namely, Government servants would be completely free from this vice. Corruption has existed in all countries and in all times. All this does not, however, mean that no efforts should be made to check or eradicate corruption among Government servants or that such efforts would be fruitless. But it is necessary to view this matter in the right perspective. The machinery for anti-corruption work and administration of vigilance is adequate. However, significant results cannot be achieved unless Heads of Departments realize that the fight against corruption has to be incessantly carried on by the Departmental agencies themselves. Vigilance Officers of Departments should be well acquainted with relevant decisions of Courts, apart from the Rules themselves.

ECONOMY AND FINANCIAL CONTROL

Economy

(68) A very critical scrutiny should be made of the proposals for additional staff in the context of the Fourth Plan so as to avoid unnecessary proliferation.

(69) Systematic attempts should be made to evaluate performance and to find out whether the results produced have been commensurate with the expenditure incurred. A proper emphasis on the achievement for physical targets and a periodical performance-assessment alone can bring to light areas of wasteful and infructuous expenditure.

Travelling Allowance

(70) By careful planning of tours, economy in the expenditure on Travelling Allowance should be effected. Permanent Travelling Allowance should be fixed for all touring officers with jurisdiction of less than a revenue district and drawing pay below Rs. 500.

(71) The provision in the T.A. Rules that when two or more officers travel together sharing the hire charges of the conveyance used, each of them may draw T.A. as if he travelled alone, should be deleted.

Custody of Stores

(72) The recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee (1965-66) to appoint only technically qualified hands to be in charge of stores and to set up a machinery under the Finance Department to conduct surprise inspections of the various departmental stores should be acted upon.

Grants and Subsidies

(73) The accounts of the institutions receiving grants from the

Government should be promptly audited.

(74) In the case of subsidies and grants paid to individuals for stimulating activities in certain directions, the officer disbursing the grant should be made responsible to ensure the proper utilization of the amount by the grantee.

(75) Grant-in-aid schemes should be subjected to review at periodic intervals with a view to ascertaining the need for their continuance.

(76) It is also necessary to ensure that expenditure by way of grants and subsidies does not get out of hand cutting into the limited resources available for development.

Financial Control

(77) The formulation and examination of new schemes, whether they are Plan schemes or not, should begin sufficiently early so that by the time they are considered for inclusion in the budget, they have been fully processed and cleared by the Finance Department also. Schemes which cannot be subjected to such a detailed scrutiny should be deferred to a later year.

(78) There should be no delay in the distribution of appropriation by the Chief Controlling authority, as otherwise it would not be possible for the subordinate officers to regulate the expenditure. It should be possible to ensure an even flow of expenditure throughout the year; steps have to be taken to avoid the rush of expenditure in March.

(79) The question of changing the financial year to suit the working season in the State should be taken up with the Government of India.

(80) Government should consider the setting up of a special machinery in revenue-earning departments for

the audit of receipts in the form of internal audit wings.

(81) Government should seriously consider the question of revising the rules in the Financial and Account Codes to suit the present-day requirements.

CONCLUSION

The calibre of the civil servants of Kerala State of all ranks is of a very high order. What is required is clear and unambiguous direction from the top, the formulation of policies which could be translated into practice, non-interference in the work of the civil servants by politicians, ferment and promotion only on merit, the elimination of the unfit and unsuitable, and appreciation and reward of merit nad encouragement of independence and initiative among the civil servants. There should be a re-thinking in regard to the limits to which the assertion or vindication of fundamental rights can be exten-

ded insofar as these affect civil servants, and the present practice has in many cases resulted in superior authority being unable to reward merit in time or to weed out the inefficient. There should also be, an unequivocal declaration by the Government that civil servants have no right to strike work and that a resort to such methods would be visited by severe punishment. Failure to take these steps will, sooner or later result in orderly administration becoming impossible in the State, a contingency which it should be the desire of all those who have the interest of the State at heart to avoid. It was a British statesman who remarked that "good Government is not a substitute for self-Government". It is, we think, equally true that self-Government is not a substitute for good Government. Whatever may be the complexion of the political parties that may comprise the government, what the average citizen desires, above all things, is a good, efficient and honest administration.

INDIA: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BROADCASTING AND INFORMATION MEDIA on "Press Information and Publicity" New Delhi, Government of India, 1967, (cyclostyled) p. 60+xv.*

The Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media, headed by Shri A. K. Chanda submitted its Report on "Press Information and Publicity" on February 8, 1957. The important findings recommendations of the Committee are as follows:

(1) The operation of government in a complicated modern State needs the machinery of public information as an integral part of its administrative apparatus. The collectivism of the twentieth century has given a new meaning and purpose to the State. The regulation of the economic life of the nation has now become one

of its more important functions. The gradual acceptance of the welfare concept has enlarged its regulatory functions; and its involvement in the everyday life of the citizen has become extensive and more intimate. This underlines the imperative need of keeping people informed of the plans, policies and activities of the State and the considerations which have shaped them.

(2) The developed democracies of the West have well-organized press and a large number of daily newspapers with extensive circulation. The need for a well-organized official

* This is a selective digest confined to wider aspects of Press Information and Publicity in the Government of India. Matter relating to organization and procedure of work of the PIB have been left out.

agency of information is more important, even insistent in a comparatively under-developed country with inadequate facilities and difficulties in reaching the people.

(3) The Press Information Bureau has three major functions: firstly, to provide an information service to the press on the activities of various departments and agencies of government, secondly, to feed the resident correspondents with news and background material to give them a correct appreciation of happenings in India, their causes and the corrective measures planned, and thirdly, to keep activities. Any deficiency in fulfilling these three functions in a responsible and purposeful manner constitutes a reflection on the Bureau.

(4) In regard to foreign publicity, it may well be that the postures and policies of government do not create a good press in all the foreign countries. But our Ministry of External Affairs, missions abroad and PIB have the responsibility of presenting and explaining events in their proper perspective and meaning. There has been a great deal of criticism of our foreign publicity and our missions abroad have borne the brunt of this criticism. It has, however, to be realised that a contributory factor has been our inability to explain our domestic policies and developments properly, correctly and in an acceptable form to the foreign press. The fact that the flow of news from India is not continuous, well-organized or convincing, cannot be overlooked or ignored.

(5) Some of the foreign newspapers indulge in sensational journalism and give prominence to isolated events which are of little significance and do not find even a mention in the Indian press. It is here that the PIB should attempt a corrective by

giving important information in precise and objective terms, varying the emphasis to meet the requirements of the correspondents concerned, developing cordial relations, mutual understanding and confidence and removing petty inconveniences which cause them irritation.

(6) The need remains to inform and educate the rural community, to bring to it news of local interest and to educate it in matters vital to its progress and prosperity, such as agricultural production, health and hygiene, family planning and literacy, depicting achievements in these fields both in India and elsewhere. This can be done by small regional and language papers. But their growth has been hesitant and even retarded largely because of illiteracy. It is in these areas that PIB can come to their assistance by providing support, and services in a larger measure. But, in doing so, it should not give any grounds for being accused of interfering with the freedom of expression and editorial policy.

(7) In general terms, PIB, to be of use to government itself, must provide factual information faithfully and operate with moderation and judgement to avoid being looked upon as a vehicle of propaganda in support of the political party in power. It is, appreciated that the propaganda has its place. In fact, in a developing economy, such as ours, the success of our planning effort depends largely on propagating its objectives and in highlighting its achievements. This must, however, be done without attempting to project even indirectly any individual or any party.

(8) It should be obvious that to fulfil the responsibilities entrusted to him, the PIO Principal Information Officer should be given commensurate authority and administrative and

financial powers. But it is not so. He has been given the status only of the head of an attached office. This places an undue curb on his powers and he has to seek the approval of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in many routine matters.

THE FUNCTIONS OF PIB

(9) By far the most important function of the PIO is to act as Information Adviser of Government on the volume, treatment and orientation of information about government's policy and activity through the press. The responsibility of planning and co-ordinating the output of official information also devolves upon him. In the first place, the PIO has yet to develop and assert his role as the indispensable technical adviser to government on all matters pertaining to press publicity. This is due mainly to the comparatively low status he has been accorded in the official hierarchy. This again is largely responsible for his and his representatives being excluded when policy and other major questions are discussed in the Cabinet and the ministries. The obvious remedy is to treat the Information Officer as a limb of the Ministry to which he is posted and to invite him to be present at meetings when policy is discussed. He can thereby make the Ministry aware of possible public reaction which should be taken into account in shaping policy finally. This association would also equip him better to plan necessary publicity and to elucidate points when questions are put to him in relation to the material released.

(10) When Parliament is not in session, all major decisions should be announced at press conferences, by those competent to explain their rationale and implications, and released simultaneously at all important newspaper centres. Even when

Parliament is in session, a press conference should be held to explain issues arising out of an important announcement. Further as far as possible the Prime Minister should meet the press once a month, but a suitable procedure should be evolved by the Press Association in consultation with the Prime Minister's Information Adviser and the PIB to ensure its proper use by all and not a few correspondents.

(11) The innovation of briefings by the Cabinet Secretary after Cabinet meetings is welcome: he should deal with important issues leaving out routine legislative and other relatively unimportant matters. The briefings should be more intimate and seek to interpret and elaborate issues under discussion. When technical matters are likely to figure in the discussions, the Secretary of the Ministry concerned or some other senior official should also be present to assist the Cabinet Secretary in giving detailed explanation.

(12) As a general rule and a principle, it is not healthy that senior officials should undertake frequently functions which correctly appertain to the PIB. The present deficiencies of PIB which give rise to such demands should be removed and it should be enabled to answer questions fully and convincingly. It should lean on senior officials only when the issues are of such importance and complexity as to be beyond the capability of PIB to handle satisfactorily. It is an important part of PIB's function to know when to put Ministers and officials in direct touch with the press.

PUBLICITY DURING EMERGENCY

(13) During an emergency PIB must be given overall responsibility for release of information. Too many sources of information result in the issue of contradictory statements

which cause confusion. Whether it is an armed conflict or economic crisis, the press should be taken into confidence on major happenings. There should be no attempt to play down the seriousness of a situation while presenting the official version; the action taken to contain it should be clearly stated.

(14) A Plan should be drawn up on the lines of the War Book to be put into operation in an emergency to secure effective and informed publicity. There should be a co-ordinating cell with senior officers from the ministries concerned to direct the strategy of publicity and determine how news should be screened. There is also the need to create a reserve of officers who can function in time of emergency with competence.

(15) A system of training newspaper correspondents as war correspondents should also be devised. Newspapers should be encouraged to send out for training young pressmen who have the aptitude to function as war correspondents. Periodically, background and refresher courses should be arranged in the National Defence College, or at some other similar institution, which would familiarise newsmen with different aspects of military subjects they would be required to cover.

PIB'S SERVICES

(16) News agencies and others dependent on PIB for official announcements complain that the volume of releases has increased so considerably in recent years that it has imposed an almost intolerable burden on them to sift and edit the material for transmission. To remedy this, the Bureau should develop a selective sense in reporting them, giving only the substance of the important ones, an exception

being made when, for example, a speech as a whole gives a coherent expression of a major policy.

(17) The release of a large volume of material of negligible news value is a waste of public funds. Similarly, there is no purpose in spending time, money and effort in taking out copies of "advance" texts of speeches when, as if frequent, they are distributed long after they have been made.

(18) The releases issued by PIB are untidy, partly legible and contain many typographical errors. The get-up of the material compares most unfavourably with releases made even in India by the United States Information Service and the British Information Service. The reason for this deficiency is that PIB has not got modern equipment, typewriters and duplicators. It is recommended that PIB should be re-equipped: it will then be able not only to give a quicker service but also a neater presentation.

THE REFERENCE SERVICE

(19) As in the case of many other spheres of activity of the Government of India, very little thought has been given to the planning, adequate staffing and financing of an important unit like the Research and Reference Division on which the effectiveness of government publicity depends. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Division is unable to fulfil its purpose at present and the staff of the Division feel frustrated and discontented because it is not able to function effectively. Research, reference, library and documentation services now dispersed in many units should be coalesced to form a single organization. The functions of this unit should be clearly

defined and *ad hoc* work of various types entrusted to the present Research and Reference Division, not only by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting but by others, should not be allowed to interfere with its regular and prescribed functions.

(20) There must be scope for continuous studies on important problems so that the material that the Division issues is of utility to the press and to other media units. All referencing and research work and analysis of press, public and political opinion done in the various units of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry should be centralized in this Division. It would be best to have one well-appointed unit rather than three or four scattered units, none of which is suitably staffed or otherwise equipped to function effectively. The analytical studies should identify areas of unrest so that the information and publicity apparatus of the government, instead of being caught unawares, is able to plan intelligently in anticipation of criticism and resistance to government policies.

(21) The Committee agreed that if the regional and branch offices of the PIB are to continue to function as at present, their work might well be handed over to and performed by the State agency more economically. But it is doubtful whether it would be advisable for the Centre to abrogate its functions and wider responsibilities merely on economic considerations, not of any great significance. Secondly, in a federal state the policies and purpose of the Union and States may not always harmonise. In the federal concept both the Union and the States have their well-defined and demarcated spheres of

authority and functions and require suitable agencies of their own to discharge their respective responsibilities. It would not, therefore, be desirable to integrate the two.

RE-ORGANIZATION

(22) The major issue often posed is whether PIB should be retained as a common unified agency for press information and official news releases or whether the ministries should be provided with separate information units integrated into their structure as in many other countries. Even now PIB is not in overall charge and control of all information and publicity. It has been argued by many that it is convenient for the press to deal with a single agency for information and its exposition. It would make the work of the press difficult and onerous if it had to approach many different agencies to collect information and obtain authoritative interpretation. There should be a focal point for elucidation of the policies of government as a whole. On the other hand, some journalists consider that there is no particular virtue in an organization like PIB which is expensive to maintain and slow in movement. It is further urged that as press information has to be supplied in a number of languages, a centralized agency for translation, dissemination and distribution is more economical than if all these were to be separately organized ministry-wise.

(23) In UK and USA the information and publicity are functions of the individual ministries. Despite this they are objective and impartial. As a result the press held the Information Officers in high esteem. This lends support to the point of view that we should also re-organize on similar lines.

But this line of thinking ignores the fundamental differences between their Constitutions and environs and ours. Those are all unilingual countries, and, except USA, are unitary States. In USA, the constituent States have their own comprehensive arrangements for information and publicity.

(24) India is a country with many languages, many traditions, and many cultures, with States in different stages of development with widely varying needs. And the activities of the Union impinge on the lives of the people in many ways and many forms. The need to apprise them of the various plans and programmes is far more insistent than elsewhere. Also the media of mass communication and even tele-communications in general are far less developed than in advanced industrial countries. It is against this background that the constitution of the Information Agency has to be considered and determined. The argument that have been marshalled against a centralised agency arise not because of its concept but because it has been unable to function effectively and purposefully and most journalists including the Press Association consider that centralization is desirable in theory but it must be purposeful in practice as well.

(25) The first essential is to restore the PIB's image as an organization of information rather than of propaganda or publicity for individuals. Secondly, it has to create and live in an atmosphere of a news-room. Thirdly, its officers should be sensitive to the needs of the press and bring to their work a professional, objective and uninhibited approach, and anticipate, plan ahead and co-ordinate their activities with other media. The question is how best to bring

about this psychological transformation.

(26) In regard to the charter of the Bureau the committee can do no better than reproduce the directive principles laid down in 1935 at the instance of the Director of Information of the India Office who came out to re-organize the bureau.

(27) These principles still hold and have greater significance in a democratic state with organised parties in opposition. The party in power cannot be identified with government and official publicity cannot subserve the interests of the party. We regret to say that the Bureau does not respect or conform to the principles earlier accepted as essential attributes of an official information agency. Ministers and other public figures expect PIB to give publicity to their movements, statements and activities even when they have no connection with the work of government. To avoid their displeasure and to protect their service prospects, Information Officers are only too readily inclined to toe the line. In this situation the press can hardly be expected to attach any great importance to PIB's releases which are for the greater part publicity puffs for individual ministers and officials.

(28) Unless the well understood basic principles of an information agency are re-affirmed and scrupulously honoured PIB cannot even serve the interests of government; its releases would continue to be lightly regarded by the press and would not be accepted at their face value.

(29) It is proposed that government will take note of the prevailing dissatisfaction over the functioning of PIB, and ministers and senior

officials would exercise necessary self-restraint. But it is important that a new charter for PIB should now be drawn up and announced to give it the character and independence of an information organ as is the case in other countries.

STAFFING

(30) The analysis, the Committee have attempted, of the shortcomings of PIB focusses attention on the inaptitude and inadequacies of the staff. In general terms, the evidence before the Committee indicated that Information Officers, for many reasons, have not been able to identify themselves with the ministries to which they are attached: some do not exert themselves while some others do not have the capacity to fulfil the responsibilities of their assignments. There are, of course, exceptions. The remedy lies in recognizing that a degree of specialization is inescapable in the information service and to provide for it on a continuous basis. For example, an Information Officer responsible for servicing the Department of Economic Affairs must obviously know something about inflation and deflation, balance of payments, stock exchange, banking and currency.

(31) While the Committee had sympathy with the considerations which led to the formation of a unified Service, it could not accept the situation in which they come to over-ride the imperative of managing and operating the units efficiently.

(32) It is difficult to entertain this claim that the members of the CIS can blossom into specialists in different and varied fields of employment by short in-service training, nor did it appreciate how it would be practicable to organize this training when an officer moves from one

medium to another or even from one specialized section in a medium to another at frequent intervals. Each one of these needs specialized knowledge which can be provided only by initial training and continuous employment. Even the posts in allied fields in All India Radio, the Films Division, the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity and the PIB, are not wholly interchangeable. This is the illogicality in the constitution and working of the CIS.

(33) A single Service cannot meet adequately the varied and specialized requirements of the different media units. With the adjustment of the cadre of the service as suggested earlier and certain changes, some radical, in its administration, which are suggested, it may be adapted for better deployment of staff in PIB and the other media to the extent required.

(34) It would be an advantage, even desirable, to obtain on short-term deputation acknowledged experts from first line newspapers and periodicals by mutual agreement for special assignments with government. The need of recruiting specialists on short-term contracts for the other media units, such as All India Radio, the Films Division and the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity has been stressed elsewhere. The same should be also to PIB. It is appreciated that it would be difficult to obtain journalists whose articles on political, economic and agricultural matters are distinguished by study in depth and clarity in exposition and command public respect. First, the newspapers would not be enthusiastic about releasing them even for a short-term deputation. Secondly, the journalists themselves would be hesitant lest it should be a set-back to their journalistic career. Thirdly, it would

create discontent in the permanent staff of PIB as these journalists would have to be offered more or less the same salary and perquisites they were previously in receipt of: these would be appreciably higher than what is allowed to officers of the CIS in comparable positions. But, nonetheless an effort should be made. Once it is recognized that while

government publicity would be enriched by outstanding journalists coming from outside, the newspapers loaning their services would themselves benefit by the wider knowledge, experience and insight the journalists would bring to their papers on return; it should not be difficult to effect mutual adjustments.



Parliament and Administration : The Estimates Committee 1945-65

NEVIL JOHNSON

1967. Pp. 188. 35s.

"Others, no doubt, will ransack the records of the committee for material on postwar administrative history, but no one will need to go through them again in order to discuss the significance of this important instrument of parliamentary inquiry; for Johnson's work is definitive".—*New Society*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

PERSONNEL SYSTEM FOR DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION; By V. A. PAI PANANDIKAR, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, p. 236, Rs. 24.00.

Ever since Independence the realization has been growing that the administrative system, which even today, is essentially the same as we inherited from the British, needs adaptations and modifications to enable it to fulfil the new obligation of a development administration. The translation of this realization into concrete recommendations is a task which involves an objective analysis of the defects of the present system, a description of the different capacities, which are required from the new type of public servant and an indication of the administrative structure, in which he can operate in the context of a decentralized democracy. Such an effort must also indicate how the political executive and the administrative machine can function in mutual harmony and co-operation and the leadership which the former gives is made real and effective. In this book, the author has attempted the limited task of assessing the adequacy of the existing personnel system of the Government of India to perform a developmental role. The wider task of the general evaluation of the system of public administration, the author feels, is difficult to attempt in the absence of a satisfactory theory of development administration.

What we have, therefore, is more a description of the present system with a history of its evolution, and some rather generalized

suggestions for its adaptation to the needs of a development administration, rather than a critical examination of the reasons for the present failure of the administrative system to satisfy our developmental requirements. One fails to find a clear answer to the question of what is precisely preventing a change in the role of the administration from an executive to managerial one, which the author considers as the essence of development. Thus, in relation to staffing practices, the author feels that "the problem is essentially of identifying personnel qualities and skills necessary for development administration, measurement of those qualities and skills and listing them for operationalising the personnel processes" It would have helped towards a better and clearer understanding of the author's views, if he had attempted to illustrate with reference to any particular sector of development administration what qualities and skills, if any, are now being sought for and what new ones should henceforth be looked for. Regarding training programmes, we are informed that they must be related to the achievement of specific programme objectives and goals, and without this the programmes appear "disorganised and diffused". He says, "There is a lack of clear-cut orientation towards the requirements of a development administration in the current training programmes". An administrator dealing

with training programmes would have wished for a clear indication, preferably illustrated, of what is required.

Similarly, the very large scale of promotions on the basis of seniority, in spite of clear and elaborate instructions the application of the principle of merit, is ascribed by the author to the unspecified nature of this principle. In the sectors where such promotions have taken place, the reason appears to be post-Independence inertia rather than the non-specification of merit, which in any case is extremely difficult to specify in precise terms in an administration confined largely to the generalist.

One of the reasons for the failure to elicit clear and categorical diagnosis of these baffling problems of the Indian administration is the restricted coverage of the book under review. The author confines himself only to the Central Government Services, which largely deal with policies, while the major field of development concerned with ground action is in the State Sector. And even in respect of the Government of India Services the author appears to have confined himself almost exclusively to the traditional sector of the All India and Central Services recruited on the basis of a competitive examination. A reading of Table 5 at page 63 indicates the post-Independence shift in the changing pattern of the services recruited by the Central Government. The number of higher posts filled by interview alone far exceeds those filled by competitive examinations. The former types of posts are confined almost exclusively to the engineering, technical and other professional fields, where recruitment by examination is not possible. The departments indenting for candidates to fill such posts,

would have presumably indicated the qualifications of the personnel required. Hence, the author's chief criticism that "lack of clear-cut specification of personnel requirements in terms of skills and personality traits have made the selection methods ineffective to greater selectivity" needs detailed justification. In its absence there can be only qualified agreement with the author's contention that the vast proliferation of personnel in the Government of India, which is the most significant feature in relation to staffing in the post-Independence period, "has not been with special regard to the skills and capacities required for development".

These propositions cannot and should not be examined on purely theoretical considerations. The result of developmental efforts in any administration will have to be related to various factors including the skills and capacities available; to be correct and precise, the author's contention will have to be justified by an indication of alternatives. What are the new skills and capacities that we need? What alternative methods can be adopted to locate them? Can improvements in training alone be sufficient to endow the present staff with the required skills and capacities? How can a technical department like Agriculture be made to contribute directly to production rather than function in a routine administrative fashion? Such questions are left unanswered.

Perhaps, the answer does not lie in attempting to make the personnel system of the Government of India theoretically more perfect than what it is today. This is not to deny that considerable scope exists for improvement in the present methods of manpower planning, recruitment, training and promotions. But our main trouble appears

to be not with the imperfections of the present system, but with its operational breakdown. Rules exist, but for various reasons they are not or they cannot be observed. Inspections, supervision, follow-up, have almost become obsolete. And the situation has become worse, because the administration has lost its awe, and has failed to replace it by active and enthusiastic co-operation. As pointed out by the author, "more and more authorities have complained of deteriorating standards of discipline, especially in the lower services, of total disregard to warnings and of massive indifference to prescribed code of standards of behaviour. At least, a part of this problem can be ascribed to the lack of an effective procedure for prompt disciplinary action". The present procedure is so cumbersome that a witness characterized it as punishment not to the delinquent, but to the person holding the enquiry.

Considering the limited coverage of the subject, the conclusions that

the author has arrived at would not have been much different. Improvements in the personnel system must deal with manpower planning, better specification of skills and capacities, objective training programmes, and an improved system of personnel management. But in assessing the effect of these factors on development administration, reference has to be made to related factors, and in their absence there is a danger of over-emphasis on comparatively theoretical and unimportant matters. In the limited sphere of his study, the author has examined the present personnel system of the Government of India, and made suggestions for its improvement. Studies on this subject are comparatively rare and the expectation of the author that his efforts will "stimulate further thought on the approach of a development framework for analysing administrative system" deserves fulfilment. His book is a commendable effort in this direction.

R. K. PATIL

THE BRITISH AND THEIR SUCCESSORS; By RICHARD SYMONDS, London, Faber and Faber, 1966, p. 287.

As its title indicates, the book gives a history of "the succession to the British in the public services". It is divided into four parts, the first dealing with India and Ceylon, while the second and the third with West Africa and East Africa respectively. The fourth partisan attempt to ascertain how far the British approach to "succession" differed from that of other colonial powers, especially of the French. The main theme that runs through the whole book is in fact a narrative of the process by which expatriates in the government services were replaced by local people. Instead of using a more familiar term like "Indianization" or "Africanization",

the author has preferred to use "Localization", a genetic term employed by the Colonial Office to describe that process, irrespective of the country to which it related.

The history of Indianization is interesting, though not much contributory to the knowledge that already exists on the subject. Mr. Symonds traces in some detail the development of the controversy that raged on the question of extended employment of Indians in the Civil Service. He briefly refers to the problem of Indianizing the Army and some other public services, finally attempts to show how the entire British educational system which Macaulay founded

in India was designed to satisfy the requirements of competitive examinations for the selection, in addition to the British, of what he calls their "successors" in the government services. On the first two counts his description is more or less valid. But it is not so on the third where he commits a basic error of judgment by restricting the object of British educational policy to mere jobs in government, a purely administrative goal formulated even before the introduction of the competitive system to supply the inadequacy of subordinate officers.

If read correctly in their proper context, Macaulay's oft-quoted speech he delivered in the House of Commons (10 July 1833) on the subject of reconstituting the Company's Government as well as his famous Minute on English education in India (1835) would both suggest that what he wanted was to create a new class which, though Indian in blood and colour might be "English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect", a class which through the agency of "good government", as well as Western science and literature might release such forces as could bring about an intellectual and cultural revolution in Indian society by a regular educational process of downward filtration. He thought, though vaguely, in terms of a broad indigenous social basis to lend support to British political authority. So while on one hand he recommended improvement in the quality of government by a provision of some kind of a separate legislative authority and a body of codified law enacted on a rational and liberal principle, he introduced on the other hand a system of education that might promote respect for such government and even encourage demand later for British institutions within certain limits. His was an object to reduce the gap between

government and people by making both of them culturally coherent and mutually appreciative. Such an approach was a necessity, especially in view of the belief that even men like Munro and Elphinstone entertained about the ephemeral character of British rule in India. In his concept of government and education, therefore, Macaulay was guided by broad, social, cultural, and political objectives. And then the question of "succession" was in Macaulay's time only a hypothetical question. Mr. Symonds's limited approach to Macaulay's concept of education may, therefore, create a wrong impression, if it is removed from its main context. It is true that the intellectual and cultural influences of the new middle class did not filter down to lower levels of society. The revivalist forces that emerged in reaction not only put up resistance to it but used English as a means to promote political ends for cultural revival. As a consequence, Westernization remained limited in scope. The English educated class continued to act as a class of interpreters between the government and the inferior orders of society. Even so, Macaulay's dream partially materialized, and the "successors" did not remain limited to those in the public services, but extended to the learned professions, including government and political parties, though, culturally speaking, they all came to represent a curious admixture of Western and indigenous elements, with different degrees and shades varying according to the extent and quality of education received.

The chapter on "Successors and collaborators" is specially useful and interesting, although Mr. Symonds makes no attempt to analyse the proposition raised by a quotation from Jawaharlal Nehru who said: "No new order can be built up in

India so long as the spirit of the I.C.S. pervades our administration and our public services". Even those who were not in search of any "new order" had said similarly about the I.C.S. Lord Morley, for instance, called it a "caste-iron bureaucracy" which, although able and hard-working, betrayed a lack of capacity to look beyond the window and scan the political skies. Liberal administrators like Lord Ripon and Lord Northbrook had made similar complaints. But it is generally not recognized that the entire development of the modern administrative system in India proceeded on two basic authoritarian premises, the British Imperial system and the indigenous Brahmanic social system. From these emerged the excessively rule-bound and precedent-oriented bureaucracy whose whole training was geared either to preservation or at best an ordered change. Besides, the quest of a new social order was in the main a political task, not administrative, a proposition which A.D. Gorwala discussed sometime ago at Patna in a series of lectures on what he called the "Administrative Jungle", suggesting that no new social order could emerge without

a clearly defined goal and honest commitment at the political level.

The case of Ceylon was more or less parallel to India over the same period, although the pace of higher education was slower in the former. In African countries the position was different. There the pace of political progress, especially after India's Independence, was much greater than the extent and quality of education required to supply the gap caused by "localization". It created a sort of military and administrative vacuum which the organized efforts of missionary education alone could not remove. Mr. Symonds brings out the problems of "succession" in Africa very clearly and shows how the Asians, especially in East Africa stepped in to fill the gap at the middle levels.

It is on the whole a respectable study and its contribution lies in the use of what may be called its comparative method. There are a few minor errors of dates and factual inaccuracies. But these by no means detract from the quality of the work as a whole.

B. B. MISRA

HISTORY OF EFFICIENCY RATINGS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; By MARY S. SCHINAGL, New York, Bookman Associates Inc., 1966, p. 100+47, \$ 5.

Efficiency rating or merit assessment of Government servants is essential when they enter service and perhaps becomes progressively more essential subsequently, but it is extremely difficult to do so where non-repetitive work is to be evaluated. In fact, performance evaluation in such instances tends to become a bland judgment rather than an accurate or verifiable measurement and that is where the snag comes in. By its very nature it is not amenable to any mathematical

formula or set of rules because human judgment, however carefully passed is fallible and is likely to vary from man to man.

In the present book, Miss Schinagl has tried to give a connected history of the attempts made by the U.S. Federal Government from time to time to eliminate graft, nepotism and favouritism from its services and made both recruitment and promotion—specially promotion—merit-oriented. That these attempts

have achieved some measure of success is undeniable, but the rating technique is still in a state of "exploration and development". Her analysis of the various measures tried over a period of about ninety years to secure the desired object is extremely interesting, informative and sound. But, as repeatedly emphasized by her, the goal is still distant. Some form of classification based on performance has been in existence in the U.S.A. since 1818 but neither uniformity nor standardization up to the desired minimum has so far been achieved despite innumerable reports by Committees and Commissions and many Congressional Laws enacted over the last few decades. The main trouble is that the "reporting", "reviewing" and "accepting" authorities who grade Government employees periodically do not place the same meaning on such words as "Outstanding", "Excellent", "Satisfactory", "Adequate", "Poor", "Unsatisfactory" etc., and naturally comparison becomes impossible or very nearly so, specially where words like "Good", "Average" and "Satisfactory" are used to denote a near mediocre or "Outstanding", "Brilliant" and "Excellent" are employed to grade a "high average" employee. Promotion examinations for Government employees were envisaged in the U.S.A. as early as 1883, but by and large the plan remained on paper only. A classification Act was passed in 1923 but it was found to be unsatisfactory in practice. Thereafter, following the example of private industry, the Federal Government adopted a "Graphic Rating Scale" (*i.e.*, "Numerical ratings") but this had to be given up because

of many deficiencies and complications from which it suffered and of general distrust it generated among the rank and file of the employees. The "Revised Graphic Scale" devised subsequently by the Civil Service Commission was hardly better. It was also disliked by many because it gave ample room for favouritism. Later, this system was further modified in certain respects but public criticism about its shortcomings continued for many years. The Performance Rating Act of 1950 is less unsatisfactory but this plan has also failed because 99 per cent of the employees are now rated just "Satisfactory" which has made it virtually impossible to separate the goat from the sheep.

In other words, no non-controversial yardstick for measuring efficiency of Government employees has so far emerged which is reasonably valid and not open to legitimate criticism. All are agreed that the "spoils system" is an anachronism in the 20th Century and that merit should be the sole criterion for promotion. But how best to translate these fine principles into practice has been found to be extremely difficult. Efforts continue to be made to reach a solution of this knotty problem and it is to be hoped that Miss Schinagl's "History of Efficiency Rating" in the Federal Government of the U.S.A. will be of considerable help to top drawer administrators and others whose main job is to ensure promotions and advancement of Government employees on the basis of merit which has been assessed objectively, fairly and impartially.

REFLECTIONS ON ADMINISTRATION (A Commemoration Volume of Speeches and Writing of his Shri B. Mehta, Chief Secretary, Rajasthan, presented to him on the eve of his retirement on 28th October, 1966 by the State Services Association), p. 194, Rs. 6.00.

The observations, coming as they do from a "seasoned" administrator, merit careful consideration. The volume is a useful addition to the literature on Public Administration in India.

Shri B. Mehta was an able, experienced, popular, and an enlightened administrator, deeply interested in promoting the welfare of the people, with whom he maintained continuous contact. His observations on the qualities and the outlook which a good administrator should possess in the changed circumstances today are sound. His views on the changed role of the District Officer on Planning, Community Development and "Panchayati Raj" are of special interest and importance. However, it must be confessed, that in spite of Shri Mehta's best efforts to improve the State Administration through the establishment of Training Institute and special courses for probationers and in-service officers, and introduction of new methods, etc., the standard of efficiency and integrity in State administration is comparatively low. Perhaps the main causes are: first, the large number of officials inherited from the old feudal States, who are, with rare exceptions, a heavy burden and a great handicap. Second, the fresh recruitment has not been as satisfactory as one could have wished or expected and that postings and transfers of officers after short intervals under political pressure have proved disastrous to efficiency and integrity in administration. It appears that impartial recruitment, i.e., on merit, cannot be secured unless appointments to

the State Public Service Commission in Rajasthan (as well as in several other States) are removed from outside the sphere of power-politics and postings and transfer of officers are made on the basis of administrative requirements. As stated by Shri Mehta himself, except in rare cases for adequate reasons, an officer should continue to serve at a station for a period of three to five years.

Shri Mehta's views on "Panchayati Raj" are of special importance in view of his personal experience of its working since its introduction in Rajasthan—the first State in this respect. There are, however, two points on which there is considerable scope for difference of opinion: (1) on *statutory imposition* of the rule of unanimity, both on elections to Panchayati Raj institutions and on decisions made by them. The Government was obliged to drop the provision of unanimity on account of strong opposition to it in the *Vidhan Sabha* and even the amended provision for a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority was not adopted without opposition. However, in case unanimity is achieved voluntarily, it is to be welcomed but statutory imposition sets into motion all types of pressures, some of which are undesirable.

About the valuable role played by Shri B. Mehta in the administration of the State and his being the most successful Chief Secretary in Rajasthan since its reorganization in 1956. This is testified both by the Chief Minister and the first Governor of the State.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the usefulness of the Volume would have been enhanced by a proper arrangement of the addresses and writings of Shri Mehta and by giving in each case the place and date of the address or publication of the other writings included in them.

Careful editing might even have eliminated a good deal of repetition. The only contribution of the Editorial Board is a comprehensive life-sketch and official career of Shri B. Mehta.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS OF INDIA: A STUDY; By C. N. BHALLERAO, Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1966, p. 274, Rs 25.00.

It is almost a truism to say that Governments and Government organizations play an important part in the life of the citizen. The Chapter on the Directive Principles of State Policy contained in our Constitution is an ever-present reminder to the State of its obligations to the State and the citizen. To ensure that everyone has work, a living wage, and conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life; to make effective provision for securing to the citizen the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement; these are indeed tasks in the face of which the boldest may quail. And these are tasks which the State has to undertake, and perform "within the limits of its economic capacity and development".

In the discharge of these functions of the State, official agencies constitute a very important element. It has been rightly said that official agencies have :

the moral obligation to represent the interest of all, to seek the public good. Being somewhat less vulnerable to outside pressures, public servants may cultivate the general welfare with greater detachment, with a surer

reliance on rational analysis, with a clearer appreciation of long-run consequences, than representative bodies. This is not to say that their opinions should supersede the preference of elected representative bodies; it is merely to indicate the special values that are involved in the role which administration has now achieved.

The Public Service Commissions in India have been created by the Constitution as an advisory agency to assist the Union Government and the State Governments in the efficient management of the services. They ensure that recruitment to the services and promotions take place under conditions in which objective assessment of ability are ensured. The range of functions assigned to the Commissions by the Constitution is very wide indeed. They have to be consulted on all matters relating to methods of recruitment to civil services and civil posts; on the principles to be followed in making appointments, promotions and transfers; on all disciplinary matters, including memorials relating to such matters.

A study of the working of the Public Service Commissions—especially when it is said to be the first

comprehensive examination of the working of Public Service Commissions in India—is therefore a matter of great interest to the general reader, especially in the light of the fact that the main source of his information about Public Service Commissions has been the annual reports of the Commissions which more often than not contain mainly statistical information about the number of examinations held, number of files disposed of, number of persons interviewed, and so forth. As a pioneering effort therefore, Dr Bhalerao's book is to be welcomed. He traces in this book the history of Public Service Commissions in India, from the first Commission set up in 1926, through the period 1937 to 1950 when India was governed under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935, and then covers the period during which the Commissions have functioned under the new Constitution. He has devoted a considerable amount of industry to this study, and collected a good deal of material; he has discussed certain principles and practices followed in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and Australia.

It appears that Dr. Bhalerao has had to condense a lot of material into the compass of two hundred odd pages; and the result has been that important aspects of the work of Commissions have been omitted. The Chapter on competitive written examinations mention some of the examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission, but describes only the combined examination for recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service and certain Central Services, including the Indian Foreign Service. The examinations held by the Commission cover a wide variety of intake at various stages. They

include the "Intermediate" level boys whom the Railways take in after a competitive examination which consists of a written examination, an intelligence test, a mechanical aptitude test and an interview; graduate engineers for the various Railway and Central Engineering Services; young men for enrolment in the Army, Navy and Air Force, for whom the Commission hold written examinations, and the Defence service authorities hold the personality and the *viva voce* tests. The Commission also hold examinations for probationers in the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police and a few in-service promotion examinations. These are mentioned by way of illustration here; there can be no doubt that it will be useful in a study of this kind to deal with some of the important methods of intake into the various professional and other services.

Any study of Public Service Commissions is bound to raise a number of general questions. It is perhaps one of the necessary consequences of a Federal structure that each State should have a Public Service Commission of its own. But there is perhaps a tendency inevitable in this disposition that in the State generally the State services recruitment gets more or less limited to persons belonging to that State, notwithstanding the clear provision in the fundamental rights that "there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens (of India) in matters of employment or appointment to any office under the State". Now, any idea of national integration implies that this equality of opportunity should be real and effective. The question then arises whether the Public Service Commissions can do anything concrete to contribute to this problem. Certain steps have been taken in the All India services

to bring this about, by posting of officers to a State who do not belong to that State. Whether something can be done in the higher State services is a matter which requires some thought. The creation of more All-India Services as proposed might provide a partial answer.

Another important question arises out of the limitations on the Commissions' function. The constitution itself defines the functions of the Commissions in very wide terms; and it is probably a fact that, far from wishing to detract from the powers of Commissions, the Central and State Governments would prefer to carry their Commissions with them so as to appear manifestly to be playing fair by the services. With vigilant Legislatures anxious to nose out and expose acts even remotely smacking of favouritism, and with a developing consciousness of their rights among the services themselves, most Governments and Ministries would probably like to state publicly that their decisions were always based on the impartial advice of their Commissions which, as is only proper, are and ought to be above criticism. But the very volume of work involved make it necessary that the functions of the Commissions should be limited to a minority of Government servants. Dr. Singhvi has touched on this fact in his foreword. He estimates that as little as 1.9 per cent of the Central Government employees were processed by the Union Public Service Commission. The Jagannath Das Pay Commission also referred to this in the limited context of

disciplinary actions; and observed that a system under which at no stage of disciplinary cases concerning 98 per cent of the employees has any independent body to be consulted, will not inspire the confidence of the employees or give them the assurance that they would not be punished without cause or punished out of proportion to their offence. The question then arises whether the Commission can be called upon to perform functions covering a wider area of the public service—in which case methods will have to be devised whereby the Commissions will have a greater hand in policies relating to recruitment, training, promotion and disciplinary cases and proper agencies will have to be developed to whom delegation of some of their functions can be made.

These are matters which do not admit of any easy answer and probably a considerable amount of thought and study will have to be devoted to the various aspects of these difficult problems, always keeping in mind the essential requirement that public confidence will be maintained.

The study of Dr. Bhalerao does not set out to be much more than a factual study of the present composition and functions of the Commissions, with a few suggestions thrown in here and there. It is an extremely useful study, and contains a very considerable amount of material. And, as a descriptive account of one of our most important institutions, it is worth careful study.

C. GANESAN

THE PROCESS OF PLANNING : A STUDY OF INDIA'S FIVE-YEAR PLANS 1950-1964; By PROF. A. H. HANSON, London, Oxford University Press, 1966.

Prof. Hanson has done service to the cause of developmental planning by his analytical study of the process

of planning in India, the largest democracy with a poor saving and investment ratio, but a country

which has known a prosperous past and is rich in cultural inheritance.

The book offers no ready-made remedies for the shortcomings but contains many thoughtful pointers and questions which merit deep and detailed consideration. Granted that planning is necessary, the author raises the fundamental question as to "What is the 'right' balance, in a given constellation of circumstances, between industrial, agricultural and infra-structural investment? The author analyses, in the light of these imperatives, the experience of the first three Five Year Plans of the country.

THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The First Plan was admittedly a preliminary exercise; most of the projects included being those already under execution or thought of before they were fitted into the framework of the Plan. The author admits that there are genuine difficulties in assessing the achievements of the First Five Year Plan for in many ways its objective was to lay long-term foundations for future advance. Prof. Hanson quotes with approbation an extract from an article by Shri John Matthai in the *Times of India* of May, 1956, which would bear reproduction here: "With the exception perhaps of the Community Projects, every project included in the First Plan had been designed and partially erected before the National Government came into power. Two changes occurred since then. In consequence of the improvement in the food supply and the stabilization of food prices due to the American Wheat Loan, to successive good monsoons and to the progress of irrigation, it became safer to supplement available resources by deficit finance. Secondly, the latter part of the first five-year

period was marked in most countries by a revival of economic activity unprecedented since the cessation of the War. Partly aided by the Plan, India shared in this revival and was able to fulfil most of the moderate targets laid down in the First Plan."

Prof. Hanson concludes that the First Plan achievements were good in parts and admits that "overall figures were, however, such as to give real satisfaction to the planners". He also recognizes that so far as it made planning an "O.K. word" among the educated and politically vocal sections of the populace, it was "an intangible and unquantifiable gain".

The danger, however, lay in not understanding the role that had been played by fortuitous circumstances such as good monsoons and accumulated sterling reserves in facilitating plan implementation.

The Planning Commission and Government failed to recognize how the gap between the real resources and Plan investment was beginning to strain the economy. The trend of investment in the Plan period was uncertain; it had fallen from 7 per cent of national income in 1951-52 to 5 per cent in the next two years, rallying to 7.3 per cent only in the last year of the Plan; the States had fallen behind in raising taxes; the Railways too had failed to make the expected contribution; the situation had been saved only by public borrowings and by resorting to deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 428 crores as against the planned limit of Rs. 290 crores. It was, however, not this feeling of economic realism which inspired the planners but a feeling of "hubris". According to Prof. Hanson: "The 'success' of the First Plan suggested that a much bigger plan was possible; the comparative case

with which the economy had been activated seemed to prove that a little extra effort could achieve miracles; the degree of enthusiasm which had been generated raised hopes that such effort could be readily stimulated. The result was an under-estimation of the tasks that lay ahead."

THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

About the Second Five Year Plan, Prof. Hanson's study recalls how Prof. Mahalanobis' Plan Frame which appeared on the March 17, 1955 played a decisive role in determining the direction and size of investment. It was Prof. Mahalanobis who stressed the importance of the public sector and the development of heavy industries which were allocated 50 per cent of the plan investment while the remaining 50 per cent were divided between the agriculture, household enterprises and services. It was assumed that for stepping up the rate of investment from 7 per cent to 11 per cent of the national income, potential and willing resources would be available.

Trenchant criticism of the Plan outlay was voiced by the very knowledgeable persons but it did not receive, in that climate of complacency and exhortation, the attention it deserved. Shri Madan of the Reserve Bank, held that "the prevention of inflation required a larger expansion of consumer goods production than the Plan Frame provided for". He also drew pointed attention to the fact that the "Plan Frame's estimates of the increment in productivity obtainable from a given quantum of extra investment were unrealistic". In fact, as Prof. Hanson points out, while Prof. Mahalanobis had done a signal service to raise the planner's sights, it distracted from

the serious problem of analysing the priorities for Plan projects in terms of costs and benefits. Prof. K. N. Raj of Delhi University drew attention to another serious lacuna in the Plan about agricultural production. He pointed out that "Already there is some reason to suspect that the output of foodgrains in the coming year may be somewhat lower than in the current year, and no one can say what will happen if the Finance Minister provides for a large deficit...there is a failure of the monsoons, and the Government's spending machinery at the same time becomes suddenly efficient and incurs all the expenditure provided for in the budget. The point is that, even if all these do not happen next year, there is terrible things always the possibility of their happening, and rapid economic development over a period cannot be planned on that basis."

Prof. Hanson has painstakingly shown how the size of the Plan increased from a cautious figure of Rs. 2,500—3,000 crores to Rs. 4,300 crores for the Public Sector. This was the result of constant pressures to put up the outlay to accommodate diverse interests. Shri K C. Neogy, an experienced and respected member of the Planning Commission could not help raising a voice of dissent. He pointed out in a note to the National Development Council, for the meeting to be held on the 1st-2nd May, 1956, that "If the Plan is seriously attempted to be maintained at its present size, and the visible domestic resources cannot be stretched to provide more than half the outlay in the Public Sector, deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores may no longer be the upper limit, as urged by the experts, but the

inevitable minimum. Once inflationary conditions supervene as a concomitant of this order of deficit financing, all monetary calculations of the Plan expenditure will be upset, costs of projects will be increased and Plan fulfilment reduced in real terms."

Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, in his reply to Shri Neogy's points proposed that the agricultural production should be stepped up by 40 per cent, without extra investment. It was this side-stepping of the real issue about the imperative need for increasing availability of agricultural inputs, like water through minor irrigation schemes, fertilizers and pesticides through indigenous manufacture, improved seeds through planned production and organized certification, which retarded systematic building up of agricultural production to match the requirements in years to come.

Another important shortcoming was the failure to give due priority and allocate enough resources for development of infra-structure facilities particularly for railways and power, both of which were to seriously affect the tempo of industrialization toward the end of the Second Plan. Prof. Hanson has also drawn attention to gap in the data available with the Planning Commission, who were dependent for information on Ministries of the Central Government and on State Governments and from whom they did not receive consistent, timely and reliable information. He also pinpoints the failure of the Planning Commission to spell out concrete measures to check the growth of non-plan and non-developmental expenditure and to bridge the widening gap in foreign exchange resources which were to bring about a virtual crisis in the

last two years of the Second Plan.

Prof. Hanson cannot help observing that "The alarming irresponsibility of the Second Five-Year Plan's chapter on 'Finance and Foreign Exchange' represents the lowest point ever reached by Indian planning during the whole decade."

It is unfortunate that to this day the Planning Commission have not chosen to publish the Review of the Second Five Year Plan for it would have made for a more realistic discussion on the Third Plan outlay and would have taken the sting out of the criticism that "they were more interested in concealing than in revealing the errors and shortcomings of the period 1956-61."

THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

Prof. Hanson has given a graphic picture of the processes leading to the drafting of the Third Plan and how the emphasis on attainment of self-sufficiency occupied the mind of the Working Groups to the glossing over of the limiting factors of financial resources. The National Development Council, which met in January 1961, considered the latest paper on "Outlay on the Third Five Year Plan : Centre and States", which placed the figure of investment in Public Sector at Rs. 8,000 crores as against the reported limit of resources of Rs. 7,050 crores, as estimated by the Finance Minister. The National Development Council characteristically decided that while the Plan should have a physical target of Rs. 8,000 crores, the financial outlay might be limited to Rs. 7,500 crores for the time being, leaving ostensibly a gap of Rs. 500 crores but which in fact meant a gap of Rs. 950 crores.

Prof. Hanson wrote about the

achievements of the Third Five Year Plan in the beginning of 1964, i.e., when it was less than three years old. It is, however, interesting to see that he could recognize in advance many of the factors which were to accentuate the difficulties in implementation towards the last two years of the Plan. These were the steep increase in expenditure on Defence outlay as a result of Chinese aggression in 1962 followed by a confusing "no-peace-no-war" situation,* stagnation in agricultural production; inflation; deficit financing; difficulties of balance of payments; non-utilization of industrial capacity and the unrelenting increase in population; all of which were to make the crisis of the Third Plan "deeper than that of the Second". The failure of monsoons in two successive years, the spiralling up of the prices, devaluation of the rupee, all have brought home the imperative necessity for reappraisal of Plan strategy and plan contents.

In this context, it may not be out of place to mention that knowledgeable persons both within the Government and outside, had repeatedly sought to impress the realities of economic situation and the limitations imposed by economic resources. About the First Plan, we have already referred to Shri Matthai's opinion. He had cautioned as early as May, 1956 against appropriation of credit for achievements to planning when it was perhaps due to good monsoonic weather and a revival of the general economy all over the World. For the Second Plan, too, Sarvashri Neogy, Madan and Raj, had drawn pointed attention to the need for increasing inputs for agricultural production and underlined the spec-

tre of rising prices, particularly in essential consumer goods. For the Third Plan, initial papers prepared by the Planning Commission's Economic Adviser on "Approach to Problems of the Resources for the Third Plan" and "Problems of Resource Mobilisation" (in November-December, 1958) had cast doubts about the ability to raise resources to match the envisaged investment without people's full involvement. He had pointed out that "An imbalance between financial outlay and resources can be avoided or held in check only to the extent that real resources come into the system effectively. This latter depends on how far the community is organized for more work and greater austerity."

Achievements in this respect had so far been extremely feeble: "Neither hard work...nor austerity are conspicuous in the Indian environment today. The Plan has meant so many projects undertaken by the Centre and the States; the community has watched the progress of these projects with interest and admiration, but it has not yet been called upon to be active or full participants. If some sections of the community have made sacrifices ... this has been the result of an economic policy ... which is remote to them. Only marginally have they been called upon to offer their labour for works of local interests: roads, school buildings and the like."

There was also the pertinent voice of Shri S.R. Sen, an economist from the Ministry of Agriculture who posed most of the problems involved in the transaction to self-sustaining growth in his document

*Pakistani aggression in 1965 brought again to the fore the need for giving overriding priority to defence expenditure in the interest of security of the country.

entitled "Certain Policy Implications of a Plan for a Self-Generating Economy," which was presented to the National Development Council in April, 1959. Shri Sen asked: "Were machine-building, steel, fuel and power really the essentials? If so, how did one decide on their relative priorities and how did one reconcile the concentration of investment in these capital-intensive and slow-yielding projects with the provision of adequate wage-goods and employment opportunities, so as to minimize the strains inevitably arising from this type of investment?" Among his suggested solutions was the balancing of long-gestation projects against short-gestation ones, particularly in agriculture. This would involve a sharp re-orientation of community development towards enhanced productivity, and the giving of relatively low priority to large-scale irrigation projects as compared with small-scale works and with the more intensive utilization of existing facilities.

One cannot help speculating how the shape of things in this country would have differed for better if these voices of caution and realism had been heard.

The epitaph on the Third Five Year Plan has been written in this sombre language by the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank in their Annual Report for 1965-66 :

"In retrospect, the progress of the economy during the Third Five Year Plan which has recently ended has been uneven and considerably slower than what was envisaged. Both the major sectors, namely, agriculture and industry, have contributed to the shortfalls from the plan targets. Owing to vagaries of the monsoon, lack of timely and sufficient

supplies of agricultural inputs and inadequacies of organizational effort, growth in agricultural production has been slow and highly variable. An exceptionally bad monsoon has in fact caused the index of agricultural production for 1965-66 to be at the same level as in 1960-61. But even if the figures of output for 1964-65 are taken, agricultural production showed a growth of no more than 2.8 per cent per year on an average as against the target of 5 per cent increase per year. Industrial production increased by 39 per cent over 1960-61 as against the planned target of 70 per cent. National income in real terms appears to have grown at a rate around 2.5 per cent per annum though, if the performance of the first four years is considered, the average works out to 4.3 per cent a year as against the growth rate of 6 per cent per year assumed in the Plan. As the population has continued to grow at the rate of 2.5 per cent per annum, there was hardly any increase in *per capita* real income by the end of the Plan."

Prof. Hanson makes a number of penetrating observations about Plan performance. Two of them are reproduced below:

"Propelled by the euphoria generated by the overfulfilment of the first Plan and by belief, that with 'enthusiasm and united effort' democratic India could perform Soviet-type miracles, it convinced itself and tried to convince others that two and two, when added together by an Indian planner, could make considerably more than four."

* * *

"In the light of the experience of the Second and Third Five Year Plans, it is now hardly necessary to

emphasise the lack of realism in assumptions upon which these proposals were based. The problem of inflation was grossly under-estimated, the financial difficulties rather airily brushed aside, the balance of payments situation given little serious consideration, the prospects for agriculture exaggerated, and the capital-output ratio put far too low."

Prof. Hanson has referred to the Planners' argument that the Plan represented "the minimum that a country with India's overwhelming developmental needs dare attempt". According to him there were two replies to this argument : viz. "(a) that minima have no meaning except in relation to prospective resources, and (b) that a global minimum is a complex target, achievable in different ways, of which the one chosen by the Commission, involving a high degree of concentration on heavy industry, was not necessarily the best".

It would be recalled that no less a person than the Governor of the Reserve Bank stated in an important address to Bombay Bankers in July last that "The size of the Plan has indeed to be judged not by what is desirable but rather by what is possible. A seemingly smaller Plan in terms of financial outlays but executed without experiencing a price inflation may, indeed, in terms of physical content, be no smaller than a larger financial Plan whose size contains a sizable element of price inflation traceable to significant credit creation."

It is, however, only fair that this section should conclude with excerpts from late Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru's speeches, for as Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Prime Minister he could see how plans

were transforming the Indian scene. He observed in the Lok Sabha on August 21, 1961 :

"When we began planning, India's economy had been almost stagnant for a long period. A stagnant economy gets stuck in the ruts and it is difficult to get a move on. Once it gets into motion, it is easier to go on at greater speed.

"I shall give a few figures. During the first two Plans national income increased by 42 per cent. During the ten-year period the population increased by 77 million, and yet there was an increase in *per capita* income from Rs. 284 to Rs. 330. This increase came through development in all sectors. In these ten years agricultural production increased by 41 per cent, industrial production by 94 per cent and power by 148 per cent. Railways carried 70 per cent more goods traffic and the traffic on surface roads increased by nearly 50 per cent.

"In the field of education, 20 million more children went to school. At present, I believe, there are altogether about 46 million boys and girls in schools and colleges. Very considerable strides have been made in technical training. There are 380 engineering colleges and polytechnics all over India at present, while there were 134 ten years ago. Admissions have increased four-fold."

It is, therefore, legitimate to claim for Indian planning effort three distinct achievements:

(1) It broke the barrier of poverty and laid foundations for planned development through democratic processes;

(2) It exercised a very healthy influence in the interest of unity of the country;

(3) It helped the country to overcome many challenging problems like: the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons from Pakistan; improvement of the infrastructure facilities particularly power and transport which are the essential pre-requisites for industrialization; organization of technical and medical education on sound modern lines, provide fillip to scientific and industrial research; increase the national output and *per capita* income and in general laid the foundations of a forward looking people. All this is epitomised in the life expectancy of people which has perceptibly increased from 32 years under the British rule to 50 years in the course of three Plans.

These are by all accounts worthy and remarkable achievements.

PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY OF PLANS

Another aspect meriting attention is Parliamentary scrutiny of the Plan Outline. The Draft Outline after presentation to Parliament is remitted to a number of Parliamentary Committees on Plan, which are composed of Members according to the preference indicated by them. Prof. Hanson notes the general complaint of these Parliamentary Committees about "their powerlessness to have much influence on a Draft Plan". In fact, Chairman of one of these Committees suggested that "in future, it (Plan outline) should be submitted to them at an earlier stage and that in addition, the Committees should be called together for discussion when a current plan had been in operation for one or two years". Prof. Hanson quotes Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, to the effect that : "All the suggestions of the Members were considered by the Planning Commission and changes made whenever needed." Prof. Hanson adds,

however, that "this is no doubt true, but the process of consideration has left no discoverable record, as it might have done if the Commission had 'reported back' to the Committees or to the Lok Sabha as a whole".

It was suggested recently at a seminar organized by the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies on "Effectiveness of Parliamentary Control over Economic Matters etc." that a Standing/Select Committee of Parliament, which could be the Estimates Committee, should closely examine the "Plan Outline" and give a considered Report to Parliament.

It was suggested that the Standing Parliamentary Committee (Estimates Committee) should be brought into the picture at the stage when Planning Commission/Government constitute Working Groups to formulate in detail the plan proposals. The Committee should be kept contemporaneously informed of decisions taken by Planning Commission/Government on the Reports of the Working Groups. The Committee should also be furnished with Perspective Plan of Development Programme prepared by the Planning Commission and its modifications from time to time. The Planning Commission/Government should also bring out annually a report setting out the Plan progress *vis-a-vis* the targets. It is only in the light of availability of this detailed information and assisted by a knowledgeable Secretariat, that the Committee could examine purposefully the "Plan Outline" and give their considered recommendations to make for useful Parliamentary discussion.

BUREAUCRACY AND PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Prof. Hanson has referred to the significant role played by bureaucracy

in the implementation of the Plans and in particular has referred to the "social relations" of the bureaucracy. He talks of a bureaucrat as having a characteristic air of "exclusiveness or casteism"; to which the prevalent response among the victims of bureaucratic malpractice is compounded, in various proportions, of fear, suspicion and hatred".

Prof. Hanson urges that both the bureaucrat and the populace should realize the need for communication. The bureaucrat should take the initiative by demonstrably showing his concern for public welfare and in general becoming "action-minded and achievement-oriented". This poses a challenge, both to the Government and the bureaucrat, to rise to the occasion and pave the way, rather than act as an obstruction, for the efficient execution of plans for economic development.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF PLANNING COMMISSION

Prof. Hanson has repeatedly mentioned in his book about the role played by "pressures" in determining the size and contents of the Plan.

Lately, there have been demands that experts should be entrusted with the responsible work of economic planning for the country. The role and functioning of the Planning Commission are already under the critical study of the Administrative Reforms Commission whose final Report on the subject is awaited. One wonders

whether this Gordian knot could not be cut by taking a lesson from the experience of Maharashtra and Madras States,* where planning has been entrusted to the care of Department of Finance. It is a point for consideration whether emphasis on resource limitations and continuous contact in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plan projects could not be achieved more simply by making planning the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance.

The words of caution and realism uttered by the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance while presenting the Budget to Lok Sabha on March 20, 1967 show how his Ministry is fully seized of the problem. He stated: "Our aspirations and hopes for economic well-being and a higher standard of living for millions of our people lie in accelerating the tempo of development. But this has to be done without generating further inflationary pressures, and on the basis of a realistic assessment of the resources that can be mobilized in a non-inflationary manner. Government's energies will be directed towards attaining this objective in the shortest possible time."

THE CHALLENGE OF THE TIMES

One of the most serious obstacles to the realization of plan objectives is the rate of population growth.

* Prof. Hanson observes: "When the author began his tour of the Indian States, he held that to make the Finance Minister responsible for planning was invariably a mistake. By the time he had finished his discussions with state officials, he had become much less certain."

According to Prof. Hanson, one of the crucial problems about Planning machinery at the Centre in India is "Whether the balance between politician and expert which has been established within the Commission is correct". Another shortcoming in the existing Planning Commission, according to the author, is "The real experts, in the division, would appear to lack both adequate status and the means of collective expression. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, of most of them, that they are highly skilled servants whose influence in the planning process largely depends on how successful they are in gaining the ears of their masters. It is their individual dependence rather than their collective independence that receives emphasis."

Planning can make little impact on *per capita* income increase unless the growth of population can be effectively brought down from about 40 per thousand to about 20-25 and it is a welcome sign that the Prime Minister, both in her first broadcast to the nation and first policy statement in the House, after elections to the Fourth Lok Sabha, has placed this objective squarely before the country and the Government.

In the words of the Prime Minister: "If the general elections have pointed a moral, it is that the country wants performance, progress, change". The primary vehicle for giving expression to these pressing aspirations of the nation is the Plan document. Prof. Hanson's book is a timely and stimulating aid for the reappraisal of the strategy and contents of the Plan.

Stress has been laid on realistic approach to Planning but this does not mean that development growth, which is the main spring for planning, should be given a go by. It is a moot point if monsoons had not played the truant and drought conditions, worst in a century, had not hit large parts of the country in two successive years, and if 20 instead of 40 mouths were only added per thousand every year, the disappointment with achievement would not have been so vociferous and widespread.

If the Defence effort and outlay had not to be increased threefold as a consequence of threat to India's security or if the corresponding economies could be effected in other sectors, the strain on economy would not have been so acute. Again, if the public sector had husbanded its resources and shown sense of economy and leadership in arresting non-developmental and non-planning expenditure and if public undertakings had come up in accordance

with original schedule of time, cost, capacity, and production, these would have vindicated to a large extent the role envisaged for it in development. Who can also deny, that if the nation as a whole had risen as disciplined people in the interest of larger production, the war on poverty could have claimed greater advance.

The national effort in planning has also to be viewed against the international background, for it is a patent fact that a country with such low margin of savings and investment can hardly find within itself the resources for optimum economic development. It has of necessity to look for external resources. The miracle of Europe and the resurgence of Japan after the last World War, are shining examples of what can be achieved with external grants which are purposefully directed towards building up of remunerative resources. India has been helped by developed countries and by World Bank to bridge the gap in its balance of payments. The question is: If external assistance from these developed countries was given largely in the form of grants or where loans were extended, these were invariably on soft terms, payable over 4-5 decades, and carried only a minimal service interest and were free of all ties, the burden of external debt would not have so heavily weighed down the economy.

Again, if the foreign collaborators had genuinely played the game in the interest of development rather than in exacting maximum reward; if foreign technological processes and knowhow were shared on easier terms and with greater spirit of understanding, democratic planning in India would have shown far more promising gains.

Besides, trade rather than aid

provides the lasting answer to the requirements of a developing country. Developed countries have yet to reciprocate in concrete terms the plea of UNCTAD that there should be some parity in the rising price levels between the primary commodities and manufactured machinery/capital goods and that exports of primary commodities and semi-manufactured goods to pay for imports should be assured for a reasonably long period.

The challenge of the Developing Decade is two-fold; the capacity and determination of the people to achieve development by making the optimum use of the savings and investments and of the developed countries lending a willing hand in the conviction that prosperity, like peace, is becoming indivisible in this shrinking world.

AVATAR SINGH RIKHY

PROGRAM BUDGETING: PROGRAM ANALYSIS AND THE FEDERAL BUDGET; By DAVID NOVICK (Ed.), New York, Harvard University Press, 1965, p. 382, \$ 6.50.

During the last two decades several changes have taken place in the U.S. Budgeting system. Performance budgeting which was introduced in a few of the departments in 1951 was later extended to all the wings of the federal government. During 1954, a system of programme budgeting was introduced, to start with, in the Department of Defence and in the years that followed the application of this practice was extended to the other areas. In 1961, a system of Planning-Programming-Budgeting was introduced in the Department of Defence and in the light of certain refinements made therein, was extended to the other federal departments in 1965. David Novick, who is the head of Cost-Analysis Department of the Rand Corporation, is one of those who had written extensively on the various aspects of federal budgeting in general and programme budgeting in particular. The volume under review, edited by him, brings together some of the research done at the Rand Corporation and research done by others elsewhere on the same subject. The importance of this book can be gauged from the fact that a smaller edition of this volume was also

brought out by the U.S. Printing Office in 1965.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with "Government Decision-making and the Program Budget" and contains three chapters, including one by Prof. Arthur Smithies on the conceptual aspects of programme budget, and another Chapter on the role of cost-utility analysis in the budgetary process. Part II deals with the "Actual and Potential applications of the Program budget idea". This section which contains six chapters are all devoted to the case studies on the application of this technique to federal departments, such as Defence, Transportation, Education, Health, etc. Part III of the book dealing with "Implementation and Operation" contains three chapters devoted to an examination of the implementational and operational aspects of the technique. Although there is, to some extent, duplication of effort in some chapters, particularly those contributed by Melvin Anshen, Arthur Smithies and Steiner, yet together all of them enable the reader to get an invaluable insight into the different elements that contribute to this technique.

Programme Budgeting, as is in operation now, is essentially a technique that seeks to provide more and better information for decision-makers. It attempts to focus attention on alternative means to achieve carefully defined goals, specifying the full costs and benefits of each alternative. Its improvement over the earlier budgetary practices lay in its capacity to permit long-range projections, inclusion of cost-utility analysis as an integral part of the budgetary process and in providing a type of information that is at once capable of facilitating internal administrative management as also a public understanding of the governmental activities. In sum, it is a device that makes the budget a more useful and precise instrument for planning and control while permitting an understanding of the allocative efficiency of the public funds, and facilitating economic analysis and forecasting. There are three important aspects of this technique : structural, analytical and informational. The structural aspect seeks to classify the whole gamut of governmental activities into intermediate or end-product oriented categories that are meaningful while being output oriented. As attempted in this book, it would appear that the federal government activities can broadly be divided into: (i) Maintenance of National Security; (ii) Law and order; (iii) Social Development and Welfare; (iv) Economic Development; and (v) General Government Operations, and it is hoped that the restructuring of the Governmental Operations will facilitate a greater identification and rapport with the national goals and objectives. The analytical aspect of the technique is concerned with the introduction of economic tools, such as cost-utility analysis into the budgetary process with a view to enabling a

systematic examination of the alternative courses of action and their implications. The third aspect of the technique calls for the establishment of a well-knit information system designed to support the budget structure and the analytical aspect of the budgetary process by providing relevant data.

This technique as introduced in the U.S. Government is of a supplemental character influencing the whole budgetary approach in that it provides the requisite policy framework for the President, Council of Economic Advisers and the Bureau of the Budget. It has not attempted to replace the administrative budget as the technique itself has several aspects which when brought to the level of administrative working gives rise to many issues. For example, it is difficult to have an unanimity of opinion as to what constitutes a "Program", particularly when it is defined as a "cluster of Government Activities that are in closer competition with each other and with those outside the program and whose output has a clearly identifiable purpose". It is generally conceded that in every Governmental machinery, there is some over-lap and duplication of effort, good deal of inter-dependence and division of responsibilities between the Central and State Governments and that these factors do not permit an easy determination of Programmes. Secondly, a programme considered feasible from an administrative angle may not facilitate an appropriate analytical examination from the cost-utility angle. Moreover, the programmes as evolved in some of the case studies included in the book, may lead to centralization of authority and it is debatable whether such a trend would not run contrary to some of the well established principles of administration. Similarly, the application of the

cost-utility analysis with its concomitant qualifications and limitations, not to mention the difficulties in quantifying several of the imponderables, gives rise to several issues. Notwithstanding these aspects, the attempt underlying the technique is to introduce a measure of long-range planning in the budgetary process with a view to achieving the best-possible use of resources. There can, however, be more than one view regarding the avenues through which these purposes are sought to be achieved. Should these be attempted through the budgetary process? Or should these be achieved through an overall framework of economic planning in which the budgetary process is but an aspect and a stage subserving the overall purposes? Likewise, a narrower interpretation of the decision-making process may make one suggest that economic tools, such as determination

of the allocative efficiency of expenditures and long-range projections are integral parts of financial planning and therefore are distinct from the budgetary process which relatively is smaller in scope and is content with providing a structural framework that permits accountability and serves as an instrument of policy achievement. It viewing these problems one is naturally conditioned by his own country's institutional framework.

The book, however, is a significant contribution to the growing literature on Government Budgeting. It is almost certain that in the years to come there will be considerable discussion on some of the issues raised in the book, and that itself is an achievement of importance.

A. PREMCHAND

THE YOU AND I IN BUSINESS SOME : REFLECTIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS, MOTIVATIONAL SKILL; By N.H. ATTREYA, Bombay, MMC School of Management, 1966, p. 100, Rs. 10.00.

This is a third in the series of handy booklets brought out by Shri N.H. Attreya, who heads the firm of Management and Technical Consultants. Having dealt earlier with "Leadership Participation Skills" and "Read Faster Read Better," the author proceeds to discuss the "You and I in Business". The style is simple and readable. Shri Attreya carries out a probe into the intangible human behaviour which makes for business relationship. The booklet bears the *Attreya Stamp* in diction, and while saying the obvious has a direct personal appeal. The words of wisdom, given in small palatable doses pave

the way towards building up successful business between the You and I. *Alpam Apyasya Dharmasya Trayate Mahato Bhayat.*¹

Dr. (Mrs.) Lillian Gilbreth in her Foreword, says that the book is written "to help readers find and state their goals, evaluate them and work towards their attainment". Business according to Attreya is "living together with others, whether at work or at home". A constructive climate is to be brought about in which people compete with each other in giving freely, fully, continuously and graciously. Business, good business and growing business,

¹ अल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् । —गीता

A little consideration given to the facts of life will save us from total failure.
(Quoted from the book under review)

is an ART with its own *Technique*. The attendant problems are well illustrated in the book with situations "that face every country and all people".

Shri Athreya contends that in dealing with the external as also the internal customer (the work force) a person to person approach is likely to yield best results—"positively speaking I should take care to make their presence welcome". "Rejecting people, expressing our disapproval comes easily" when "we have prided ourselves on our cleverness". The customer will then be "mentally out" and not "enthusiastic in doing business with me". "Spoiling a relationship is tantalisingly easy". On the other hand, mutual approval and appreciation serve as incentives to good business. "Relationship is reciprocal" and the man in business has to adjust himself to reality and "cultivate relationship consciously and thoughtfully". This is equally applicable

to family relationship.

In the present day climate of "me and my money at any cost", "people will be suspicious of our motives, however sincere and graceful". In such a situation, efforts are needed to bring about a "meeting of the minds" and this is done by "leadership in action, not words". Shri Athreya's "further probe into relationships" is nothing other than the age old "axiom with a potential" *Atma Wa Are Drashtavyah, Manta-vyah*²—"Personal Management should precede personnel management".

The book gives a number of points for fireside talks and provides some useful "Guideposts to Reflective Action". The book is invaluable to the student of business management, as also for the busy manager, serving as cross-checks on own behaviours. Herein lies the merits of this little booklet.

BRIG. N.V. BAL (RETD.)



² आत्मावा अरे द्रष्टव्यः, मन्तव्यः, निदिध्या-सितव्यः । —उपनिषद्
(Quoted from the book under review)

BOOK NOTES

TRAINING IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES : A CONFERENCE REPORT, London, Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1966, p. 76, 10s. 6d.

This is the Report of a Conference held in Westminster in April 1966 which was organized by the Royal Institute of Public Administration. The object of the Conference was to promote a better understanding of the importance of training to local government generally, and to draw attention to the administrative problems involved in training the great variety of staff employed by local authorities. The need for Conference was felt because of employment situation in U.K. in which, contrary to past experience, the country was expected to be short of manpower, rapid technological development which would have an effect both on individual local government services and their general administrative procedures.

Five papers which were contributed to the Conference have been reproduced in the Report along with discussion on it at the end of each paper. These papers are:

- (i) Traditional Training Policies: A Critical Review by Professor Wisemen.
- (ii) Present Day Management Demands by Chairman of the Nottinghamshire County Council.
- (iii) The Challenge of Technology by County Surveyor, for Somerset County Council.

- (iv) Pressures of Social and Economic Change by Miss Nancy Seear, Reader in Personnel Management, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- (v) The Need and Scope for Combined Action by the Member, General Purposes Committee, Association of Municipal Corporations.

In the concluding chapter has been recorded a panel discussion (between four experts) on the following practical problems: Does the panel agree that the setting up of a central Local Government Training Board would make the task of the individual authorities easier, particularly if its powers included the stimulation and co-ordination of training schemes? Should training policy be made the responsibility of a particular committee of the Council, e.g., the Establishment Committee? How far should employers concern themselves with the requirements of professional and other bodies controlling intake, educational requirements and methods, and scope of study for examinations? Should responsibility for training be centralized in a Council training officer? How should authorities attack the problem of training their staff in management? If an officer is released for full-time training for

an appreciable period, is it reasonable for the employing authority to require him to remain with the authority for a fixed period and, if so, what form should the requirement take? How best can the small district council with limited resources of staff and cash tackle staff training realistically? Many administrative officers have never attended training

or refresher courses. How often should such staff attend courses in ideal circumstances? Once in five years? In view of the uncertain future of local government, how can local authorities be convinced, particularly the smaller authorities, that a long-term (and costly) programme of recruitment and training is worthwhile?

HANDBOOK OF TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE, New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Public Administration Branch), United Nations, 1966, p. ix+307, \$ 4.00.

How should civil servants in developing countries be trained? What are the characteristics of a good administrator and which skills are likely to prove most essential in the performance of his duties? These and other questions are examined in this new United Nations publication.

The 307-page Handbook contains a description of methods used in many countries in training public servant and offers guidance to Governments of developing countries in formulating and executing training programmes.

Prepared by the Public Administration Branch of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the publication is intended primarily for "training the trainers" in developing countries—that is, for use by Directors or personnel of schools and institutes of public administration.

The Handbook is described as the first attempt to formulate guidelines on all phases of training operations in the civil service and to give training officers a manual to consult in their daily work, although the U.N. has been from time to time emphasizing the need for training

through the various seminars, etc., organized by it. It suggests step-by-step procedures which such personnel may follow in planning a training programme; setting up a new training centre; preparing the prospectus and schedule of classes; and deciding on the curriculum, methodology of training and equipment for a training centre.

While noting the shortage of trained and qualified personnel in the public service of the developing countries and emphasizing the importance of training civil servants in those countries, it states that the problem is not peculiar to the non-industrialized nations. In adjusting their administrative institutions to the new demands, "all countries of the world are under-developed" and "the so-called advanced and the less developed countries differ only in degree".

The Handbook advocates organized efforts which will provide some training for a large proportion of public employees. It also urges continuity and repetition in training and cites the need, in programmes of career development, for the re-training and refresher-training of civil servants who are expected to shoulder progressively greater

responsibilities. However, it observes that all phases of public administration have an intensely national application. Administrative organizations and practices can be said to be successful only in the national setting in which they are found. In no phase of public administration is this oft-repeated observation more true than in training. Training in the public service must somehow fit into the national culture, and it must be full of practical applications to the work situation prevailing in the country where the training is being offered.

The publication emphasizes the role of national schools and institutes of public administration, which are operating in more than half of the countries of the world, and it recalls that a number of such institutes where teaching, research, advisory services and other functions are combined—have been established with the assistance of the United Nations.

It also discusses other types of training institutions which, it states, have attracted less attention. Among these are staff colleges, which exist in a dozen countries and are concerned primarily with the training of middle-level executives considered for promotion to higher positions. This type of training should be made an integral part of programmes of

LECTURES ON PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE (two volumes), Bombay, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (Maharashtra Branch), 1966, p. 278 and 120.

The Maharashtra Branch of the "Commonwealth Parliamentary Association" has rendered a splendid service in conducting two Parliamentary Courses for the post-graduate students studying in the various universities of Maharashtra, one in August 1964 and another in July-August, 1965. These two brochures contain

executive development, the publication suggests.

In the concluding chapter of the Handbook a mention has been made about the lack of instructional materials and audio-visual aids needed to make training activities more fruitful in many countries.

The nine chapters of the Handbook are as follows: (i) A general view of training in the public service; (ii) The pre-entry preparation of civil servants; (iii) The scope and content of in-service training; (iv) Organization for training; (v) Schools and institutions of public administration; (vi) Other training institutions; (vii) Planning training programmes; (viii) Operational problems of training; (ix) Methods and materials of training. These are followed by four annexures on subjects, such as the classification of training, standards useful in planning training programmes, a check list for training operations, and a bibliography.

The Handbook has been prepared by Dr. Joseph R. Starr, a United Nations Consultant in Public Administration, and the manuscript was reviewed by a small international working party of experts consisting inter-alia of Dr. J.N. Khosla, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

the lectures delivered under the above scheme. The lectures provide a wide spectrum of parliamentary institutions and their working. They are not strictly books on parliamentary procedure, as their titles indicate. But that is, as they ought to be, because they are meant for students of political science and general public

and not Legislature Secretariat staff alone. The whole gamut of 31 lectures included in these 2 volumes can be grasped in five categories—one, Parliament and Government; two, Politics and Parliament; three, the Parliamentary Institution; four, the Procedure in Legislatures; and five, the Secretariat of the Legislature. Under the first, topics dealt with are: Parliamentary Government, Critical Functions of the Legislature, How Budget is Framed, Law-making in our Country, Parliament and Civil Service, Cabinet System of Government, and Parliamentary Government in India. Under the second, Role and Functions of an Opposition, Discourse on Parliamentary Democracy in the Context of the Indian Political Situation, Constitutional Provisions bearing on the Working of the Legislature, Parliament and the People, Role of Opposition and its Functions, Certain aspects of Democratic Life in our Country, and Future of Legislatures. Under third, Some Institution in Parliament, The Committee System

in Parliament, The Speaker, and Financial Committees. Under fourth, Legislation, Parliamentary Devices to Raise Discussions on Matters of Public Interests (other than questions), Question Hour in Parliament, How is Budget Passed in the Parliament and in the State Legislature, Parliamentary Privileges, Parliamentary Privileges (general), Parliamentary Procedure, Parliamentary Privileges, A Day in Parliament, and Question Hour. Under fifth, Functions of the Legislature Secretariat.

One omission in the scheme of the selections organized by the Maharashtra Branch, however, seems to be the lectures on Parliamentary procedure in some of the leading Commonwealth countries are at least a few lectures on comparative parliamentary procedure. Notwithstanding this omission the two brochures are very useful documents on Indian Parliamentary Procedure indeed. The example of Maharashtra Branch would no doubt be followed by other Branches of the Association.

LOKUDYOG (PUBLIC ENTERPRISE), Monthly, New Delhi, Information and Research Division, Bureau of Public Enterprises, Union Ministry of Finance, Single copy Rs. 3.00 and Annual Rs. 30.00.

Lokudyog is a welcome addition to the world of professional periodicals, being the only Journal in the country among the galaxy of newspapers and periodicals both in private and public sectors, devoted primarily to the affairs of public enterprises.

The aim of Lokudyog is stated to be to project a correct image of public enterprises before the people through presenting an objective assessment of the working of the public enterprises as also through explaining the context in which malfunctions of a public enterprise have occurred. The Lokudyog, apart from

covering the public enterprises in the country and disseminating information thereon, also aims to collate and present information on enterprises abroad about which there seems to be insufficient knowledge and appreciation in this country.

Apart from articles in general and "articles from projects" this first issue contains the following features—which, it is hoped, will be its regular features:

1. Project Panorama,
2. About and Around the Public Enterprises,
3. The Management,

4. Official Documents and Reports,
5. Technology and Industry,
6. Foreign News & Reports,
7. Bureau News and Circulars, and
8. Statistics and General Information.

These features will undoubtedly prove very useful to the management and general readers about public enterprises. The Lokudyog would however do well to add two more features; one on "Finance & audit" and another on "Parliament & Public Undertakings" both of

which require considerable attention.

While there is every need for a Journal which will exclusively deal with public enterprises and present such enterprises in the correct perspective, the Lokudyog, if it presents only Government view point, would loose its claim of a professional Journal. The Lokudyog should therefore at least in the articles portion present differing views on the working of public sector.

The typography and get up of the Journal is pleasant.

CONFERENCE ON MANAGEMENT IN THE FOURTH PLAN—
Reports of Study Group (May 27-29, 1966), New Delhi, COOP (Management Group), Planning Commission, 1966.

The All-India Management Association and the Committee on Plan Projects, Planning Commission held a Conference on Management tasks in the Fourth Plan in New Delhi from May 27 to 29, 1966. The agenda of the conference included: (i) The reduction of costs in public and private enterprises and export industries; (ii) Measures to increase productivity through promotion and application of scientific research and development; (iii) Increase in export earnings; and (iv) Programme for Training and Orientation of managers, supervisors, workers for carrying out the Fourth Plan Management tasks. The Conference was attended by the representatives from Ministries and State Governments, over 100 persons with experience and knowledge of the public and private sectors, from universities and the labour movement, and specialists from management institutes.

The present publication contains the final Reports of the Study Groups appointed on each of the

above agenda. The Study group on Reducing Cost in Public and Private Sectors and Export Industries, of which Dr. P. S. Lakanathan was Chairman in its report discusses the topic under five heads, i.e., (i) attitudes towards cost reduction, namely, the development of cost and time consciousness at various managerial levels; (ii) scope for reduction under the capital account; (iii) scope for reduction of operational costs; (iv) qualifications required for managerial personnel; and (v) type of training programmes. The Study group agreed that there was a general lack of cost and time consciousness resulting in inflated costs. The group felt that pre-planning was inadequate which led to delay and inefficient execution. There was also a lack of awareness and some reluctance in the use of new techniques. Unless the top level was fully cost conscious, the report said, it was not possible to curb these adverse tendencies. It suggested that there should be a single specialized agency in the Government for prompt disposal of

feasibility and detailed project reports, together with related actions, necessary for implementation. The Group held that material arrangement was a vital instrument of cost reduction. The Group laid stress on production, maintenance, optimum utilization of capacity of equipment and production planning. The Group finally felt that existing planning and control systems are generally inadequate as an informative base for management decision making.

The Study Group on Increasing Productivity through promotion and Application of Scientific Research and Development, of which Dr. R. R. Hatiangadi and Dr. Amarjit Singh were Chairmen, recommended that research and development should attend to tasks of adaptation and innovation and talents available should be suitably harnessed for developing technical know-how within the country. The Group held that foreign collaboration has a very helpful role to play in initiating the industry in many areas of technology. However, in order to keep abreast of latest development and to optimise productivity in the conditions prevailing within the country, it is absolutely necessary that research and development within the country should attend to the necessary tasks of adaptation and innovation. Among other suggestions, the Group suggested that in the top echelons of management, there should be adequate representation of persons with a background of business management as well as those with technological and scientific training.

The Study Group on Increasing Export Earnings, with Shri H.K.S.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, 1966,
Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, p. 358, § 3.50.

This Canadian Government publication is a manual giving information about organization of the

Lindsay as chairman recommended development of new markets through market research, higher standards of performance in terms of product-quality and tolerances, packaging standards and sales service. The Group recommended the plan should be broken down industry-wise, taking into account the comparative advantage of exporting different products. Thereafter there should be an export plan for each unit. The existence of these unit targets would enable the management to understand clearly their involvement with the nation's objectives so that proper priority would be accorded to all aspects of the unit's export efforts. The Group also considered three special problems, viz., (i) trade Agreements, (ii) Foreign Collaboration, and (iii) Invisible Exports.

The Study Group on Programmes for Training and Orientation of Managers, Supervisors and Workers for carrying out Fourth Plan Management Tasks, under the chairmanship of Dr. K. S. Basu, suggested, to begin with, investigations and surveys for assembling necessary data, about the present stage of management development in industry, both in public and private sectors, and to forecast management requirements during the Fourth Plan. It was of the view that most of the supervisory training should really be conducted inside the companies. As far as the education of workers was concerned, the Group recommended that existing workmen should be trained to avoid redundancy. There should also be well-equipped training centres for workers required by the large number of relatively small companies.

government of Canada. The information has been grouped in three Sections, i.e., Parliament, Judiciary and

Executive (including departments and government agencies). A separate chapter has been devoted to each department. In each chapter a chart has been given to illustrate the span of control and the subsidiary bodies under each department. A list of important officials is also given with their designations; then follows a brief description about organizational set-up and functions. In the beginning a brief historical resume about the origin of the department is given to provide an interesting and complete reading.

Some chapters have also been devoted, in the end, to such description of those international organizations of which Canada Government is a member, for example NATO, UN and its various agencies, etc.

That even developed countries like

Canada and many others, consider it necessary to publish annually an organizational manual should be a lesson to our country where there is still considerable ignorance about the organization and functioning of the Government machinery, despite presentation of annual reports to Parliament by various Ministries.

There are certain special features of the organization of the Government of Canada which cannot escape the notice of even a casual Indian reader and these are: Profusion of the system of Boards and Commissions as government agencies, greater use of statutory corporations *vis-a-vis* Government companies, etc. For this reason at least, the Manual deserves notice by all those who are interested in comparative administrative studies.

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THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE TRADITION— MYTH & REALITY

V. Subramaniam

CLAIMS have been made from time to time by some scholars and laymen about a continuous evolutionary administrative tradition in India stretching from Kautilya through Akbar onto Warren Hastings down to Nehru.¹ The claimants often imply somewhat unconsciously that we are not greatly obliged to the West for all our present administrative institutions and techniques, that our own traditions were effective in their own time and that they should not be altogether ignored by present administrators. Closer examination of such claims, however, suggests that they are based upon patchy evidence and patriotic speculation and that the continuity which did exist was at a low level of organization not worth fussing about. It would also seem that some elements of continuity are more in the nature of persistent needs worth the diagnostic attention of the social historian and administrative reformer in a pathological sense. The tall implications that often go with claims of continuity are, therefore, in the nature of dangerous delusions.

The writers concerned talk about continuity generally in regard to four aspects of administration. In the first place, they claim that the various politico-administrative manuals on *Raja Dharma* followed a single broad tradition. Secondly, they claim that the same (caste) groups filled the ranks of the administrative services in the Hindu, Muslim as well as the British periods and acquired a traditional expertise and indispensability. Thirdly, it is asserted that the divisions of Indian kingdoms and empires into the various administrative regions and sub-regions were nearly the same for centuries and that the structure of the hierarchy coming down from the King to the equivalent of the district officer was broadly the same through the centuries.

¹ K. N. V. Sastry, "The Administrative Heritage of India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, New Delhi, Vol. II, pp. 349-58.

K.M. Panikkar, *A survey of Indian History*, Chap. III. In addition to such written claims, verbal claims are made everyday by teachers of history and patriotic politicians.

It is also claimed that the nature of the administrative responsibilities of the predecessors of our district officers was broadly the same, namely of co-ordinating practically all administrative activity in that region and combining judicial, executive, revenue-collecting and even military powers. It is further claimed that the system of land revenue followed a continuous evolutionary pattern from the Hindus to the Muslims on to the British. Fourthly, it is asserted that the ideal placed before the King and his officers by Indian writers in matters of governance and administration was the same ideal of paternalism for centuries. Let us now examine these four claims critically.

CONTINUITY IN ADMINISTRATIVE MANUALS

The Hindu politico-administrative manuals followed a traditional pattern; nay, they went further and were utterly repetitious in regard to their general outline and even matters of detail. Thus the tone and content of *Sukraniti* in the 18th century is not so different from that of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in the 4th century before Christ. The first and most well-known of these writers, Kautilya was of course original in carving out a separate science of *Arthashastra* and extolling it above all Dharma shastras.² In dealing in great detail with the administration of an empire perhaps he borrowed heavily from the practices of the contemporary Achaemenid empire of Iran. Keen to look at others' practices by nature, he also saw perhaps that the practices of the earlier small Hindu kingdoms did not provide any guidelines about the administration of an empire.³ His successors were neither original, nor curious, nor practical. They repeated the administrative wisdom of Kautilya's work in spite of changes in their contemporary administrative situations. Thus a small kingdom which was less likely to sustain a complex bureaucracy was treated exactly as Kautilya treated a large empire and little space was devoted to the administration of villages themselves compared to the space given to the relation between the village and the royal administrator. Thus even during the Hindu period, the Hindu manualists ignored a part of contemporary administrative reality. It was doubly so during the Muslim period when they seemed to have shut their eyes completely to the existence of Muslim rule and the details of its administrative system.⁴ Continuity in

² R. Shamasastri, *Kautilya's Arthashastra 1951*, Book I, Chap. II. Mysore, Raghuvir Printing Press.

³ R. Shamasastri, *ibid.*, Chap. I, Book I, Kautilya claims to have looked into all the other Arthashastras but does not say anything definite about looking into the practices of others. But living in an age when India was exposed so much to foreign contacts, it is most likely that he looked around. The nearest place where he could have found a detailed bureaucracy was Achaemenid Iran.

⁴ For example, in none of the Dharmashastras of this period or in the historical Abhyudayas or even in Krishnadevaraya's own *Amuktamalyadevi* is Muslim Government seriously discussed even by way of criticism.

administrative thought was thus bought at a heavy price. Part of the reason for this unrealistic archaism was a simple lack of critical thought and a slavish veneration for older sources. A second reason was the naive belief that by prescribing tradition persistently, reality could be brought closer to it.⁵ A third reason was a genuine confusion in regard to terminology, the same words being used century after century for different processes and institutions. All told, the continuity that exists in our writings on administration is not something to be proud of.

RECRUITMENT OF OFFICERS

Was there any substantial continuity in regard to the social origins of the recruits? There are some prescriptions about hereditary appointments in manuals and it is reasonable to presume that Hindu kingdoms would have respected such prescriptions which attributed merit to birth.⁶ But the actual evidence for the Hindu period is rather meagre and all that an assiduous historian could produce recently was no more than 21 cases in all from relevant inscriptions.⁷ Against the tendency to make hereditary appointments one must take note of a contrary tendency in post-Vedic Hindu society with its rising and falling empires and its adventurous conquerors.⁸ The fortunes of families serving in government depended far too much on the fortunes of a king or a chief or a general and his eclipse abruptly ended their career. Even in a settled dynasty it was not unusual for a prince to fill important offices with his own instead of his father's men.

There is not much evidence either way as to whether the same castes or classes continued to fill administrative positions. We know very little about the caste or class origins of the King's officers during the Hindu period. During the Mughal period we learn that the Hindus formed less than 10% of the top officer group and that even the Muslim group was not stable as it depended heavily on the whims and fancies of the sovereign.⁹ The composition of the Muslim group is likely to

* The belief in repeating an old tradition with the hope of making reality get closer to it still characterizes the statements of living Hindu religious teachers such as the Sankaracharya of Kamakoti.

* That the Hindu was very genetic in his outlook and believed in inherited characteristics is elaborated in Nirad C. Chaudhury's *Continent of Circé*. See also Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1961, p. 152.

⁷ Bajnath Puri, "Hereditary Appointments in Ancient Indian Administration", *Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 25-29.

⁸ From the Mauryas to Harsha, there were at least six dynasties in Aryavarta, some with more faith in Brahmins than others. There is no evidence, however, about the castes of the holders of administrative positions except in a few cases.

⁹ Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 131 and 142.

have changed even in the course of a single dynasty and more so from Turkish to Afghan on to Mughal rule. British rule brought another seachange. The Muslim nobility sulked and excluded itself from higher offices for a long while, the Muslim artisan was too hidebound to seek Western education and the new Hindu middle classes which entered the administrative portals were not the same as the Hindu groups which held office under the Mughals. In South India, too there was a change; the Brahmin who was highly respected for his learning but not important in administration during the Vijayanagar empire, entered administration in a big way as a result of the new concept of administration based upon formal bookish education. Continuity in the social composition of administrative services is essentially a product of British rule, which created the modern middle class. This was the sort of continuity that China enjoyed for nearly sixteen centuries through the institutions of competitive examinations from the fourth (Han period) down to the end of the last century.¹⁰

REGIONAL DIVISIONS

The vaguest claims regarding continuity are made about the regional divisions of kingdoms. Thus the divisions of kingdoms and empires in the Hindu period, such as Vishya, Rashtra (Nadu) and Kottam are compared glibly with the Mughal Suba, Zilla and Tehsil and with the British Province, District and Taluq without producing any maps in support of the comparison. It is quite likely that the larger regions, such as Bengal, Tamilnad or Gujarat had a continuous identity for centuries. But there is no precise evidence (through maps and lists of villages included) that administrative divisions had the same area and borders through centuries. Commonsense would suggest that the lowest viable unit of governance would be quite small in days of poor communication and would grow larger with improved transport. With the wider use of horses by Muslims, one would expect larger administrative units. Anyway, there is little real evidence either way. All this irrelevant mass of names of territorial-administrative divisions proves only that the kingdom was divided into convenient units, a conclusion easily arrived at by commonsense. Such continuity belongs to the lowest order necessary to avoid chaos.

CONCENTRATION OF AUTHORITY

The claims seem to be on firmer ground when they relate to the responsibilities of the administrator of the lowest administrative unit

¹⁰ Johanna M. Menzel, *The Chinese Civil Service*, Boston, D. C. Heath & Company 1963, *passim*.

corresponding to the district.¹¹ Broadly, from the Hindu period down to our own day, the district officer and his predecessors not only collected land revenue which was the chief source of the state's income but co-ordinated all politico-administrative work to which was added the responsibility of a military command during the reign of the Mughals. Some comments need to be made about this concentration of power and responsibility. In the first place, there were important changes in the content of this responsibility from period to period though it was conceived of as total administrative responsibility. The judicial functions during the Hindu and the Muslim period did not amount to much as Dharma was interpreted by Brahmin Pandits just as the Shariat was interpreted by the Quasis. The state officer carried out the judgment in accordance with this interpretation and directly pronounced sentence only in regard to traitors and rebels. Secondly, a military command was automatically part of every Mansabdar's responsibility under the Mughals¹² but was not probably included among the responsibilities of a civil administrator at that level in the Hindu period. Under the British, he had little military responsibility but concentrated all executive and judicial power till early in this century, when he began to part with some of it to other specialist officers. In our own day the district officer is fast losing his judicial power on Montesquieuan principles but has gained more power in the sphere of administrative co-ordination for planned development.

There has thus been a real continuity in regard to the concentration of administrative authority at a fairly low level. We must, however, see it in its proper perspective. It was not evolutionary in any direction—either in the direction of division of functions and less concentration of authority nor of increasing concentration with improvements in communication and human ingenuity in organization. It was rather protozoan—the degree of concentration depending on such factors as changing dynasties and the changing size of kingdoms. Again, it was not unique to India—as all absolute monarchies have used local agents with concentrated administrative authority all over the world till they evolved into something else. What is unique and unfortunate about the Indian continuity is that it was reinforced by foreign rule and its concomitant of stunted political development. The Hindu Kings and Emperors used local agents with concentrated authority during an early stage of human development—but the Mughals made

¹¹ For example, Baijnath Puri, "District Administration in India" *Journal of National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, Vol. 9, pp. 31-41.

¹² Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1951, *passim*.

it harsher and perhaps more efficient by adding military authority—very much against a Perso-Arab Islamic tradition of mutually controlling authorities.¹³ The British rulers, after a little tinkering with Montesquieuan ideas settled firmly for a local agent with concentrated authority—as the only form of government understood by the natives. The foreign-reinforced tradition—somewhat modified—is now sought to be retained for a new reason, namely, of carrying on developmental administration.

References are often made to the continuous evolution of a land revenue policy in India over the centuries. This is true after a fashion; land revenue was the chief if not the only source of revenue for centuries and all rulers Hindu or Muslim had to pay attention to its collection for sheer survival, and many went further to feed the goose that laid the golden eggs—through planned settling of people on new land in the Kautilyan period and through loans during the Mughal period.¹⁴ This was the minimum organization necessary for the survival of a state apparatus just above the level of anarchy. The important administrative innovation of Shershah and Akbar was relating revenue collection to periodical surveys,¹⁵ but there was no great cohesive organized bureaucracy based upon management of waterworks as was the case in China for centuries or even the ancient empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia.¹⁶ The hydraulic impulse for a detailed and organized bureaucracy *a la* Wittfogel did not exist in India in any great measure.¹⁷ All told, continuity in regard to land revenue policy existed at a rather unsophisticated level.

PATERNALISM

The paternalistic ideal set up by the writers on Dharma before the King is claimed to have influenced not only Hindu rulers but even their successors, the Muslim and British rulers. This claim is true to the

¹³ The Muslims started with a system of checks and balances at the provincial level carrying this over from their Perso-Arabian background. Thus the Subedar (Governor) and Dewan (Revenue Administrator) were expected to control and check each other. This system of course, did not work that way for very long and authority tended to concentrate.

¹⁴ R. Shamasastri, *op. cit.*, Book II, Chap. I, Regarding taqqavi loans see, Sri Ram Sharma, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Regular surveys of land were known for centuries in Chola and Pandya Kingdoms of the South. But the estimate of average annual yield over a period was introduced on a large scale by Shershah and Akbar.

¹⁶ Waterworks on a medium scale were known from the 4th century A.D. in Tamilnad and did promote a more permanent type of bureaucracy for a time. But there was no dependence on a great system of waterworks anywhere in India. This certainly made the peasant independent but also discouraged the rise of a bureaucracy.

¹⁷ Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957, *passim*.

extent to which it is repeated and reinforced in all Hindu writings not only on *Rajadharma* but even in classical poetry and drama in Sanskrit and indeed all the Indian languages. Thus Kautilya elaborates it in a glowing language of idealism quite different from the sordid language of real-politik which characterises the rest of his work : "In the happiness of his subject lies his happiness ; in their welfare his welfare ; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good".¹⁸ The same ideal is propounded in the popular concept of Ram Rajya in all Indian languages and summarized pithily in Kalidasa's description of Dilipa, that he was the people's father and their own fathers were only instrumental in bringing them forth.¹⁹ Such phrases are found throughout the whole range of Sanskrit literature and Dharmashastras. And the ideal set before the King applied also to his officers. The Muslim rulers of India had a different concept of kingship and its obligations based on the Arab—Turkish tradition but were soon influenced by the Hindu ideal. Thus Mughal historians began comparing the King to a father and Abul Fazal writes about the King's obligation to uphold the social order with its four branches very much on the lines of Manu.²⁰ The British too took over the concept of Ma-Baap Sircar much against their own concept of *laissez-faire* for reasons of their own.²¹

The concept, however, worked in a different way at different periods. During the Hindu period of shifting dynasties, it held the monarch responsible before high heaven for the welfare of his subjects and the upholding of Dharma. During the Muslim period, when it influenced Muslim rulers it modified the impossible and even suicidal Islamic ideal of Kingship set before them by their Quasis, brought the King closer to his subjects and mitigated the harshness of alien domination a little. The East India Company took over the concept for a mixture of reasons: the ideal helped to sustain their able administrators in a harsh tropical environment; it helped the Company to gain a firm local standing in the eyes of Indians and it was a useful basis of government after two centuries of anarchy.

What was the traditional popular response to such an ideal in government ? The ideal of paternalism can knit the people into a loyal family with every member participating in its working or it can sap

¹⁸ R. Shamasastri, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁹ Kalidasa's *Raghuvamasa*, canto I.

²⁰ Tarachand, *op. cit.*, p. 145. ✓

²¹ M. Ruthnaswamy, *The Influences that made the British Administrative System in India*, London, Luzac & Co., p. 653. See also Sri Ram Sharma, *op. cit.*, Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1951, pp. 276-77.

initiative in the people treated as children. The Indian paternal ideal did not seem to have sapped initiative at the village level where all members participated in its government but probably contributed in that direction in regard to all other things political. There were other influences too in the direction of politital apathy. In particular, Hindu society as a result of the experience of foreign invasions in the three centuries after Christ, had withdrawn into itself and adopted a rigid and simplified social structure withdrawing emphasis from polity. Again, there is some evidence to presume oppression by petty officials in Kautilya's cynical and elaborate instructions about controlling them and in the portayal of petty officials in classical Sanskrit literature.²² It looks as if popular apathy to all political matters beyond the village and a certain cynical attitude of fear and contempt for petty officialdom were slowly taking shape even in the Hindu period. Muslim rule, in particular, during the early days of Turkish and Afghan pillage and oppression hardened this attitude of apathy into antipathy to government. The net result of all this was a perverse concept of paternalism which justified lack of initiative when the king was a good father and antipathy when he was a bad one and which also encouraged a tyrant within limits, to expect silence if not acquiescence from his subjects. The ideal was certainly held up all the time continuously but with mixed results over the centuries.

We can sum up our main thesis thus: some claims for continuity cannot be sustained on the evidence available and other reasonably proved continuities are really sources of embarrassment to the administrator. We will now reinforce these conclusions over again. We shall first show how the first type of claim is made without any attempt to compare similar phenomena in other civilizations and the amount of evidence available thereon. The boundaries of administrative regions and the staffing of the public services belong to this category. No European historian or Sinologist would say anything about the continuity of administrative regions without comparing the actual boundaries through maps or with other detailed evidence giving the names of villages and townships enclosed. This type of evidence let us confess, is not easily available for the Hindu period and is not too ample even for the Muslim period. Again when Sinologists talk about the personnel of the Chinese Civil Service and the near monopoly of it by the urbanised landed gentry of a few southern provinces, they have a large mass of evidence in the detailed biographies of hundreds of senior Chinese officers. Indeed some controversies about the class

²² R. Shamasastry, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-71.

See also the treatment meted out to the fisherman in *Sakuntalam*, the delineation of petty officials in *Mrichchakatika* and the references to them in *Brihatkatha*.

composition of all the ranks of the civil service were settled recently when the detailed results of the civil service examination of 1148 and 1256 A. D. were discovered, giving the social background of 333 and 601 successful candidates of these years respectively.²³ The Indian historian does not have this sort of evidence with facts and figures for the Hindu or even the Muslim period, even though there was a large number of professional historians during the latter period. Where we do get some details about a few officials or administrators, we have no idea as to how representative the sample is of the whole tribe. Indeed, we can dismiss off-hand the pitifully small number of case histories available as totally inadequate for the Hindu period. Even the Muslim historians who had the goodness to tell a plain story without frills and fantasies seem to have no great sense of quantity.²⁴ It is high time that we humbly acknowledged that we lack the basic materials for forming any judgment on such issues.

The continuities which are supported by reasonable evidence are either at a low level of organization or embarrassing or both. To this category belong the recurring dependence on the ideal of paternalism and the repetitious Hindu writings on administration. Why did these real continuities not rise above the base level? We have answered this question in passing in the foregoing account but let us now look at the picture as a whole and locate a general reason.

Throughout the Hindu and Muslim periods, India had neither the static continuity of the Middle Kingdom nor the evolutionary continuity of Europe. In the former, there came a gradual realization sometime after its first unification that its unity, continuity and civilization could be safeguarded only by as highly organized a bureaucracy as the Mandarinate developed into.²⁵ With a grim choice between utter amorphousness on the one hand and civilization with bureaucratic government on the other, Chinese society took the obvious choice and built up its scholar-officialdom to a high level of sophistication and stability. Europe, on the other hand evolved on the basis of Hebraic-dualism and the Greek Community ideal—a continuous differentiation of society into its different aspects. The crucial steps in this evolution for our purpose are the differentiation between the State and the Church, the differentiation of the former into its various organs and the final separation of political decision from administrative

²³ Johanna M. Menzel, *op. cit.*, Chap. I, by Prof. Kracke, pp. 1-8. ✓

²⁴ For example, they do not give directly, any lists of officials, their numbers and social origins. These have to be painstakingly collected from them and other sources.

²⁵ Etienne Balazs, *The Chinese Empire and Chinese Bureaucracy*, Chap. I.

interpretation which was matched by the divorce of ownership from management in business. This continuous differentiation finally produced the modern skill-based bureaucracy. Indian society was not—fortunately or unfortunately—faced with the grim Chinese choice. When tackling the problem of preserving a way of life, it settled for a loosely bound social organization at a low level, withdrawing emphasis from polity. This choice preserved social and cultural continuity by a combination of unity and diversity but it also virtually pre-empted the possibility of evolution by differentiation as in Europe. Over and above this, the frequent change of dynasties by violence made the long pre-British period of Indian history a period of *Inarat-al-talq* or kingship by seizure. It is not surprising that the administrative continuity that was handed down under such conditions was neither sophisticated nor unimpaired. All told, some continuities we boast of are not supported by enough evidence and others that are well supported are not worth boasting about.

CIVIL SERVANTS : ARE THEY A BREED APART?

Ram K. Vepa

IT is often said that the distinguishing qualities of a good Civil Servant are Industry, Integrity, Anonymity and Neutrality. Although often applied to members of the higher administrative services, they have a general relevance to all government servants at whatever level they operate. It is proposed to examine in this article whether these characteristics have equal validity today in the changing circumstances in which an administrator functions.

As regards industry, let it be said at once that this is an unexceptionable quality every civil servant must possess—the willingness to spend long hours in the study of a problem and the power of application to go over the details of it. One might perhaps say that this has an equal validity even outside Government—in Industry or in the Legislature, one has to do considerable homework if one really expects to be effective. In fact, it is the disinclination or the inability in many cases of the political executive to make this effort that is at the root of the poor administration obtaining in many States.

So far as Civil servants are concerned, however, there is no reason to believe that the average official at the middle and higher levels is any less industrious today than his counterpart of 50 or 20 years back. In fact, while at an earlier period a civil servant seemed to have the time to pursue his hobbies or cultural avocations, such a luxury seems to be beyond the reach of most officials today—with the increased tempo of administration symbolized by the telephone and jeep. It would seem that through sheer compulsion of circumstances, an average official is obliged to work harder than what he would perhaps have done a few decades back; whether the work is equally productive is a different question—an answer to which depends on a variety of circumstances. But the need for industry is unquestioned and one might safely assume that, by and large, the standards in the Civil Service in this regard are not much less than what they used to be some years back.

There can be hardly any difference of opinion about the need for integrity in administration. Here again, one cannot say with any

certainty that the Civil Servant today is particularly inferior than his corresponding number of years back. I am not now thinking of financial integrity alone since it is only one aspect of a wider problem. In spite of much being said about it, it is always a matter of surprise how little actual corruption there is even at levels where it is so hard to live with the salaries Government offers with the rising cost of living. Even at middle and higher cadres, the salaries—even in absolute terms—are less than what an officer used to get in olden days. An average District Collector today receives around Rs. 1,200 per month while previously his salary was more likely to be Rs. 1,500 or Rs. 2,000—at a time when the purchasing power was four or five times greater than what it is today.

In a wider sense, the Civil Servant before Independence functioned in an atmosphere free from pressures—although the pressure on him was perhaps of a different kind. He belonged to an administration which was guided and controlled by members of the same service to which he belonged and with whom he had a basic rapport; he did not have to contend with a host of members of legislature, and party functionaries. There were also not developed a number of pressure groups that tend to influence decisions today. The wonder is in these circumstances, not that standards of integrity have fallen—which is likely to happen—but that they are still as high as they are, in most cases.

One might conclude this section by stating that the need for industry and integrity in a Civil Servant is unquestioned—although it might be added that other sections of the community need them to an even greater degree but display them less, and that the country as a whole may well profit from a greater insistence on those qualities amongst the business and political cadres.

* * *

The third quality is anonymity by which is meant probably that the Civil Servant should be “faceless”, presumably on the basis that he is only a part of the machine and cannot be identified. In the olden days, when an alien power ruled the country, it was logical and even desirable, that the individual official was not associated in the public eye with the overall policy of the administration—which was determined at New Delhi or Whitehall. One might add, however, that even in those days, Civil Servants like Brayne at Gurgaon and Darling at Lyallpur, who did more than merely run the administration, were well known and are even today well remembered.

But today, is it possible or even desirable for a Civil Servant to consciously cultivate anonymity as a cardinal virtue of the profession? I shall consider the example of a District Collector—a middle cadre official—as a typical civil servant. As the acknowledged head of the District administration and the representative of the Government at the district level, he is constantly in the public eye. He is also the President or head of a number of welfare organisations, such as the Red Cross, Guild of Service, St. John's Ambulance and often the President of the local club. If he is known to be a good speaker, he is invited to preside over a variety of functions, such as College Days, Planning Forum, Rotary Clubs, and Chambers of Commerce. He would indeed be a poor Collector who denies to himself the valuable opportunity of meeting the people at various social functions. Naturally, such activities receive a great deal of publicity and make him better known in the district.

A few years back, I was serving as the Collector of a district from where a national newspaper is published. A local Collector is always somewhat of a celebrity and news items frequently used to appear about what I had done and said, and in many cases, the reporting was poor and even inaccurate. But every time a news item appeared, my attention was drawn by higher authorities to inaccuracy or the other in the report and I was asked to explain why this had occurred. It came to the point when I used almost to dread opening the morning newspapers wondering what new epistle it might evoke.

One would like to pose the question—is such anonymity, in fact, desirable? A Collector's role is one of leadership—whether one likes it or not. A great many people—both amongst officials and the public—look up to him for guidance—particularly in an emergency—and an anonymous Collector is hardly likely to prove a good leader. In Law and Order situations, particularly involving students—which have become all too frequent in recent years—the fact that the Collector had often addressed the students and was somewhat familiar with them helps to give him a greater position of influence and a greater ability to control events. I remember that at the Staff College at Simla, our Principal, Dr. Jacob, used to repeatedly advise never normally to turn down an invitation to speak at student functions, since it helps to build up rapport with an influential and emotional section of the community which is likely to stand a Collector in good stead.

This is so even in respect of such organizations as the Rotary and Lions Clubs, and Chambers of Commerce. I well remember an occasion when the River Krishna was in flood and threatened

a large area of Vijayawada town if a particular embankment protecting it were to give way. All night vigil was required for a few days and I appealed for student volunteers from the local College. The response was overwhelming and the students were happy and proud to be entrusted with a specific responsibility. The local service organizations were equally willing to undertake relief to the hundreds of families who had to be evacuated. I wonder sometimes whether the good response to my appeals was at least partially due to the fact that I had consciously cultivated them—could I have done so, if I had merely remained anonymous?

If by anonymity is meant merely not to seek publicity for its own sake, as some are apt to do, it is understandable; but if it is meant that one's individualism or identity is not recognizable, it seems hardly appropriate for posts which basically call for qualities of leadership. What has been said above regarding the District Collector, applies with more or less equal force to many other jobs, such as departmental heads, which are really management functions. What profitable impact would a Director of Agriculture or Registrar of Co-operatives make on his own sprawling departments, much less on the public, if he is hardly known. It would, therefore, seem that the insistence on anonymity, whatever its relevance at an earlier time, has today little to commend it and needs to be qualified in the light of changing circumstances in which the official operates. One must also take note of the fact that the mass media of communication such as the Press and the Radio are far more developed today than 20 or 30 years back and it is, therefore, more difficult for an official to remain anonymous—even if it is desirable for him to do so.

* * *

The next qualification of neutrality is more difficult to discuss since each one is apt to understand by that term different implications. Many who would not disagree on the need for doing away with anonymity might still regard neutrality as integral to good administration. But if one were asked, between whom or what one was expected to be neutral, they might find it difficult to answer. If by neutrality is meant that an administrator must judge every problem on its merits and should not have pre-conceived notions or prejudices, it is certainly desirable; if by neutrality is meant that one should not display predilection for any party or group in one's work, it is understandable... but ever so often, neutrality seems to degenerate into a passionless lack of commitment on policies—if so, is it really desirable?

Here again, it would seem that the insistence on neutrality is a hang-over of a colonial administration when a foreign power specifically

wanted to insulate the Civil Service (and the Indian members of it) from the problems of the day—knowing fully that the sympathies of most of them were likely to be with the opponents of the Government. The process of keeping aloof from the “masses” was made into a fine art since it suited the administration and was in tune with its spirit. Perhaps, in established societies, such as the U.K., neutrality is possible since there is so little of basic difference between one party and another. It must be stated, however, that such neutrality is not integral to the democratic pattern; since in an admittedly democratic administration, such as the U.S.A., officials at various levels are either elected or appointed precisely on the basis of their known commitment to certain policies.

It is a criticism that is commonly heard in India today that there is not, amongst most civil servants, adequate commitment to administration policies and that their efficiency—where it exists—tends to be cold and mechanical, without the motivating spirit of conviction. If such criticism is justified is it the result, one wonders, of an undue insistence on neutrality in Civil Service ? One can understand neutrality in a Presiding Officer at an Election—but is it right to be “neutral” in enforcing a policy of Prohibition or implementing Land Reforms. Is not an honest commitment to such policies essential for the job to be done with that degree of enthusiasm which alone can ensure its success. Are not policy-makers entitled to ask for personnel who believe in their policies—or would any “good neutral” Civil Servant be adequate to implement any policy—even if he personally does not believe in it. One might go further and ask whether honest commitment is incompatible with good administration; or lack of such commitment compatible with it.

These are issues which are likely to become important in the years to come as new parties with different political ideologies take charge of governments. Already this has happened in a number of States; in Kerala, Madras, Bengal and Orissa, new ministries are voted to power whose approach to problems is likely to vary widely with those of their predecessors. Can it be justifiably expected that Civil Servants in such States should switch overnight their beliefs and convictions to suit their new political masters. It is often said, in reply to such posers, that Churchill and Attlee took with them the same set of advisers to the Potsdam Conference in 1945, when an intervening general election forced a change of prime ministers; but the example is misleading since both had worked closely together for five years as members of a Coalition Government till the elections and the policies to be followed were national, rather than party policies. In any case, the spectrum

of variation, both individually and politically, between the various parties and their leaders is much smaller in the U.K. than it is in India. After all, the British had worked those institutions for a much longer time and show greater maturity and finesse in doing so.

* * *

This leads us to the larger question whether the restrictions now imposed on Government servants on their freedom of expression are really correct or desirable. Is it proper to deny to Government servants the normal freedom of expression, which every citizen is entitled to, so long, of course, as such expression are done with decorum and accuracy—restrictions which should apply to any other individual. In doing so, one wonders whether society is not depriving to itself the benefit of the opinion of a sizable number of people, since if one considers the educated class, who still mould public opinion in India, government servants form good proportion of them. It seems strange that in a country where there are so few educated people, there should be a blanket restriction on honest and free expression of opinion; more than the individuals concerned, it is society that suffers from such restrictions, which need to be relaxed considerably. There are enough laws of libel and sedition which can effectively curb any tendency to overstep the bounds of decorum.

The restriction seems to stem from a viewpoint commonly held that government servants must not be members of political parties and that any expression of opinion—at variance with the policies of the Government—is likely to embarrass the latter—although one wishes that such a restriction applied equally to the members of the Government themselves who often speak with different voices on the same issue. But do Civil Servants, one is tempted to ask, cease to have opinions merely because they are government functionaries—and if they do not, are they not entitled to legitimate expression of opinion. The right to mould and influence public opinion is inherent in every citizen. Discipline is a good thing but becomes intolerable when every petty restriction masquerades under the grandiose name of discipline.

In fact, one is tempted to ask whether it would not be good for the political parties themselves to strengthen their ranks periodically with seasoned administrators. Where at one time a Civil servant would be horrified at the thought of entering business after retirement—and even a decade ago, the number of such persons was few—today it has become quite commonplace for retired civil servants to make their mark in Industry—or even politics. The newly elected Parliament has many ex-civilians in it and but for an irony of fate, a person like the late

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But it should not be necessary for an Administrator or Scientist or industrialist to reach the 'ripe' age of retirement to contribute his experience to the political life of the country. It should be possible for any one to put in a few years of such service and go back, if need be, to his normal professional life—as happens frequently in U.S.A. In fact, it is not clear why a political career tends to be regarded in India as a life work rather than for a limited period. It was depressing to read sometimes back that a well-known retired scientist who had held a high office under government was denied a ticket to the Lok Sabha, on the ground that "scientists should not dabble in politics"; the fact that on the very day the Prime Minister was pleading elsewhere for greater number of scientifically trained personnel in Parliament, added a touch of irony to the news item. A greater mobility between the various sectors would benefit the country considerably; political life should be increasingly regarded not as a profession in itself, but as pool to which various professions can usefully contribute. In fact, it is heartening to note the larger number of "professionally" trained people in the Central Cabinet recently formed, which is certainly a trend in the right direction.

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administration operates have been largely set in a different context; it is time that these are altered—if a greater spirit of dynamism is to be displayed by the administrators at all levels.

It is significant to note that even in the U.K. where Civil service tradition is firmly established a Committee has been set up last year under the chairmanship of Lord Fulton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex. The Fulton Committee has been charged to examine the structure, recruitment, training and management of the Home Civil Service in order to ensure "that the service is properly equipped for its role in modern State". It would seem that a similar high-powered probe into the various aspects of Civil Service in India is called for to make it a more efficient instrument to suit the needs of the critical times through which the country is passing today.

PRIORITIES IN ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS*

M. Sunder Raj

IN a recent study of the factors inhibiting the rapid economic Development in India as a whole, an American economist had concluded that there are four possible "pivotal scarcities" which are the causes of the under-development in the country. According to him, these are:

- (1) will to work;
- (2) decision-making, skilled manpower and technique;
- (3) domestic savings, and
- (4) foreign exchange.

While there may be differences of opinion about the relative importance of these factors, there is no doubt that decision-making ranks very high amongst them, and is, in fact, a basic requirement for the correction of the other scarcities listed also. For example, where the will to work is lacking, the steps to inject energy into the system are required to be taken, it is a problem in decision-making as to which of the various available methods of education, incentive, persuasion or coercion should be adopted in any particular set of circumstances. Thus, the speed with which development is achieved, depends upon the speed with which correct decisions are taken in the political and economic fields.

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

The functionaries who are called upon to take these decisions are the public administrators on whom falls the responsibility for executing the policies of the political rulers of the country.

Public administration is, therefore, the means through which the State achieves its political and economic ends. It is a necessary adjunct to the political institutions, from whom it draws its power, and to whom it is ultimately accountable. In a modern State, a distinction is always drawn between the centres of political power, namely, the ministerial,

* Text of Prize Essay.

the executive and the legislatures on the one hand, and the public administration on the other. In an authoritarian State, however, it is only in the form of the organizations, if at all, that this distinction is observed. In such countries, the politician not only lays down the policy, but he also participates in the day-to-day execution of these policies. There the politician and the administrator are one and the same. But even in less authoritarian and more democratic set-ups, where the role of administration is merely one of an executive body carrying out the policies which are determined elsewhere in the political set-up, the purposes and functions of public administration are prescribed for it by the political requirements of the State. In either case, the only area in which administration has some freedom of operation is in its methods of working, but even here the scope for such freedom differs between authoritarian and democratic states. To the extent to which the people of a State have a voice in their Government, the administration is required to shape its methods to suit needs of the people affected by its activities, and, if popular demand requires it, poor and inefficient methods may have to be substituted for the more rational but less popular ones. The administrator of an authoritarian State, on the contrary, has the advantage that, in working out his methodology, he need not pay as much attention to the feelings of the human beings affected by his actions. Rationalism and efficiency are the only criteria he need consider. This no doubt gives him an advantage in the short run, but in the final result he often finds himself the loser, for, the more it is beaten and cowed down, the more successful is human nature in defeating the schemes of its oppressors.

The Role of the Modern State

The purposes and functions of the State, therefore, provide the limits within which the public administration of the country has to operate.

Unlike its predecessors, the modern State is expected to take an active part in the acceleration of economic and social changes necessitated by the great technological applications. This, in turn, causes the State to enter into a larger field of activities than before. Not only is the State required to act as the prime mover in economic and social matters, but the direction in which it is required to act is the spreading of economic prosperity over the populace as a whole by breaking down and obstructing privilege. Even where complete socialism is not the goal, the area of public services has steadily grown larger and larger.

Purposes and Functions of Public Administration

Thus, the objectives, goals and areas of function of the State have

become enlarged, and this has correspondingly affected the purposes and activities of the organization for public administration. The administrator is no longer merely a conservative preserver of the existing order, or even a neutral umpire over freely operating social forces, but an active participant in the social and economic re-organization of the country. To be successful in this endeavour, it is necessary that the personnel in the administration have faith and belief in these goals. If the administration as a whole, or at least its leadership, does not subscribe to these ideologies—as it very often happens in a country emerging from the traditional stage—progress is hindered and the rapid advancement of the society becomes difficult. Social change means a change in the system of values, and it cannot be achieved unless those engaged in the process of affecting the change themselves subscribe to the new system of values.

Administration and National Progress

In an underdeveloped country, the responsibility of public administration in this matter is very much more than in countries which have attained a high level of development. In underdeveloped countries the mass of the people are poor and uneducated, and are deeply attached to the ancient traditions and conservative ways of life. The leadership in the changes to be effected in such a society falls on the administrator even more than on the politician, for it is the former who has to carry out all those acts necessary to give effect to the ideals which the latter sets before the country. The administrators, in such circumstances, are not merely the servants of the people, but are in fact the elites of the society who have to, firmly though unobtrusively, guide the society on to the new changes. At the same time, the administrator is expected to train the people for self-government so that they may take on themselves those activities which in a democratic society ought to fall on the people themselves, and not on the administrators. Nor can he afford to delay the provision of new facilities, such as schools, hospitals, housing, etc., which the society requires urgently. The orderly movement to development requires a continuing trust in the administration by the people. Such trust cannot but be shaken, if the promises to the people are not fulfilled.

ATTITUDES AND TECHNIQUES

Ideologies

If the success of the plans for social progress and economic development through State intervention is not to be jeopardised, the first essential task is to ensure that the administrators do not have,

consciously or unconsciously, attitudes opposed to the planned changes. Unfortunately, the importance of, and the need for, ideological education of the administrators has not been recognized in the democratically-inclined under-developed countries. But, even if this need came to be given due recognition, there would still be difficulty in working out and implementing any scheme of philosophical re-orientation. Critics and opponents of the accepted policies would oppose this on the ground that this contravenes the theory of administrative neutrality, according to which public servants should remain aloof from policy matters, and should not let their ideologies bias their decisions either way in such matters. There is much to be said for such a theory of intellectual and social isolation of public servants when the political and social issues are not of a profound nature. But where the changes planned for are fundamental in nature, and affect deep traditional sentiments, it is too much to expect that they can be easily achieved through an administration which itself is steeped in these traditions. If social and economic reforms are to progress rapidly in an undeveloped country, therefore, attention should be given early to the development of proper philosophical attitudes in the administration.

Techniques of Administration

One way of achieving this would be to include a course in administrative ideologies when training is imparted in the technical aspects of administration. For, thanks to the variety, number, and complexity of functions that the modern State is called upon to perform, it has become necessary to equip administrators for their tasks by imparting special training. Moreover, a considerable volume of knowledge has been developed about the problems of methods and organizations in administration. Decision-making, which at one time was considered an art, has been subjected to a rigorous analysis, and some aspects of it are now treated as an organized discipline capable of being subjected to scientific methods of study.

Training in Techniques

Unfortunately, however, sufficient attention is not at present being given in this country to the training of the administrators in these techniques, though there has been some attempt at improvement in the last fifteen years. An Institute of Public Administration has been set up in Delhi. A short course in administration is included in the training of all Class I Officers, including IAS, IFS, IAAS Officers, etc., at the time of their initial recruitment. An Administrative Staff College has been set up in Hyderabad where a small selected group of officials who

have put in a few years of service are given refresher courses. Similarly, the Railways have a Staff College at Baroda for their officers. An occasional seminar rounds off the total effort in the country. But all this is not enough, considering how vast the country is, and how great the need for trained administrators for all the innumerable and complex functions which the State has undertaken to perform in this highly technological age. A U.N. report says: "In simpler days good administration was important, to-day it is essential", and this need is greater still in underdeveloped countries struggling to slough off their poverty. A vast scheme of training of administrators is, therefore, one of the steps necessary for the improvement of public administration, and the training should not only be in the basic skills, but should also be directed towards the development of proper attitudes and beliefs.

ADMINISTRATION AND THE PEOPLE

Administration as Service

Before proceeding to examine the methodology of the public administration in India, a few remarks are necessary on the general relationship between it and the people. In theory, administration is the servant of the people, being the tool of the State, which is itself only the representative of the people. Actually, however, the political mechanism of the modern State being very complex, this relationship tends to be hidden in ordinary working immediate and direct popular control over the day-to-day activities of the administrators being not feasible. Moreover, in colonial and other types of authoritarian governments, the attitude of the administrators towards the people is usually paternalistic—when they are not antagonistic—and the people have to silently obey the instructions and orders of the administrators who are the accepted masters in the situation. Even after the people have achieved power in such countries, the pre-Independence psychology tends to be carried over. Such indeed is the case in India. Not only do the citizens find themselves often treated without that respect and dignity which is their due, but even in their material interests they are affected adversely. Administrators do not always act with justice, impartiality and reasonableness. Moreover the people, especially the poorer sections, are often not aware of what the laws and regulations are, and what their privileges under them are. The administrator, whose duty it is to make these known widely, fails to do so, and this provides an opportunity for the exploitation of the unfortunate citizen. An additional factor which contributes to this state of affairs is the secrecy which surrounds the whole administrative process. Of course, there are certain aspects of the administrative function which it is

essential in the public interest to conduct in privacy, but this is justifiable only in the case of such measures as public security, the conduct of international relations, etc. There is no reason why other activities of the administrators should be shrouded in the mystery in which they are at present. Many a maladministration escapes uncorrected under this cloak, and the unfortunate victims have no remedy.

People's Right to have Information

It is essential, therefore, that information should be available to the citizen not only about the manner in which administration functions generally, but also about the particular way in which individual cases are disposed of within the administration. At present we have no statutory provisions to ensure this. The Question Hour in the Parliament provides a means of getting some information occasionally, but the rule which prohibits individual cases being brought up there limits its utility. In the United States, legislation has been recently enacted, giving the right to the citizens to have information on the way in which cases affecting him have been dealt with in the administration, except where national security is involved. There is a great need for similar legislation in this country.

Ombudsmen

But even this would not be sufficient to help the individuals in their struggles against the Leviathan of the modern State. There are many types of cases where the victims of maladministration find themselves without satisfactory legal remedies, such, for example, as arises when excessive delays occur in the settlement of a citizen's dues, or where an administrator fails to discharge functions which are normally expected of him, though no legislative or other statutory provision exists compelling him to do so. Some institution, such as the Ombudsmen, who has the authority to interfere with the executive process, and to whom the citizen could turn in such cases, requires to be statutorily established. It is true that, in a vast and backward country like ours, where the administration exercises enormous powers, the institution of Ombudsmen will in turn have to be very large in size. There is every danger that Ombudsmen will themselves become tied up in red-tape. But these objections notwithstanding, the current situation requires an institution of this nature urgently. It may, perhaps, be started in an experimental and limited way, and its success watched before it is made more general.

ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS

Operational Tactics

Purposes, functions and relationships with the citizens are aspects of administration external to it. They define the limits with which it has to operate, and they provide the ultimate criteria for judging its utility. Within these limits, however, the administrative set-up functions as an autonomous organized social system for the performance of the tasks of government. The responsibility for drawing up the strategy for attaining the national goals devolves upon the political organs of the State, but it is the administration which has to work out the tactics within this larger plan. Though subject to the overall constitutional and political controls, it has to work out its own operational principles so that it may carry out its functions efficiently and economically.

Efficiency Factors

The factors affecting the efficient operation of administrative systems in general have been, over the recent years, the subject of very exhaustive studies. They have shown that these factors could be brought together under three broad groups. These are, firstly, organizational structure, that is, the way the forces are marshalled, secondly, the methods of working adopted within the system, and thirdly, the quality and behaviour of the personnel in the system. These by themselves, however, do not provide any criteria of efficiency for a public administration, the ultimate test for which would be its success in tackling a given task. The fundamental task of administration is decision-making, subject to the requirements that the decisions are correct, and are arrived at efficiently, speedily and without undue friction.

Administrative Inefficiency

Judged by these tests, there is no doubt that public administration in India is very much wanting in efficiency. It is common experience, acknowledged by the political rulers and the administrators themselves, that it takes great lengths of time for decisions to be reached even in minor matters. Plans and projects are invariably delayed in their execution. There is a great tendency to avoid responsibility at all levels. Very often all relevant data are not taken into consideration in drawing up plans. Moreover, schemes which look quite satisfactory on paper ultimately run into obstacles, because the human element in them has been overlooked. Personnel chosen for the execution of the tasks are not sufficiently trained or do not have the proper attitudes. Or, as it

happens very often, sufficient thought had not been given, while drawing up the plans, to the impact they would have on the people affected, and their reactions to it. This factor is especially important where the schemes are such as affect the social life of the people, their ways of thinking and working, such as the Community Development and Village Uplift Projects.

Causes of Inefficiency

To trace the factors in the administration responsible for this, and which consequently would require correction, it is necessary to examine it in more detail from the three organizational aspects referred to earlier, namely, structure, methods and personnel.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Structural Tiers

Public administration in India is organized in two more or less independent tiers at the Centre and the States level respectively. This is because the Constitution is a federal one under which political power is distributed between the Central and State Governments, each of which is concerned with certain specified subjects only. The area of concern of the State Governments includes community development and co-operative activities which are of vital importance for the transformation of a backward country. The machineries of the Central and State Government deal with the normal problems of public administration of a country, including such public services as Railways, Postal Services, etc. In addition, the State in India has, with a view to aiding the rapid progress of the country towards modernization, taken over the control of certain commercial and industrial enterprises. In order to have the management of these undertakings conducted on business principles, their control is vested in autonomous agencies, such as Corporations, or Boards of Directors formed under the Companies Act, etc. Though the organizational problems of such public sector undertakings present special features, they nevertheless form part of the general public administration in the country and may be treated as such.

Historical Survey

A brief historical survey of the growth of public administration in India may perhaps help to formulate the problems of administrative structure in the country.

The framework of the administration at present in India has been built over the years under the British rule, which itself took over some

of the forms from its predecessors in the various areas, the Mughals in the north, the Mahrattas and the various kingdoms in the south. The base of all administration from the earliest historical periods, and even prior to the coming of the Mughals, has been the village units, administering justice and conducting their local affairs through their own caste councils or Panchayats. Kingdoms rose and fell, but the village units survived and functioned through all the political changes. The central authority in these kingdoms exercised control of varying order over these local units. Some like the Gupta Empire exercised a strong central authority, which gave a measure of stability to the empires, at least for some time before internecine warfare toppled them down. But in the case of most others, the ambition to expand their territories led only to brief glories followed by disaster, not the least important cause for which was their failure to organize their central administrative machinery. However, in spite of the fact that the land was split up into so many independent kingdoms, the system of government in the villages was more or less the same throughout India, and the legal or moral codes which governed the society everywhere was more or less based on the same principles and ideals. This was because of the cultural influences of the Brahmanical religion which, as it spread gradually down the rivers, to the plains and along the coast, shaped the thinking of even those races and people who did not completely become brahmanized. Thus a cultural uniformity was achieved even without political centralization. India was felt to be one even though it was not seen as such.

It was the Mughals and the other Muslim invaders who brought with them their Persian and Arab experience of central administrations which they imposed over the village units without attempting to destroy them. Thus Subahs were created, and executive and judicial administration organized in tiers spreading from the centre down to the local units. The form of administration was thus a dual one, a strong central and district organization functioning through local autonomous units at the village level, which remained unshaken even where proselytization took place on a large scale.

For the first time in her history India attained political unification under the British, who came as traders and remained to rule. For both these purposes the British found it convenient to build up a strong central government duly supported by local provincial authorities, the base unit of the whole structure being the District. This was the Moghul system duly adapted to the British needs. At the same time great social and economic changes took place in the country. The peaceful conditions that prevailed encouraged the growth of cities,

and a distinctly urban shift took place in the centres of social power. The form of government having become more autocratic, the villages also ceased to enjoy the political power which they had unobtrusively exercised throughout the previous centuries of turmoil. In their role of rulers in India, the objective of the British was mainly to maintain law and order with the minimum interference in the social and economic institutions of the country. To man the highly centralized district-based administration, a bureaucracy was developed, great care being devoted to the problems of selection of personnel, their training and specialization. The system was perfectly organized with clearly designated hierarchical distribution of executive and judicial power. Procedural codes were evolved and the organization perfected.

The structure and form of the administrative organization had been brought to a high pitch of perfection by 1947, when India attained her Independence. It was the envy of other colonial empires, and served the British well in the purpose for which it was forged, namely, the maintenance of law and order, and pacification of a large colonial territory, whose people differed in language, culture, religion, etc., and whose sense of nationality was rather tenuous. Moreover, it was an administration which withstood the strain of steady political changes and reforms, leading to a gradual devolution of power from the colonial masters to the local people.

Post-Independence Problems

Following Independence, the trained foreign bureaucrats departed, but their place was readily taken by Indian officers, and the transition to constitutional democracy took place smoothly without any breakdown in administration. Soon thereafter, however, the economic and social policies of the new Government posed new problems of administrative structures.

State Enterprizes Management

Firstly, the State has begun to act as an entrepreneur in the economic field, and new forms of administration had to be created to man these industrial and trading enterprizes. Thus have come into being autonomous corporations and Boards of Directors of Limited Companies in the Public Sector. These, however, have not succeeded in solving the basic problem of organizing these enterprizes in such a way as to give them flexibility of operation in all but the highest policy matters in which only government should have the final say. Though in theory, the autonomous bodies do have this freedom, in actual

practice, however, this is not so. Neither the legislative nor the executive arms of the Government are prepared to vest in them such freedom from accountability. What is required is to develop a type of managerial organization as in the United States, where owners' interference with management is minimal, and their control very nominal. Such a managerial revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in social thought. It also involves training and building up a new type of managers. This is an extremely urgent matter, as the success of the mixed economy, which is an integral part of India's ideal of a social pattern of society is dependent upon this. Recent developments have clearly demonstrated that the fundamental problem of the public sector undertaking is one of manning them.

Grass-roots of Social Democracy

Secondly, through such activities as Community Development, Rural Co-operative Societies, the Zilla Parishads, the Village Panchayats, etc., the State is attempting to build up the grass-roots of social democracy, which in the present conditions in the country implies vast social changes. It involves educating large masses or superstitious and backward people to change their attitudes and re-orientate their fundamental philosophies of life. New bonds of social relations have to be forged in the place of the caste system which is being broken up.

This being a completely new field of activity in which the administration has had no previous experience, its success requires the creation of a new type of organization and a new kind of administrator. At present, however, all that has been done is to create new Departments working through the District Collectors as in the classical manner. The outlook of the personnel operating these schemes differs little from the other bureaucrats. It is not surprising, therefore, that the progress of establishing democracy at the grass-roots in the country is rather slow. A piece of administrative reform urgently necessary for the success of this praiseworthy endeavour is, therefore, the creation of specialized agencies, not organized in the conventional manner.

Centralized Planning

Thirdly, a national policy of central planning for controlled development has been accepted by the State, and is being implemented from 1951, when the First Five Year Plan went into operation. This has given rise to a number of problems in administration. These are distinct from questions of a political nature, such as whether Planning

should come from above or below, to what extent should society be subject to Planning, how the people should be associated in the formulation and execution of the plan, what modifications should be made in the relationship between the Centre and the State which have distinct powers in a federal Constitution so as to make centralized planning effective, who should constitute the members of planning body, etc. Some of the purely administrative questions that arise are:

- (1) in case the planning body is set up outside the normal executive organization of the Government, as the planning Commission in this country is, should its advisory services be arranged in the existing organization, or should it have an administration of its own for this purpose;
- (2) to what extent should the Planning Commission concern itself with the details of the Plan;
- (3) what should be the Planning Commission's responsibility for reviewing the progress of the Plan, and what reports is the Planning Commission entitled to ask for from the executive ministries;
- (4) what is the mechanism for dovetailing the work of the planning machinery in the States with that of the Centre; etc.

It must be confessed that the administrative organizations for Planning have grown haphazardly without any systematic examination of these problems. The result is that the Planning Commission today is a huge mammoth organization—almost “a parallel Government” in the words of Pandit Nehru—whose thinking often appears as if it is not related to the factual situation in the country. Moreover, in spite of its large staff, it does not appear to have evolved a satisfactory organization for the collection of such of the basic data necessary for sound planning. The relationship between the planning body and the executive organs, especially in the States, is not also very happy. No procedure has been worked out for an effective control over the progress of the plan schemes.

Few people would disagree that our Plans have gone awry. The most important reasons no doubt lie elsewhere in the political field, but the failure to set up a proper organization for the administration of the Plans has also been a contributory factor. Some may question the efficacy of centralized bureaucratic planning, of the nature of our Five

Year Plans, in a state which is not totalitarian. Whatever the views on the subject, if it is proposed to continue the policy of centralized planning, the least that should be done is to re-organize the administrations, so as to eliminate overlapping of functions, and to make planning flexible and related to factual conditions.

Except in these three directions, the formal structure of the Indian administration may be considered to be quite sound. It has grown with, and adapted itself, to the social and political life in the country. In this respect the administration can compare favourably with that in any of the modern advanced countries. But this cannot be said with the same unequivocalness of the way the structure functions.

INFORMAL GROUPS AND ESPRIT DE CORPS

Growth of Bureaucratic Rigidity

It seems to be an unfortunate law of growth of institutions that, in the early stages when their forms are vague and their methods somewhat informal, they function easily, though they present an appearance of confusion and irrational organization. As the institutions grow, and forms and methods are systematized and rationalized, they become rigid and inflexible. The personal touch which existed earlier is lost in rules, conventions and forms. This is the stage when administration becomes a hated bureaucracy.

Long before they were called upon to quit the country, the British had noticed this tendency in the Indian Administration. The early stages of the pioneers and military conquerors being over, they realized this to be the natural consequence of the consolidation and settlement stage of their empire. To them, however, this was no serious evil, as their main objective was to maintain law and order, and to hold off reforms, changes and modernization of the country as long as possible. There were of course some even amongst them who complained the growth of bureaucracy and who attempted in a half-hearted way to effect reforms. But the evil had not grown in their time to such proportions as to cause severe criticism, or to call for urgent administrative reforms.

Informal Groups

The formal structure of an organization lays down the rules for the conduct of business both within and with outsiders. Vertically it distributes power within the organization, indicating the various

hierarchical levels and the relationships between them. It prescribes the functions and duties of the various officials, and the nature and mode of rewards and punishments. Within this framework officials function, but the manner in which they do so is determined by other factors, called face-to-face-factors or primary groups. As human beings their passions and emotional attachments guide their conduct.

The I.C.S. in pre-Independence

What saved the British administration in India from the excess of bureaucracy, which it has developed later, was the close relationship that existed amongst the British officials of the Indian Civil Service, who formed the core of the administration. They formed a coterie with a pride in their role of rulers of a mighty empire. They came from the same class, and had a common philosophy and outlook on the world shaped by the Public Schools and Oxbridge. Except for the post of Viceroy, all the posts in the country were open to them. They were both the policy-makers and the executive officials. Though in their formal relations a certain distance separated the juniors from the seniors, in their social life and in clubs the levels disappeared, except to the extent necessary for decorum. Thus was forged a unity of thought and aims, and an avenue through which red-tape could be cut, and formalities waived whenever necessary. Amongst such a privileged class there was no need for nepotism or sycophancy. This was the informal group which gave life to the administration and saved it from brittle rigidity.

Post-Independence and Vertical Rigidity

With the departure of the British, the informal groups which have taken their place within the administration are altogether different in character. In the first place there has been a clear-cut division between, on the one hand, the policy-makers, who are the Ministers and the legislators, and on the other, the official class. Not only do the two categories reach their offices from different directions, not only is there, in most cases, a wide difference of class, community and language, but more important still, there is a complete social isolation between the two. Moreover, the codes of conduct for Government servants operate to isolate them from the social and community life of the country. The result is that the administration functions more or less autonomously, the offices being like monasteries, shielded not only from the public gaze, but even from the Ministers and the legislators, who, even if they had the time to venture into the regions of bureaucracy, would not be able to find their way through its mazes.

In fact, it is not a single administration that we have in this country, but a large number of separate and independent units. It is not merely that the Municipalities and State Governments have their separate administrations which are independent of the Central Government, but that their mutual relations are often bitter and full of animosity. Even between the various departments of the Central Government the relations are none too good, thus making effective co-ordination almost impossible. The position is worse where the Ministries and their field offices, called subordinate offices, are concerned. Cross-cutting all this is the Ministry of Finance, and its branch offices of the Financial Advisers, whose relations with the executive ministries and officers are, to say the least of it, deplorable. As for the Accounts and Audit Offices, they avenge the indifference with which they are treated and their exclusion from executive authority by being as difficult as possible with a lordly air of indifference. Public Administration in India, therefore, appears as a large number of independent units, each one autonomous in itself, with its own goals, and objectives. There seem to be no horizontal fields of contract between them, the organizational lines running vertically, and establishing contact only at the topmost level. When officials of two units require anything of each other, they agree to take it up with their Ministry or Government.

Post-Independence and Horizontal Rigidity

Within these units themselves, the position is not any better. A rigid formality reigns in the relationship between the various hierarchical levels and there is a high degree of status consciousness. Officials are unapproachable even to those immediately below them not only officially but also socially. Unlike the British, the new officers come from different communities and areas, with different customs, manners, language and outlook, the product of the regional biases in education and social development. Even the more senior officers who had been brought up in the British rule are now affected by these changes. In such circumstances, caste and community determine the informal group associations, thus reflecting within the administration the general social conditions in the country. These tendencies of rigidity and atomisation which have grown rapidly in the last twenty years since Independence, and which seriously and adversely affect the character of the administration cannot be counteracted merely by any set of reforms within the administration. They can only change as the general social consciousness changes in the country.

Building up an esprit de corps

Meanwhile, to some extent these tendencies are counteracted by the extension of the principle of constituting all-India services in such

departments, as Education, Agriculture Engineering, etc. Such all-India services do provide the necessary link between the Central and State administrations through a cadre of officers common to both. However, they also tend to erect caste-like barriers between the various hierarchical levels, thus making the organizational structure more rigid. What is called for is a judicious mixture of promotions and direct recruitment at various levels, and of inter-state transfers, as well as transfers between the State and the Centre. Suitable monetary and other incentives should be extended to those willing to accept the hardships of such transfers. Thus only can an *esprit de corps* be developed which would give the various administrative units of country the feeling of being engaged on a common enterprise.

DECENTRALIZATION AND DECONCENTRATION

It is a basic principle of democracy that local transactions should be conducted as close to the concerned citizens as possible. Decentralization—as distinct from delegation of authority—of public administration is, however, a matter which falls within the sphere of politics, for it is the political constitution which sets the limits to devolution of functions to local authority. But where decentralization is not possible, some measure of geographical deconcentration of the ministerial functions to regional and area offices is necessary, if the citizen's interests are to receive the necessary attention, and he is not to feel that the administration is remote and, therefore, indifferent to him.

SYSTEMS AND METHODS

In its systems and methods, even more than in its structure, public administration in India reveals a vast area calling for reforms.

Office Size and Environment

The first thing that officials, who had retired from Government service prior to Independence, would notice, if they were to return to their posts now, would be the vast increase in the clerical establishment of the offices. To some extent no doubt this is due to the enlarged scope of activities of the offices concerned, but principally, it is the result of decrease in productivity, and increasing formulation of procedures. But whatever be the cause, the fact remains that the large size of these offices poses serious problems of management and organization. No attention has been paid to accommodation, lighting and ventilation, seating arrangements, sanitation, or canteen facilities. Files are maintained in the most shabby condition, and no care has

been bestowed on the question of proper maintenance of old records. It is not merely that all this leads to the offices representing an unseemly sight. They have a very adverse effect upon the efficiency of the services rendered by the office, with consequent disorganization of the administration. Naturally, in such circumstances, few staff develop pride in their work and in their office. This could partly explain the fact that clerical staff in Government offices not only give poor output but are also always dissatisfied. The effect of environment upon the psychology of the worker is one of the things ignored in Government administration in this country. It is essential, therefore, that the Heads of Departments and their officers are made to take an interest in these matters. There should be no great difficulty in overcoming the physical problems of seating, lighting, etc. Government already spends large sums on office buildings, etc., but generally the Heads of the Offices have no control or say in the manner in which the money is spent, or on the facilities provided. Under the extant rules this is the responsibility of another department, such as the P.W.D., for whom naturally the problem does not appear in the same light or have the same urgency. If, however, Heads of Offices and Departments are to be made responsible for the physical condition of their offices, some system of vesting them with more real power in these matters will have to be evolved.

Office Procedure and O & M

But it is not only the physical conditions of the office that require immediate attention. Filing, recording, routing of documents, and handling of correspondence also require to be improved. The procedures at present in vogue are those that were evolved in pre-war and pre-Independence years, when the offices were very much smaller in size. No attempts have been made to change and adapt these to suit the altered conditions. To cite an example, it is one of the rules—honoured in the breach—of government offices that record should be maintained, in suitable registers, of the receipt and disposal of all letters—including reminders. This was obviously a good rule when the size of an office did not exceed about forty or fifty clerks, and the inward letters were daily not more than fifty or so. But there are few central offices now, where the clerical strength is less than a hundred—in some they even run to thousands. The volume of correspondence has multiplied even more. The result is that though in theory these registers are still to be maintained and be available for tracing disposal of correspondence—for which purpose alone some offices have even twenty or thirty clerks in their receipt and despatch sections—in actual practice it is found impossible to keep these registers properly posted

and up-to-date. (That explains partly why the letters of the public to Government Departments are quite often reported as not traceable.) What is required is to reorganize the whole system and methods of working, making use of the various modern techniques that have been evolved, such as forms designs, loose leaf registers, systematized flow of documents, organizing of work to manageable proportions, etc. A start was made in this direction by setting up O & M organizations in some of the Central Government offices. But somehow this has not been a success, partly perhaps because these organizations are manned by the existing employees themselves, who are not trained in these techniques, and who do not have much knowledge of the same. It appears that the best course would be to employ outside consultants who should study and deal with each office separately.

Mechanization

But the question of the size of the office itself poses a big problem. Beyond a certain size offices become unmanageable; and yet it appears that in many cases the growth in size cannot be avoided, especially where accounting, stores procurement and distribution, and such other functions are involved. Mechanization seems to be the only solution to the problem, and should be adopted wherever possible. Computers may be installed where the volume and complexity of work justifies it, but there are a number of simpler machines such as Addressographs, Accounting Machines, etc. which could usefully find a place in many offices, without raising the problem of personnel lay-off which Computer installation is bound to cause.

CLERICAL NATURE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Clerical Strength

Before leaving the subject of office organization, a reference has to be made to the part played by clerical staff in its working. It is a remarkable feature of the Indian Administration that the base level, which is made up of clerical staff, is very large in comparison with the middle or top levels. In some of the offices the ratio may be as high as 100:1:1. This definitely gives a clerical twist to the character of the administration, which is not unjustifiably referred to, by the general public, as an Administration of Clerks.

Office Procedures under the British

The British rulers had looked upon their offices as mere aids to administration, all policy-making and executive decisions-making being retained in their hands. As the function of the office was purely

clerical, including maintenance of records, receipt of petitions and communication of decisions, it was sufficient for their purpose to have only clerks, and a single Manager to look to the general management of the office. They never felt the need for a middle management which could relieve them of some of their executive responsibilities and to whom power could be delegated. It was only in the larger Secretariat Offices, and for some of the major departments that a few—just the minimum necessary—assistants and deputies were provided at the level of officers. This does not mean, however, that the clerks and the office Managers did not exert any influence in the administration. On the contrary, they wielded indirect power on a scale vastly out of proportion to their official status. This they were able to, because the British officials, being stranger to the land and its social life, and not being able to come into contact with all the phases of life over the vast areas that they ruled, had to take them into their confidence, and be guided by them in many matters, especially appointments, distribution of grants and favours, and so on.

Notings

The post-Independence policy in regard to the administrative organization was, as already explained, to effect no changes in the forms but merely to add on staff wherever necessary. Consequently, while the clerical strength began to be augmented in large numbers—and the officers' cadres to some extent—the middle management has been very much neglected. The clerks grew in strength, and where they had previously wielded power only indirectly, they have now begun to take an active and open part in executive decisions. It is not that any formal authority has been vested in them, but it is a development arising out of the new methods of working. In an effort to rationalize procedures and to minimise the personal bias in administrative decisions, a vast code of rules and regulations have been built up, and innumerable procedural instructions laid down for everything. It is only the official who has been in the same office for a number of years who is familiar with the particular rules, regulations and instructions which affect his work. He is also the only one who is aware of the history of the cases handled by him—since cases take years to settle. Moreover, only by a long tenure of his office can he know the precedents which have a bearing on the cases that come to him—and in public administration, precedents are as important as rules. Officers are moved from post to post frequently, and, compared to them, the clerks' tenure in an organization is very much longer. This gives them a clear advantage, in that they are the only people in the office familiar with all the relevant rules, regulations, procedures and precedents. Hence, it is they on

whom falls the initiative for dealing with cases. The normal procedure in any public office in India today when a letter is received is to hand it over to the clerk concerned, who initiates the long tortuous process through which it has to pass before final disposal, by writing a "note", in which he quotes the relevant rules affecting the case, the precedents, if any, various alternative courses of action available, and the arguments for and against them. Though the decision on the "note" lies with the higher officers, they are more or less guided by it. The "note" then moves up the executive ladder, rung by rung; no rung is to be skipped in this ritual—with scarcely any one recording any dissent on it—till it reaches the authority considered competent to order "action as proposed", as the officialese goes. Thus the Clerk, that is to say the lowest official in the rung, rules finally, and higher officials often bemoan their helplessness, saying: "What can I do? The Office Note was like that; how could I do against it!" And that is why the public find it easier to get things done in the government offices by going to the clerks, rather than to the higher officials, who in any case have themselves to turn to the clerks.

Baneful Clerical Influence

There is no doubt that clerks play an unduly large part in the administration. The evils of such a system are obvious. It gives great scope for corruption, as the low paid official finds himself exercising great power. Besides, the outlook and attitude of the Administration becomes narrow and petty, which is not surprising since the clerks cannot be expected to have any great breadth of vision. And above all it results in a demand for more and more clerks who tie the whole administration up in red tape. It also means a very large amount of paper work, and of writing of "notes", memoranda and aide-memoires on even the merest trifles. On the slightest excuse, and often with no excuse at all, it is considered necessary to consult, and so refer paper to, other offices. Ability to "note" and "draft" is considered an important and valuable qualification for promotion and advancement in the administration.

Acceptance of Personal Accountability

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the baneful influence of the clerks should be destroyed. The first step in this direction would be to rule that the function of clerks in offices should be the merely routine ones of maintaining files, receiving and despatching letters, etc. Executive action on cases should be initiated only at the officers' level who may have one or two personal staff attached to them for that

purpose. The junior officers should be trained to acquire self-confidence, and to act as middle-management, fully responsible for the less important executive decision. There should ordinarily be no need for cases to pass through more than two rungs of the hierarchy before final disposal. Personal responsibility of officers for the work allotted to them, and the cases dealt with by them, should be recognized. A basic condition for improvement is the simplification of rules and procedures, including the rules for regulation of pay and allowances. Simple Pay Codes should be evolved.

Delegation of Powers

The rules for the delegation of financial powers to officials are at present very deceptive. On the face of it, the delegation charts read as if substantial powers are delegated, but actually these are qualified by procedural rules which lay down strict and detailed instructions regarding the manner in which the expenditure, e.g., on purchases is to be incurred. The delegations are, therefore, often formal rather than effective. It is necessary that these restrictions should be removed. It is only by reforms of this nature which would have the effect of vesting real power in the executive that accountability can be secured. As it is, responsibility for the administrative shortcomings is very often at present difficult to determine. When things go wrong it is not the personnel who are corrected, but the rules which are further elaborated, and so the rules and red-tape grow, and the importance of personnel in administration is forgotten.

CONTROL AND COMMUNICATION

Two-way Communication for Control

One of the reasons why administrative offices employ a large number of non-technical staff out of all proportion to the field staff, and why technical staff have to devote so much of their time to non-technical aspects of their work—and feel frustrated by the petty controls to which they are subjected by the administrative staff—is because the concept of control is not properly understood by the administration. For good administration it is important that the central office which co-ordinates all activities should issue instructions and directives to the lower formations and field staff. But good guidance is possible only if the controlling centre is provided regularly with information on the progress of work with the aid of which it can control, modify and direct the activities of the whole organization in the best way possible to achieve the objectives. A good two-way system of communication is therefore essential if control is to be effective,

The Technocrat and the General Administrator

But efficient control is not possible unless the controlling authority has also the necessary technical knowledge. Otherwise, control becomes purely formal and more concerned with procedures than with the substance matter of the work. This is what is happening at present in the Indian Administration. Officials exercising central control being with few exceptions generally non-technical people, the field technical officers feel frustrated at the amount of petty, non-technical information that they are called upon to furnish, and at the lack of interest in the actual progress of the work shown by the administrative officials. The most glaring example is the number and nature of the periodical reports which are required by the Ministries and the Planning Commission. Indeed the way the Planning Commission has grown, and is functioning at present furnishes the best example of the dangers of continuing with the old ideas of organizations. It has become a huge body of officials, almost a super-government having a say even in the day-to-day work of all the important offices, to which vast volumes of periodical reports and reviews flow from all direction, but which nevertheless does not appear to have the ability to give effective direction to the economy. This is not to advocate that administration should be handed over to technocrats for that would not improve matters either. The executive function is a specialised technique, and the technocrat is not better qualified to discharge these functions than the "general administrator". Both require to be trained in these functions.

"Line" and "Staff" System

A system of organization that would be more suitable for this purpose than that traditional in this country is the "Line" and "Staff" type, now commonly in operation in the advanced countries of the West, and which follows the organizational pattern in the Army. In this system the executives in the field are the "Line" staff and the chief of the "Staff" is an administrator who is assisted by a number of functional assistants who are specialists in the field, and who have only a small group of personal staff attached to them. It may be worthwhile experimenting in this type of organization in future in this country.

THE DISTRICT COLLECTOR

There is one particular official in the administration on whom falls the major responsibility for translating all the new policy and planning into executive action for the mass of the people. That is the District

Collector. Traditionally he is the fulcrum round whom the civil government revolves, and that he still continues to be. But he is no longer the law and order and revenue-collecting official of old. He has now in addition become responsible for the implementation of Development programmes, and for all the Plan activities in the Districts which are simply tagged on to him as they arise. Some relief has been no doubt provided by creating posts such as Additional Collectors. But the slow progress in the transformation of the countryside makes it obligatory to enquire now whether the Collector need necessarily be closely associated in all these plans, and whether new organizations could not be evolved for this purpose. This, however, is a problem which requires a careful examination by Government with the aid of experts in the matter. Like the Justices of the Peace under the Tudors in Great Britain, the District Collector in India is "a maid of all work". This costs too heavy a burden on him which he is not at present able to deal with satisfactorily, for the work is too large and too varied. He is in theory responsible to too many people, but in practice his responsibility is so diffused that it is his own personality, taste, and inclination which decide the amount of attention he is prepared to pay to the various aspects of his work.

FINANCE AND AUDIT

The Nature of Financial Control

The part which the Finance wings and the Audit Department play in public administration is very peculiar indeed. The formal function of these two branches is perhaps no different from their counterpart in other countries. But it is generally conceded that at every stage of the administration's functions the shadow of these two departments looms very large, and their scrutiny of work is very close due to the innumerable financial rules and regulations. The complaint is that this hinders progress of work, and that the frequent inquisitions result in the executive being afraid of taking responsibility and initiative in their work.

Financial Rules and Regulations

There are various criticisms of the financial rules. The first is that they are too many, too tortuous and too much concerned with petty matters of finance, neglecting the broader and more important questions. The rules governing pay, allowances, leave, etc., the so-called Establishment Finance, are so meticulously drawn up that the trouble involved in applying them does not appear worthwhile at all. So much

ingenuity has been shown in seeing that they confer as little benefits as possible, that almost all staff nurse a grievance against them. The second and equally severe criticism is that the language in which these rules are framed is so tortuous and involved that few people can understand or apply them easily. The result is that their interpretation and application has become the secret lore of small groups of petty officials not only in the Ministry of Finance, but in the Finance wings of the office all over. These officials are like priests dispensing esoteric knowledge, with the Ministry of Finance sitting like Archpriests beyond whom there is no appeal.

In other matters also the Financial Rules are old and outmoded. The present procedure for receipt and accountal of Government revenue is rather primitive; and Government ought to make more use of modern Banking Organizations for this purpose. The rules for recording and accounting expenditure on engineering works, for instance, are detailed and restrictive. They were drawn up at a time when the scale of such expenditure was very much less than at present. Their main objective was not so much to see that the finances were fully and productively employed, as to see that such expenditure was kept down to the minimum, and to prevent frauds and irregularities by prescribing cumbersome rules for the drawal of funds and for the passing of vouchers. The delegation of financial powers was also very rigidly drawn up. All contracts and purchases are to be effected through tenders, the rules governing which are so meticulously drawn up as to deprive the executive of initiative and judgment in the matter. The rules seem very often to be framed not so much to protect financial interests as to satisfy some moral requirements. The executive are required to judge the capability of contractors and suppliers within the framework of these rules rather than by other technical factors. This is one of the main reasons for the slow progress of Government works, and for the frequent disputes with contractors and purveyors of material.

Audit

The role of the Statutory Audit is also felt by the executive to be very restrictive. It is true that the function of Audit is merely to bring to the notice of the concerned higher authorities, namely, the Government, and the Legislature—and through them to the public—the extent to which the aims and purposes for which public funds are provided are being observed by the executive. In actual practice, however, Audit plays a very important part in setting the tone of the Administration, as the Public Accounts Committee, with the Audit Report as its guide, conducts searching inquiries into the executive's activities. Through

the medium of the Report of the Committee which is placed before the Legislature, and is made public, officials can be castigated and directives issued to Government. The attitude of Audit therefore indirectly shapes the conduct of the Administration, and if Audit sets more store by the procedural rules and regulations, rather than the substantial achievements—as it is very often felt to do—then the executive are bound to pay greater observance to these rules than to the progress of their works. There is, it appears, a need to make the critics of the Administration appreciate that too much insistence on a rigid observance of rules is bound to be harmful in the long run. Except where serious irregularities of a fraudulent nature are concerned, the only ground for criticism of executive decision should be its resultant success or failure, and not what might have been the result if a different decision had been taken. The taking of an executive decision is an individual trait. It is an art of which not all seem to be capable. There is no way of standardising procedures for arriving at correct decisions, in spite of all the modern tools of Operation Research. Excessive criticism purely on formal grounds is, therefore, bound to result in executive paralysis. The problem of making Audit constructive and helpful is an extremely difficult one whose solution requires a sympathetic understanding between the auditor, the executive and the legislator.

BUDGET AND ACCOUNTS

Budgetary Control

The forms of Budget and Accounting also require to be reformed. Legislative control over Government finances is conducted department-wise, through what are called Demands for Grants and Appropriation Accounts, and the system is so organized as to lay more emphasis on the provision of funds than on the manner in which they have been utilized. Thus Government budget is not so much a tool for seeing that funds are productively used, as to see that the executive do not incur expenditure irregularly or without funds. Moreover, the limited and short periods for which funds are provided makes long-term planning and organization of projects and schemes difficult. Indian budgeting techniques are old and outmoded. They have not adopted modern techniques, such as Planning and Performance Budgets, which provide neat techniques for Government budget being used as an effective tool in implementing social and economic developmental plans.

Accounting Organizations

As regards the organization for accountal and disbursement of funds, till recently the executive had no control over the organization,

except in the Railways. Recently steps have been taken to vest the responsibility for this in the executive, but the separation scheme, as this is called, has been extended so far only to a few offices. Large sections of the administration are still outside the scheme. The Accountants-General in the states, for example, though maintaining the accounts of the state Government and disbursing their expenditure, continue to be under the control of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. In all these matters, reform is urgently called for.

PERSONNEL FACTORS IN ADMINISTRATION

Quality of Personnel

It has to be realized that good administration does not consist merely in drawing up properly structured organizations, and well-thought out systems and procedures. People are required to run the Administration and it is the quality of the personnel which ultimately gives it not only success or failure in its endeavours, but also its moral character. A good society cannot be built by an Administration whose personnel are themselves lacking in moral fibre, or technical efficiency.

Effect of Sharing Political Power

Amongst the moral tests to which officials of the Public Administration are frequently subjected the most important is the corrupting influence of power. Administration is the tool by means of which political power is exercised in society. Accordingly, the top administrative officials have to work in close association with the persons in whom the power is vested, and to whom he has to act as an adviser and consultant in policy-making. In such circumstances, the administrator is always under temptation to submit his will and intelligence to the political rulers, and the relationship is put to further strains in democracies where the rulers change from time, and the administrator is called upon to change his loyalties accordingly. Fear, personal interest and the desire to share in the politician's power often turn the administrator into a yes-man and a toady. This has disastrous consequences not only to the Administration but even to the country as a whole. The administrator instead of exercising his mind independently and submitting his opinion without fear to the Minister, now takes care to say, and do, exactly what would please the politician in power, which naturally is what serves the politicians and not the country. In the last twenty years this sort of thing has become quite common in the country, and even the famed I.C.S. has been found to be not free from this fault. Naturally this sets a bad example to the lower level officials who copy

the mores of their seniors, and expect in their turn, their subordinates likewise to behave in the same manner to them. In this atmosphere officials find it useful to devote their time to keeping their superiors satisfied rather than to attending to the efficiency of their work. That is why official reporting always sounds so complacent, and is so remote from realities.

Promotions and Rewards, Seniority and Merit

One reason why this is so is no doubt the low level of emoluments in Government service, but the system of promotions which goes by seniority and not merit also plays a part in this. In such circumstances, however good the official may be at the time of recruitment, a few years of service are enough to kill all enterprise, initiative, and even character in him. It may appear that, if promotions are made by merit and not seniority, this problem would be somewhat solved. But in actual practice it does not work that way. The difficulty is that the power to rule upon the abilities and merit of an official would still be in the hands of his superior, who now becomes more powerful still. Nepotism and favouritism now creep in, and make matters worse. In such an atmosphere it is not the efficient officer who gets rewarded. Rather it may well be that it is he who suffers, because he prefers to be truthful about the way things are in the Administration, thus earning the dislike of his superiors. Moreover, officials in power are not happy if their subordinates display abilities and knowledge superior to themselves. Nevertheless, it is essential that as objective a system of adjudging merit and suitable rewarding of it by promotions, special increases of pay, etc., should be evolved. This is necessary for obtaining high quality of personnel.

Discipline and Punishments

Equally ineffective for the promotion of good Administration are the rules for the punishment of inefficiency. The so-called Discipline and Appeal Rules are very cumbersome and prescribe elaborate procedures of charge-sheeting, examination of explanations, inquiries, production of witnesses and of evidence, opportunities for cross-examinations, and so on, before any punishment can be inflicted. Even if any one is prepared to go through all this in order to punish the inefficient, he is daunted at the outset by the difficulties in proving inefficiency in executive decisions and actions. One may succeed in establishing frauds, irregularities, failures in observance of important rules and regulations, but to prove inefficiency as such is an extremely difficult matter, at any rate it is so difficult that it is very rarely attempted.

The fact is that we cannot look to the Discipline and Appeal Rules to improve efficiency in Administration. But even for the limited purpose which they can serve, namely that of weeding out and punishing the lazy and the habitual wrong-doers, the rules require to be simplified.

Gerontocracy

Promotion by seniority leads inevitably to the more important posts being occupied by elderly men, who generally reach these august positions when they have well passed the prime of life, and are no longer in a position to entertain new ideas, or to look with favour upon changes in the Administration. Indian society is a conservative one where old age by itself is given special respect and regard. This is so different from the Western societies where men are encouraged to reach the top of their professions before they attain middle age, so that the society is always full of new ideas and progresses by constant change. The grip of gerontocracy over the Indian Administration should be relaxed, and young men should be given every opportunity to reach the highest posts before old age saps their energies. One way of achieving this is to provide for retirement early, that is prematurely, if officials stagnate too long at any level, as is done in the defence services. This would clear the line for younger and more able officers to be promoted to key positions. As it is, Indian officials hang on to Government jobs even long after the superannuation age by getting themselves assigned to various special jobs. This has a very deleterious effect upon the younger men, who in turn develop cynicism and a frustration quite harmful to good administration.

Emoluments

But it is not enough to provide for reward of merit by giving wide opportunities for promotion. It is also necessary to see that the public servants are properly remunerated. Prior to Independence, when there was little industrial development in the country, government officials were generally well-off in comparison with the other professions. The position is, however, very much different now. The higher officials especially find the income very much less than their counterparts in industry and the professions. There is a general feeling of frustration amongst this class of officials, and many even prefer to quit government service without waiting to serve their full term. This dissatisfaction has increased due to the continuing fall in the value of money. Inflation has eaten into their resources and has impoverished them. Not only has their current income lost its value, but their

hope of saving sufficient amount for their retired life has completely vanished. The future indeed is gloomy. It is very essential for good administration that these grounds for dissatisfaction are removed. Where salaries cannot be raised to meet increased costs, arrangements should be made to supply to the staff essential consumer goods at reasonable rates. This may raise a public clamour that the public servant is being specially favoured, but what the public has to understand is that national progress and development are not possible without good administration, and that it is folly to expect poorly paid and dissatisfied employees to make good administrators.

Isolation from Public Life

It is often argued that attractive service conditions by themselves may not produce sufficient zeal and enthusiasm in the employees as to make them serve the country with whole-hearted interest. There is, it must be confessed, some truth in this observation. Even when their emoluments were, when compared to the general level in the society, fairly high, public servants had exhibited deplorable apathy and disinterestedness in their functions. By the very nature of their duties they have to isolate themselves from the general public life of the country and to be scrupulously disinterested in the exercise of their authority. Their outlook consequently becomes narrow and they even get out of touch with the great developments in the world outside their offices. This often makes them self-opinionated, petulant and even querulous. A system whereby public servants especially in the higher grades are periodically required to return to the Universities, or even to serve in the private industries, would very much help to remove these oddities. A constant exchange of personnel of this nature is a common feature of the American Administration, and attempts are being made to adopt in U.K. also.

Corruption

Of the charges levied against the public servant from the moral viewpoint the most serious is that of corruption. By corruption is meant not merely illegal gratification, but any form of advantage obtained by the exercise of his official powers to which an official is not entitled. It is extremely doubtful if there has been any public administration which, to some extent or other, was not tainted by practices of this nature. Hence it would not be surprising if some corruption did exist in the Indian Administration also. But in spite of the various Enquiry Commissions that have gone into the matter, and in spite of all the special inquisitorial bodies such as the Special Police

Establishment, and the various Vigilance Organizations, that have been appointed to expose corruptive practices, no evidence has been forthcoming of such large scale corruption in the services as to cause serious alarm. But that there is some corruption, especially at the lower levels, there is no doubt. It appears that the scarcity of goods in the country combined with the various regulatory measures, such as import and other types of control, rationing, foodgrains levy, customs and income-tax, etc., has placed much temptation in the way of those to whom the administrations of these controls have been entrusted. There is always this danger when there is too much dragooning of society. The best way of meeting this situation is to see that conditions develop which obviate the need for such regimentation. Like many of the other moral evils in society, corruption in administration is the result of poverty and economic backwardness, and the only satisfactory way of combating it is to improve the social and economic condition of the country. In any case, the administrative measures already taken, namely, the appointment of various investigating bodies, and the punitive provisions of the legislative enactments, vest sufficient powers in the executive. More is not necessary, nor would it be advisable. A vigorous application of these powers is all that can be advocated. Moreover, administrative corruption cannot be completely eradicated unless corruption of ministers and politicians in power is also eradicated, and that is a matter beyond the scope of mere administrative reforms.

REFORMS : PRIORITIES, CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Need for Reforms

The administrative organization is a tool for conducting the economic and political affairs of the society in a disciplined and orderly manner, and for effectively achieving social and economic progress. Like all tools it has to be shaped to suit the environment in which it operates, and the nature of the material which it has to handle. The environment and the material are continuously changing, and if administration is to serve its purpose it has to continuously adapt itself to these changes. Moreover, it is not feasible to lay down a blue print for a perfect administrative system. Nor is such perfection achievable pragmatically. But what is practicable is to improve on the quality of an existing administration by exercising a constant and vigilant watch over the areas of deficiency, and effecting a timely change wherever necessary. There always is a need, and scope, for reforms in any administration.

Critical Stage in India

A good administration is, therefore, one which, like a cybernetic machine, constantly adjusts itself to the changed circumstances as and when the need arises. Unfortunately, however, in practice such flexibility is not observed, and operational problems are allowed to accumulate till a crisis develops when the requisite changes can only be implemented by major reforms, causing thereby a social convulsion. This is the situation in which Public Administration in India is at present. Having failed to effect changes internally as necessary from time to time, it has now become necessary to impose these reforms from without.

Difficulties of Indicating Priorities

It is easy enough to analyse and indicate the areas of Public Administration where reforms are urgently called for. In its organization, its systems, its ideologies, its techniques, its personnel, in almost every aspect of its working, the Indian Administration is found to be outmoded. Vast and varied reforms are necessary. There are so many deficiencies of a serious nature that it is difficult to lay down any order of priorities. The situation calls for a strategy of a simultaneous war on all fronts. Fortunately, there are strong enough forces in the society with sufficient resources to conduct such a totalitarian war. Government is strong and stable, and the people though not the mass—are conscious and demanding. The administrators themselves are aware of the need for reforms, and there are many nuclei of highly-trained officials who could serve as the centres of change. Above all the level of education and intelligence in the country is high enough to provide the necessary personnel.

Priorities

Nevertheless, a statement of priorities may serve a useful purpose in implementing the necessary reforms. Like a battle order, this would help in formulating tactics, and in executing them. In any case such a statement would be necessary in order to supervise the implementation of the reforms and to gauge the success of the endeavour.

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure is the framework of the administration, and its improvement may well be considered as a basic

requirement. It is, as already explained, in the three spheres of State Enterprizes, Centralised Planning, and Community Development, that innovations are called for. The practice of grafting them on to the existing set-up has adversely affected their functioning. The organization at the district level for schemes to develop grass-roots democracy should be less paternalistic than it is in the existing arrangement, which places it under the District Collector, the Indian "Maid of all work". Geographical deconcentration, and effective delegation of powers are other necessary structural changes.

Systems and Methods

Simultaneously, great changes in the systems and methods, the warp and woof of administration, are called for. Techniques of office procedures and management and of control and communication are required to be improved. The baneful influence of Clerks and of "Notings" should be eliminated. Attention should be paid to environmental factors of office work. Rules and regulations should be simplified.

Finance, Budget, Audit and Accounts

Financial control, budgeting techniques and accounting procedures should be modernized. Administration requires to be free from the crippling effect of audit as at present conducted. These, no doubt, are innovations, and can well give precedence to others in any system of priorities. But there would be no difficulty in carrying them out at the same time as the others.

Personnel

But the personnel factors in administration call for attention more urgently than Budgeting and Audit. Staff require to be trained in modern techniques of administration, and also to be given re-orientation courses. There should be a satisfactory system of incentives, and rewarding of merit. Emoluments should be attractive, and should not be allowed to be eaten into by monetary inflation and spiralling prices. The higher grade of civil servants should be encouraged to develop a spirit of independence and to offer their advice to Ministers freely and without fear. The extant powers to root out corruption should be rigorously applied ; they are sufficient for the purpose and do not require to be augmented.

Ombudsman and the Open Administration

It is only after reforms have been effected in organizational structure, systems and methods, and personnel matters, that the time

would come for the setting up of independent, quasi-judiciary organizations, such as Ombudsmen, for attending to public grievances. Otherwise, the work of Ombudsmen would become unmanageable due to the enormous number of cases that would come up before them. Similarly the appropriate time for legislative enactments providing for people's right to have information is after the other reforms. A premature introduction of a system exposing the entire administrative processes to a detailed public scrutiny may well result in the administrators becoming more chary of taking decisions, thus leading to further inefficiency instead of improving matters.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be stated once again that the art of administration consists in seeing that problems do not develop into crises. Good administration requires good anticipation. Foresight and ability to assess human nature are essential qualities for successful administration. Men with such gifts are difficult to come by. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that efforts are made to find the few that are available, and to place them in charge of the key posts from which they could guide the administration along proper lines, building up the organizations on correct principles, laying down the right systems, choosing the men best fitted to do the various jobs, training them and infusing into them the necessary motivations. Setting up of such cells in the administration would be a far more successful way of keeping the administration trim, than a spate of reforms attempted only when matters have developed into a crisis.

TRAINING : AN INVESTMENT FOR TOMORROW

Ross Pollock

INDIA has never undertaken a comprehensive survey of the quality of all of its Government training programmes. A critical review of training for a cadre or one institution cannot lay out a program for all classes of Indian civil servants at all stages of their careers. A recent comprehensive survey in the United States of professional, scientific, technical and managerial training for federal employees demonstrates clearly that such a survey effectively discloses gaps. A similar Indian study might disclose deficiencies not readily apparent today.

The American study was undertaken by a Presidential Task Force on Career Advancement.¹ On it served without compensation two college presidents, two officers from industrial companies, one officer from a union and another from an association of professionals; a representative from a foundation and another from a research organization; and three Government officials.

One of its most significant findings which might find a parallel in India is that government agencies appraised by Federal executives at above average in the quality of their performances were found by the Presidential Task Force to have above average management and specialist training programs. "This is no coincidence", declares the Task Force. "Effective training can and does bring about improved performance. Training calls for the shrewdest investment of time, skill, and money if it is to produce creditable dividends."²

GOALS OF TRAINING

It is clear from the text of the Task Force's report that their definition of training is somewhat different from that current in India. This may arise because the U.S. Government Employees Training Act

1. *Investment for Tomorrow Report of the Presidential Task Force on Career Advancement*, Washington, U.S. Civil Service Commission, 1967, p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p.12

(1958) places strong emphasis on the responsibility of each employee to develop his own knowledge, skills and abilities. If management succeeds in motivating employee learning, then, the Act says :

"it is necessary and desirable in the public interest that self-education, self-improvement, and self-training....be supplemented by government-sponsored programs."

The definition of training reflects this point of view—training is management's effort to guide employee learning. The Report says :

"Learning....occurs when an experience changes a person in some way. A manager's goal is to channel change in a specific direction. When he seeks to do this through training, he must provide an attractive experience, designed not alone to improve skills and knowledge, but to stimulate feelings, to awaken attitudes, to prompt the beginnings of broadened new concepts toward rewarding personal gains."³

This theme appears throughout the report. Pointing out that in the United States managers tend to place heavy emphasis on formal training away from the job, the Task Force states flatly :

"On-the-job training in the daily work environment is still the most important and effective means of developing....employees. Formal training away from the job cannot substitute for it.

"The Task Force suggests that agencies select for assignment to supervisory and managerial posts people with the ability to create a climate of growth, stimulate self-development, and provide needed training on the job.⁴

"Senior career executives must keep in mind their responsibility in their day-to-day contacts for developing their immediate subordinates, from whom must come some day their replacements. Every phone call, every meeting, every returned file provides experiences for subordinates which help to train them. The point is that these experiences should be used constructively to foster growth, stimulate self development, and deepen understanding.⁵

"The Task Force recommends that heads of agencies create conditions for professional, scientific, and administrative

3. *Investment for Tomorrow, op. cit.*, p. 12.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

employees where the need for self development is apparent, personal efforts are rewarded, study materials are readily accessible, and opportunities to use new knowledge, concepts, and skills are made available."⁶

The U.S. Task Force regards training as an investment, the dividends from which can be shared three ways. Government gets elevation of performance and perspectives. Employees get status, satisfaction, and broadened career opportunities. The public, whose taxes support the training, gets better service at reduced cost.

It would certainly be worthwhile to consider the implications for training if the Government of India adopted a broader definition of training based on current psychological findings.

TRAINING AND CADRE MANAGEMENT

One of the most interesting sections in the U.S. Task Forces's report deals with planning, programming, budgeting and operating of training. The proposals are quite consistent with present methods of Indian cadre management.

The Task Force members in this section were influenced by a system called PPBS or planning-programming-budgeting system. This was initiated in the American Department of Defence a few years ago and extended just two years ago to all ministries. In essence, U.S. officials are now required to develop comprehensive programs and financial plans for more than a year in advance. They must develop :

- (1) specific data for top management which are needed for broad policy decisions ;
- (2) concrete statements on objectives of agency programs ;
- (3) alternative objectives and alternative programs to meet them ;
- (4) evaluations of benefits of programs and comparisons of their costs ;
- (5) total estimates of program costs ;
- (6) reports covering more than a year on prospective program costs and accomplishments ; and
- (7) continuing, year-round review of program objectives and results.

6. Investment for Tomorrow, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

This resembles the five year plans but in fact is much more specific and detailed. The most significant difference is that PPBS is a function not of a central planning organization but of each ministry and department.

American experience is that such detailed planning brings out clearly the need for training and produces support from senior officials for fund requests.

To take top-level decisions on recruiting and training plans, competent Indian cadre managers need data on such things as : turnover ; rate of promotions in a cadre ; rate of separations ; rate of advancement ; and training needed for new recruits.

The U.S. Task Force adds to this typical manpower forecasting :

- (1) training needed to bring employees to full journeyman performance—
estimate amount of skill and knowledge employees have ;
forecast amount, kind and duration of training needed ;
estimate adequacy of present training resources and need for additional resources.
- (2) training needed to bring employees to master levels of professional and specialist performance—
estimate number of journeymen who can be advanced ;
plan for major training and work experience stages in advance to master levels ;
forecast amount, kind, and duration of training on the job, in service and at universities ;
make cost-benefit studies of the alternative kinds of training and education ; and
assess adequacy of present training resources and need for additional resources ;
- (3) training needed for leadership in supervisory, managerial and executive posts (to be done much as outlined above).

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES AND TRAINING

Perhaps the greatest significant difference between the approach recommended by the U.S. Task Force and Indian practice lies in the former's emphasis on relating training to program objectives. They say training programs must start with program objectives.

This is a departure even from common American practice. At present, most governments and businesses in that country with well-run programs make periodic surveys of training needs. Such studies collect from employees, supervisors, and managers data about who needs what kind of training. Common needs are identified, course schedules prepared, and instruction is started. The Task Force felt that this approach fails to put proper emphasis on the objectives to be attained by ministries and departments. They recommend, therefore, that officials identify their immediate and long-range objectives and then analyze what training is needed by staff in order that these goals may be reached.

The Task Force gives an example⁷ of how its approach can be applied to one part of the U.S. space program :

1. *Establish program objectives :*

Goal : put man into space.

Sub-goal : enable man to survive in space.

(2) *Planning :*

Plan ahead as far as possible, up to five years in the future. Identify training needed for survival. Review recruiting and assignment plans. Analyze training needs of both new and experienced astronauts. Estimate numbers of new recruits and experienced persons to be trained. Obtain data on existing and needed training resources (staff, books, classrooms, equipment).

(3) *Programming :*

Draft program statement, including data on costs and benefits of training for up to five years ahead. Describe alternative programs designed to provide training or different degrees of completeness and for different numbers and kinds of participants at different times.

(4) *Budgeting :*

Estimate up to five years ahead the expenditures for the training. This should include not only the time and salaries of the trainee and instructors, costs of training manuals and

materials but also all capital expenditures such as equipment, buildings, land and the like.

(5) *Approval :*

- (a) Prepare program and financial plan for current year and up to five years ahead.
- (b) Develop program memoranda stating assumptions, priorities, criteria for choices between alternatives, and uncertainties.
- (c) Obtain approvals for training.

The difference between the survey-of-training-needs approach and the PPBS analysis is the difference between looking at training from a Minister's or secretary's point of view and that of an employee. A minister or secretary would look at training such as that needed to increase efficiency, to get the major programs carried out more effectively, to insure continuity of management and supervision. An employee's training needs are related to getting his job done and with insuring his advancement in grade. The two overlap but are nonetheless different.

TRAINING FOR SPECIALIZATION

India has always had great scientists and mathematicians but today she is adding more and more new and complex specialities to her labour force. The United States, the country of specialists, has problems with these professionals which are quite parallel to those found in India. The findings and recommendations of the Task Force are then of peculiar interest here.

The President's Task Force identifies the first and most basic problem in these words :

"A young person who decides to become a professional or scientist often does so because he wants to become like some person he knows or has read about. He wants, as Ohm did, to discover a law about electricity and have it named after him. He wants to be a Burbank who created new plant life. He wants to construct new building forms that will surpass those of Frank Lloyd Wright. His reading and aspirations focus on individual achievement and fame. As he works towards an advanced degree, his academic advisers require him to make a personal and unique contribution to his field without help from others.

"Then after 10 years of nurturing his talents and skills, he enters the world of work. In industry or government, his specialist leaders tell him to "get on the team". They tell him what to do and how to do it. They check his desire to explore little by ways that might excite his intellect.

"Some new graduates soon subside into apathetic acceptance, some escape into universities or consultant firms or private practice, and some become obstructive and uncooperative. Others, however, apply their individual creativity to the organization's work and multiply their skills and knowledges through use of the tremendous resources of the organization's apparatus. Government needs more of these. To get them, government needs training which will turn young individualists into men and women who believe sincerely that they can attain their own goals through pursuing the organization's goals".⁸

The Task Force has no easy cure for this problem which has its counterpart in India. A primary need, it points out, for new professionals and scientists is a training program "which gentles able young colts to the organizational bridle without breaking their spirits". This should be done partly through a formal organizational training program and most importantly by care in assignment to work.

For the latter, the Task Force recommends that departments identify supervisors who can smooth the transition from study to work. However, the study group points out that the manager of that supervisor is a vital force in this training situation also. Careful research in the United States shows that the supervisor's boss is vital to the formula for speedy and effective orientation of the new employee. The role of this supervisor-manager team is to "kindle interest in the problems the organization must solve, deepen respect for the scientific method, trigger normal desire for identification with a group of competent professionals, and begin building keen interest in self development".⁹

The Task Force recommends the use of departmental, formal training classes to supplement the effort of the supervisor-manager team. Pointing out that many Federal professional, scientific and other specialist employees are recognized as authorities in their fields, the report urges that this resource be used in both theoretical and practical training programs :

8. *Investment for Tomorrow, op. cit.*, p. 32.

9. *Ibid.*

"Not all these men and women can teach, but many of them can or could with a little instruction in training methodology. If an agency head determines that he wants the best possible teachers for formal courses, he will certainly find many of them in his own agency. These employees are available, close by, and can be assigned readily to instruction."¹⁰

To sum up, the Task Force recommends careful training on the job both for new specialists and for those who have been employed for 5 to 10 years and would supplement this with formal training in government-conducted formal classes. The recommendations of the Report for the use of universities for education of government specialists will be covered later on in this article.

This leaves one more important group of specialists, the master professionals. A master is defined as a person who is deeply knowledgeable about his field, who is extraordinarily skilled in finding solution to unusual problems, and who is a resource to his department and a consultant to others. Pointing out that some masters by the time they are 35 are overcontent with old answers to new problems, the Task Force recommends that managers create a climate which supports self development and growth. Long-term training for such persons is difficult to arrange.

"Return to school is out of the question ; these people write the texts. But return to school to teach or to participate in research with other masters, or to explore a library which has rare materials these can be valuable growth opportunities. Some agencies send their masters to industrial or Federal or overseas laboratories that have way-out-in front programs."¹¹

As not all masters have the capacity for self-renewal, the report urges senior officials to carefully select those who can benefit and to arrange for absence from jobs for periods of three months or more. However, the assignments should be carefully planned: (1) the individual should himself have clear goals for the training and have identified the places where his growth can be stimulated ; (2) while the master is absent, an individual of higher status or the same status should keep in touch with required reports of progress from him and news from his department ; (3) a considerable time before the end of the assignment, the department's representative and the returning master should have a

10. *Investment for Tomorrow, op. cit.*, p. 34.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

clear understanding as to what the latter will do on his return from training ; (4) on his return, the master should make both a written and an oral report on his experience and be assigned if possible to a new job.

EDUCATION

Prior to the passage of the Government Employees Training Act in 1958, most Federal agencies were unable to send their employees to universities at the expense of the government. Since the Act's authorization of such study during work hours or on the employees' own time, thousands of employees have been sent to universities to take courses. This has brought some problems which the Government of India might wish to consider should it decide to move in the same direction.

The Task Force found the U.S. agencies lacked a clearly defined policy on the use of universities so it laid down the broad outlines of such a policy. First, it pointed out the distinction between what universities could best provide and what government should provide for itself.

Universities, they said, are best suited to provide:

- (1) basic education and knowledge of academic disciplines ;
- (2) preparation for professional careers ;
- (3) knowledge and concepts about U.S. society as a whole ; and
- (4) horizon-stretching courses for selected, experienced officers.

Government is the best suited to provide training :

- (1) in specializations dealing intensively with specific applications of theory and practice to government programs ;
- (2) on department or government policies, programs, and procedures ;
- (3) in techniques related closely to work performance ;
- (4) on government administrative techniques and procedures ;
- (5) in fields not commonly found in universities ; and
- (6) in frontier areas where the agency is the prime source of knowledge.

From this analysis, the Task Force recommends that, in general, all persons obtain their undergraduate education at their own expense and on their own time. Government employees should, however, be permitted to compete as other citizens do for government scholarships and loans.

For training and education at the graduate level, the Task Force recommends that funds be set aside each year for sending employees to such courses but under a clear-cut, even tough policy :

- (1) graduate training should not be awarded to any employee who wants it but should be provided only to the best of those who apply for it.
- (2) these competitive awards of training should go to employees in the order of their :
 - (a) need for education related to present or future job performance.
 - (b) need for broadening an overspecialized training to prepare them for future assignments.
- (3) educational assignments should not be made solely to provide the employee with a graduate degree.

On the other hand, the Task Force recommends that : "Government provide more training and education in agency facilities to up-date both specialists and specialist leaders."

However, the report also urges universities to create new types of academic programs for the mid-career updating of employees.

One interesting U.S. policy set forth in law requires an employee who is sent to training at government expense to continue his service for a period at least three times as long as the time he is away from his job. Thus, if an employee were sent for 9 months to a university, he would have to remain in the service for 27 months or repay the cost of his training but not his salary. This policy reflects the exceptional mobility of workers in the United States.

INTER-AGENCY TRAINING

A type of training found to a very limited extent in India has grown to large proportions in the United States, that is inter-agency training. Authorized by the Training Act in 1958, it has grown until in 1966

about 65,000 employees participated in training run by an agency other than their own. Almost all of this type of training was offered by six departments and organizations : the Civil Service Commission (the central establishment organization, the General Services Administration (the central purchasing organization with other duties such as administration of central files and records), the Department of the Army, the Department of Labour, the Department of State, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Out of the 57 agencies reporting, 32 opened their courses to others and 25 did not. However, 56 out of the 57 reported that they had sent their employees to inter-agency training. Over half of the courses dealt with management and supervision.

If the Government of India moves towards more refresher training of employees after a period of 8 or more years of employment, it is possible that study should be made of American practice of sharing training facilities. The Task Force points out that government often have program functions that are performed in more than one agency such as financial accounting, investigations, and protecting the rights of minority groups. Joint training of persons serving in the same function in different organizations should produce such advantages as :

A team approach to national programs.

Comparable procedures for clientele who must deal with more than one agency.

A sharing of superior techniques for providing government services.

A reduction in duplication of training efforts.¹²

The American method of paying for the costs of inter-agency training is fairly uncommon, although similar practice has been reported in a few other countries such as United Arab Republic and Brazil. The costs of a training course are carefully accounted for—including salaries, teaching materials, printing costs, and rents where non-government space is used—and are charged back to the departments that send participants. For example, if a course resulted in the expenditure of \$ 1,000 for 25 participants, each department that sent participants would be billed for \$ 50 for each of its students. The payments are transferred at the Department of the Treasury from those using the services to those providing them.

12. . Investment for Tomorrow, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

The Task Force heartily approved of the inter-agency training program and urged the President to order all Departments and agencies to open their training programs to other agencies "whenever this will result in savings for government or produce better service to the public". Noting that some agencies did not seek reimbursement for its costs of inter-agency training, the report recommends that all agencies seek such reimbursement.

TRAINING MANAGERS AND SUPERVISORS

American practice differs very much from Indian in the grooming and preparation of officers for senior posts. Therefore, many of the matters discussed in the report would be of largely academic interest in India. However, the pattern for the development of supervisors and managers probably has universal application.

Most importantly, the report distinguishes between training needed by supervisors—who directly supervise employees performing specific job duties—and managers. In the words of the Task Force :

"When the work of managers is compared with that of supervisors, there are sharp distinctions. A manager needs to be a good supervisor, but he is more than just a supervisor. Managers, like supervisors, plan, but on a broader scale ; interest policy, but more authoritatively ; represent their more numerous subordinates to top management, deal more importantly with employee organizations, and bargain with their peers in matters of greater import. On the task side, we observe that managers almost always supervise more diverse tasks, more complex workflows, and a greater variety of occupational groups than do supervisors."

The report also distinguishes between managers—those who supervise supervisors and lower grade managers—and executives. The term executive in America means a high-level, most senior official who directs the activities of a department or a large bureau or has responsibilities of a comparable level. Says the report :

"Managers have functions different from those of their executive bosses, different from those of the supervisors who report to them. It is not possible to draw a firm line between managers and executives, but there are some distinctions. Managers are more concerned with operations. They make more specific use of their knowledge of economics, engineering, accounting, or other

specialization. They stand closer to employees who do the work and yet remain an integral part of agency management team.¹³

"About 3 employees in a thousand are career executives. From a President's point of view, these executives should provide a continuity of operations to government. His administration's policies, interpreted and guided by political appointees, need men well anchored in the organization who can translate these policies into efficient, well-run operations which will meet clientele or service needs. Career executives should weld together the many parts of government so that reasonable consistency is achieved and the overall administration flavor is maintained. They should assess accurately the probable results of new policies and programs in terms of public responses, political reactions, and general effectiveness. They should weigh cost benefits objectively, and recommend priorities where programs compete."¹⁴

The report states that training is needed for officers as they advance through four major career levels : employee, supervisor, manager, and executive. The training needs are different at each level and therefore the training content should be quite different at each level.

In direct response to the recommendation of the Task Force on this point, the U.S. Civil Service Commission is establishing in January 1968 a new advanced study centre for the most senior executives. This will be tied to a new Executive Assignment System which was created in November 1966. While this system superficially resembles the Indian cadre management system, the cultural differences are large and significant. This might be worth further exploration in some future articles.

Formal training for other executives is currently carried on in a few departments. The Civil Service Commission provides an extensive training program lasting up to 20 weeks for these officials on both the East and West coasts.

Consistent with its other recommendations, the Task Force recommended that the President direct the heads of departments to "develop programs which will encourage people of outstanding potential to prepare themselves in early stages of their careers for possible advancement to top career levels and to supplement self development

13. *Investment for Tomorrow, op. cit.*, p. 27.

14 *Ibid*, p. 25.

with appropriate training and education". They also recommended that the President direct the Civil Service Commission in consultation with the departments to "open assignments to career executives, short or long term, in government agencies other than their own, or to training assignments outside government, which will provide experiences that will supplement agency efforts to develop broad viewpoints."¹⁵

The Task Force recommended separate training for the 26 out of 1,000 employees who have managerial assignments. Pointing out that half of the managers have had formal training, the report urges agency heads to place on the senior-most officials the responsibility for the training and education of managers and that a system be established for monitoring the effectiveness with which this is done on the job and in formal courses. Of special interest in India is the recommendation that agency heads should "enlarge such manager depth of understanding of the professional, scientific, or technical fields under his supervision".¹⁶

The Task Force recommended still a different training program for the 88 out of 1,000 employees who have supervisory assignments. Agency targets for such training should be both knowledge and skills. In the knowledge area, they felt that supervisors should be given both occupational and organizational training. In the skills area, they recommended technical, analytical, performance of work, human relations and leadership, conceptual, and administrative training. The Task Force would place the responsibility for such training on the managers to whom the supervisors report.

CONCLUSION

The report of the Presidential Task Force on Career Advancement covered training needs for a large part but not all of the Government. The major omission was skilled trades and unskilled workers. Their philosophy is clearly expressed in their definition of training as a "purposeful activity which builds knowledge, skills, attitudes, improves performance and advances an organization toward its goals".¹⁷

The Task Force was clearly influenced by current findings in psychology and sociology. This gives their report a flavour somewhat

15. *Investment for Tomorrow*, op. cit., p. 28.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

different from previous studies in this area. Their conclusions are worth examining :

- (1) Employees change, but normally change slowly.
- (2) Employees tend to resist change imposed on them.
- (3) Motivation offers one of the best levers to overcome resistance of individuals to change.
- (4) Because the skills and knowledge needed vary with the individual and because the motivations to accept training also vary with the individual, training experiences must be designed to fit each individual.
- (5) Skilled managers and instructors find that once groups accept change, the individuals in them tend to accept change also.

With such a philosophy, it is logical that the Task Force recommended that supervisors and managers be taught how to motivate individual and group learning.

The Task Force recognized that it could only collect data, consult experts, and produce recommendations. It therefore strongly urged the President, the Civil Service Commission, and the department officials to plan and carry out changes which would improve training in order to improve the public service.

One American scholar who prefers that his name not be used said that the Task Force's Report is a handbook for change for a long time to come.

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## A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO INDIAN FEDERALISM—CASE STUDY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

*Abhijit Datta*

*and*

*Mohit Bhattacharya*

THE conventional method of enquiry into a federal system<sup>1</sup> takes a formalistic turn where the approach is basically oriented towards the constitutional structure and relationships between the federal government and its component units. Nowhere has this approach been more succinctly reflected than in Dicey's memorable phrase : "Federalism... means legalism".<sup>2</sup> Such a formal approach has its obvious utility; but it is necessarily a limited approach. It takes for granted the provisions of a constitution and remains confined within their narrow bounds.

An alternative approach would not be concerned so much with the constitutional relationship between the federal government and the component units ; rather it would look at the roles and relationships of both in the light of their actual working in specific fields of operation.<sup>3</sup> Governmental operations in a federal country are expected to follow certain basic norms of behaviour which are embodied in a constitution ; yet they develop certain other forms of behaviour in course of practical operation by way of adjustment to emergent needs and circumstances. A comparison of the operative model of inter-governmental relationship and its static model woven by the substantive provisions of a constitution would reveal the extent of conformity of the former to the latter. Lack of conformity may not always be a cause for concern. It may take the form of almost an organic growth under the exigencies of circumstances. An operational study of inter-governmental relations in a federation would locate

<sup>1</sup> Although, we are aware of the controversial nature of the term "federal" in the Indian context, we do not propose to enter into this definitional issue. The term "federal" has been used in this paper in recognition of the two levels of government in India and their original jurisdictions delimited in the Constitution.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. Dicey, *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*, (9th edition) 1952, London, Macmillan, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> In the field of rural community development, a similar functional approach to Centre-State relations was adopted in P.R. Dubashi's article, "Unitary Trends in a Federal System", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1960.

these non-conforming trends and consider the necessity for their continuation.

Following this approach, this paper attempts to analyse the functional relationships between the Centre and the States in the field of urban development. It has been facilitated by the formulation, from time to time, of a number of specific urban development schemes by the Central government. These schemes relate to water supply, drainage and sewerage, housing and slum clearance, land acquisition and development, town and regional planning, and urban community development. Urban development has been conceived, for the purpose of this discussion, as the creation and stimulation of basic facilities, for the promotion of comprehensive areal development of the urban nucleii in the country. All the Centrally formulated schemes which have been taken up for analyses here cater to the needs of urban development either partially or comprehensively.

The subjects on which the Centre has formulated development schemes fall, by and large, in the State List under the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. Thus, for a sufficiently long period, the Centre has been holding a sway over the States' constitutional jurisdictions by way of detailed scheme formulation, financing of State projects, and direct participation in project administration. Since the urban development schemes are operated within the context of the five year plans, the way Centre-State relationships have evolved in practice is also attributable to the planning mechanism itself. In consequence, the present role of the Centre and its actual relationships with the States that have emerged appear to be very different from what the provisions of the Constitution stipulate.

The inauguration of planned development in India has added a new dimension to the study of Centre-State relations which we have to reckon with in the field of urban development as well. The planning process cuts across the constitutionally delimited spheres of respective governments. Most of the social services and overheads have been allocated to the States, but the distribution of revenue sources tilts the scale heavily in favour of the Centre. Consequently, the latter has come to exercise considerable control over the State functions through conditional plan assistance. Centralised planning has bound the States further with the chariot-wheel of the Centre. In view of these developments, the original constitutional distribution of functions has been virtually relegated to the background, and a fundamentally different concept of Centre-State relationship has emerged. The main concern today is not so much about which level of government

has the constitutional right to a subject as how best the two levels can co-operate and co-ordinate their activities to ensure efficient operation of a function.

The inter-relations between the Centre and the States in the field of urban development have been studied here, keeping in view this broad interaction process within the context of planning. In this paper our substantive concern has thus been the operational aspect of Centre-State relations, which may well be called a "functional" approach to federalism. The way the Centre-State relations have developed around the urban development schemes and the major inter-governmental problems that have emerged in course of their operation are analysed from three closely related angles, namely, constitutional, administrative and financial. A certain conclusions have been drawn which are of direct relevance to the Indian federal system.

#### SALIENT FEATURES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

There are in all nine urban development schemes which have been formulated at different times by the concerned Central ministries. These relate to : (a) water supply and sanitation, (b) urban housing and related activities, and (c) the preparation of master plans for cities and regions, and urban community development. The first scheme was launched in 1954, and the second group of schemes between 1955 and 1962. The last two schemes were inaugurated in 1962 and 1965 respectively. Table 1 gives, in brief, the salient features of all these schemes. Evidently, all these schemes have been carefully formulated and their operating areas and agencies and financing methods have been provided in some details. The scheme on water supply and sanitation has been in operation for more than a decade. At the Central level, the Ministry of Health and Family Planning, and the Central Public Health Engineering Organization, under it have been directly responsible for according administrative and technical approval respectively of individual State projects. Only recently (March, 1966) relaxation of these Central powers has been made, and all projects costing more than Rs. 10 lakhs are to be sent to the Centre for scrutiny and approval. On the other hand, the housing schemes have largely been left with the State governments to operate. Only in the case of two subsidised schemes, viz., the Subsidised Housing Scheme and the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme, the State governments are to send copies of the projects together with prescribed documents to the Ministry of Work, Housing and Supply immediately after according sanction to the projects. The two latest urban development schemes on master plans and urban

Table  
Urban Development

| <i>Schemes</i>                                            | <i>Purpose</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>Coverage</i>                                                                                                                                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
|                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 1                                                                                                                                                                 | 2 | 3 |
| <i>A. Water Supply and Sanitation</i>                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                   |   |
| 1. National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (Urban) | To provide for improved water supply and sanitation.                                                                                                                                                                        | Villages, towns and cities having 5,000 population and above.                                                                                                     |   |
| <i>B. Urban Housing and Related Activities</i>            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                   |   |
| 2. Subsidised Housing Scheme                              | To provide housing accommodation for eligible industrial workers and persons not eligible for housing accommodation either in the erstwhile Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme or Slum Clearance / Improvement Scheme.    | Factory workers with income upto Rs. 350 per month and persons with income up to Rs. 250 per month in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi and Rs. 175 per month elsewhere. |   |
| 3. Low Income Group Housing Scheme                        | To provide housing accommodation to low income group of persons.                                                                                                                                                            | Persons with income up to Rs. 500 per month.                                                                                                                      |   |
| 4. Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme.                 | To upgrade the physical environment of slum areas, construction of skeletal houses, pucca houses and hostel and dormitory type of accommodation for slum families and construction of night shelters for pavement dwellers. | Persons with income up to Rs. 250 per month in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi and Rs. 175 per month in other cities and towns.                                        |   |

1

## Schemes

| <i>Agencies involved</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>Method of financing</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>Other conditions</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 5                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 6                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| (i) State Government Agency<br>(ii) Urban Local Bodies                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 100% loan from the Central Government to the State Governments.                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <p>In the selection of areas the following order of priority will be observed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) municipalities without any protected water supply;</li> <li>(b) improvements or expansions of existing facilities;</li> <li>(c) pilgrim centres; and</li> <li>(d) areas having piped water supply and requiring improvement to existing sewerage.</li> </ul> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) State Governments Statutory Housing Boards and Municipal Bodies.</li> <li>(ii) Registered co-operative societies of eligible industrial workers.</li> <li>(iii) Employers. In the case of non-industrial workers : (a) State Governments and their approved agencies (b) Local Bodies.</li> </ul> | 50% loan and 50% subsidy to State Govts. Statutory Housing Board and Municipal Bodies. In case of Co-operatives 65% loan and 25% subsidy and 10% contribution from workers. In case of employers 50% loan and 25% subsidy. In the case of non-industrial workers 50% loan and 50% subsidy. | <p>Financial assistance is subject to the overall ceiling cost and standard rent per month.</p> <p>Layout of housing projects should be prepared by experienced planners keeping in view the provision of external services such as roads, lanes, paths, drainage, water supply, sewerages, street lighting, etc.</p>                                                                      |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) Individual himself</li> <li>(ii) Co-operative Society</li> <li>(iii) Trusts and institutions</li> <li>(iv) Local bodies, and</li> <li>(v) State Government or any other authority designated by it.</li> </ul>                                                                                    | Loans upto 80% of the actual cost of the house including cost of land, subject to a maximum of Rs. 10,000 per house.*                                                                                                                                                                      | <p>Specifications, designs, estimates and layout will be approved by the State Government. Last installment of loan will be paid only where other facilities, i.e., water supply, drainage, sewerage, &amp; street lighting are provided in the area.</p>                                                                                                                                  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) State Government and Housing Board</li> <li>(ii) Local bodies</li> <li>(iii) Private landlords of slum areas (improvement of slum dwellings only).</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                     | 50% loan and 37½% subsidy from the Central Government and 12½% State Government's share as subsidy.                                                                                                                                                                                        | <p>Financial assistance is subject to the overall ceiling cost and standard rent per month.</p> <p>Provision for water supply, street lighting, drainage, sewerage, schools, dispensaries should be made in each colony.</p>                                                                                                                                                               |

\*Also see Table 4 below.

Table

| 1                                                       | 2                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 3                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5. Middle Income Group Housing Scheme                   | To provide financial assistance to middle class for constructing houses and to encourage "the development of institutional finance in the field of housing".                                                                                           | Persons whose income is between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,250 per month and do not own a house either in their own name or in the name of their wife/minor children. |
| 6. Rental Housing Scheme for State Government employees | To provide adequate housing accommodation for State Government employees.                                                                                                                                                                              | Houses exclusively for State Government Employees and not employees of local bodies, etc., preference to low paid employees.                                 |
| 7. Land Acquisition and Development Scheme.             | To arrange bulk acquisition and development of land in large and growing towns; to make available such land at reasonable prices to the public (including co-operative societies) for housing and slum clearance schemes and to stabilise land prices. | Towns and cities rapidly growing in size and population.                                                                                                     |
| <b>C. Other Urban Development Schemes</b>               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                              |
| 8. Preparation of Master Plans Scheme                   | To secure orderly development of towns, cities and regions                                                                                                                                                                                             | All the urban areas. However, certain metropolitan cities, State capitals, port-towns, industrial centres and resource regions will be accorded priority.    |
| 9. Urban Community Development Scheme                   | To bring about a change in the attitude of the urban population through local initiative and community efforts on a self-help basis and by motivating people for a concerted effort to improve living conditions.                                      | All the urban areas. However, slum areas or newly established industrial centres will be accorded priority.                                                  |

1 (Contd.)

4

5

6

- (i) Individual housing
- (ii) Housing co-operatives
- (iii) State Governments and their approved agencies
- (iv) Local bodies.

Loans upto 80% of the actual cost of the house subject to a maximum of Rs. 20,000 per house will be advanced by the Life Insurance Corporation of India.

Layout designs, specifications and estimates will be approved by the State Governments. Loans will be sanctioned only when essential services are available in the area.

State Government or any other agency designated by it.

100% loan from the Life Insurance Corporation of India.

State Governments and their approved agencies.

Land acquired and developed will be made available in the following order of priority noted below : (i) Slum Clearance (ii) Subsidised Housing (iii) Low Income Group Housing (iv) Middle Income Group Housing, and (v) Rental Housing for State Government Employees.

- (i) State Governments
- (ii) Local bodies

100% grant-in-aid.

Ceiling cost for each size of project and the pattern of staff and their pay scale have been prescribed for the different sizes of towns and cities.

- (i) State Governments.
- (ii) Local bodies.

50% grant-in-aid from the centre and other 50% jointly shared by the State Government and the concerned local bodies.

Co-ordination Committee at the Centre to review and guide the scheme and formulate schemes; for research, training and evaluation, the pattern of staff and their pay scale have been indicated in the scheme.

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R.D. information &  
knowledge*

community development lay down patterns of staffing and scales of pay. These conditions are rigidly fixed in the case of the Master Plans Scheme ; although in the case of the Urban Community Development Scheme these are made more flexible by allowing the States to integrate the personnel in to their existing cadres.

As shown in Table 1, the financing patterns of the different schemes are not uniform. While at one extreme the National Water Supply and Sanitation Scheme provides for 100 per cent Central loan assistance, at the other extreme the preparation of Master Plans Scheme offers 100 per cent Central subsidy. Some of the schemes, such as the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme, and the Urban Community Development Scheme, require matching contributions from the States. Two schemes, *viz.*, the Slum Clearance and Improvements Scheme and the Subsidised Housing Scheme, have a mixture of Central loan and subsidy. There are three other schemes on middle income group housing, land acquisition and development, and rental housing for State government employees, all of which are entirely financed by the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC). Lastly, the Low Income Group Housing Scheme and the National Water Supply and Sanitation Scheme are financed both by the Central government and the LIC.

#### ASPECTS OF CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

##### *Constitutional Aspects*

There is no mention of "urban development" as such in any of the three lists : Union, State and Concurrent, under the Seventh Schedule of our Constitution. But the definition of urban development as stated earlier, subsumes a number of key components, such as (a) town planning, (b) land acquisition and development, (c) construction of lines of communications, *e.g.*, roads, bridges and canals, (d) provision of public utilities, *e.g.*, power and transport, (e) environmental hygiene, including water supply and sanitation, and (f) housing and slum clearance. Aside from the scheme on urban community development which affects the provision of urban facilities marginally, all the other Central Schemes directly relate to specific components of urban development.

The location of each of these components in the constitution is shown in Table 2. All the components except town planning, and housing and slum clearance appear more or less clearly in the Seventh Schedule. The constitutional position of town planning is not very clear. It can be subsumed under "Economic and Social Planning"

**Table 2**  
Constitutional Position of the Components of Urban Development

| Components                          | Seventh Schedule                                                             |                                            |                                               |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
|                                     | List I<br>(Union)                                                            | List II<br>(State)                         | List III<br>(Concurrent)                      |
| 1. Town Planning .. ..              | .. }                                                                         | Entry 18<br>(Land)                         | Entry 20<br>(Economic and Social Planning)    |
| 2. Housing and Slum Clearance       | ..                                                                           | "                                          | ..                                            |
| 3. Land Acquisition and Development |                                                                              | Entry 18<br>(Land)                         | Entry 42<br>(Acquisition of Property)         |
| 4. Lines of Communication           | Entry 23<br>(National Highways)                                              |                                            | ..                                            |
| 5. Transportation ..                | Entries 22 (Rlys.) 24<br>(In land and National Waterways), and 29 (Airways). | Entry 13<br>(Communications)               | Entry 35<br>(Mechanically Propelled Vehicles) |
| 6. Power .. ..                      | ..                                                                           | Entries 25 (Gas) and 53 (Electricity Duty) | Entry 38<br>(Electricity)                     |
| 7. Water Supply .. ..               | Entry 56 (Inter-State Rivers)                                                | Entry 17<br>(Water Supply)                 | ..                                            |
| 8. Drainage and Sewerage ..         | ..                                                                           | Entry 6<br>(Public Health and Sanitation)  | ..                                            |

(Entry 20) in the Concurrent List ; also, by interpretation it can be placed under "Land" (Entry 18) in the State List, if the term is used in the sense of physical land-use plan. There is also some confusion about the constitutional location of "housing and slum clearance". Judicial interpretation of "Land" has in some instances been wide enough to include "houses and buildings", but there are also some other instances where the courts have differed from this viewpoint.<sup>4</sup> Although there has not been any constitutional wrangle over these two subjects, their explicit mention in the Seventh Schedule seems necessary with a view to forestall any inter-governmental frictions. In view of the local nature of these functions and continued use of legislative authority by the States in relation to them, these may be included specifically

<sup>4</sup> D. Basu, *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, Vol. V, (4th Ed.) 1961, Calcutta, S.C. Sarkar, p. 449.

in the State List. The way the Centre and the States have been involved in the administration of urban development gives rise to certain other constitutional issues. For instance, all conditional Central financial assistance including that for the urban development projects is made to the States on the strength of Article 282. But such use of this Article is highly questionable. Its placement under "Miscellaneous Financial Provisions" and the phrase "grants for any public purpose" included in it do not seem to warrant its present use to validate large-scale devolution of Central plan funds to the States.<sup>5</sup> In this connection, reference may be made to section 96 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900 which provides for conditional Commonwealth financial assistance to the States, and which deserves to be closely examined for incorporation of some such provision in the Indian Constitution.

#### *Administrative Aspects*

Although, the components of urban development appear, by and large, in the State List, the Central government has come to assume a good deal of authority and control over the States' jurisdiction. This state of affairs has largely been the result of planning. Within the framework of the five year plans, the direct involvement of the Centre in the State List subjects takes place through the twin contrivances of "Centrally Sponsored" and "Centrally Assisted" plan schemes. The difference between these two is that while the sponsored schemes belong to the Central sector of the plan, the assisted schemes are part and parcel of the States' plan. The former are formulated on a dubious assumption that the Centre is in a better position than the States themselves to set their priorities. Of the urban development schemes under study, three belong to the sponsored category, viz., the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme, the Preparation of Master Plans Scheme, and the Urban Community Development Scheme.

A scheme is categorized as Centrally sponsored when it relates to :

- (a) demonstrations, pilot projects, surveys and research ;
- (b) projects having regional or inter-State character ; and
- (c) those having all-India significance.

<sup>5</sup> This viewpoint was also expressed by Dr. P.V. Rajamannar, the Chairman of the Fourth Finance Commission in his Minute appended to the Commission's Report. *Report of the (Fourth) Finance Commission, 1965*, Government of India, 1965, pp. 90-92.

With the exception of the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme, the other two Centrally sponsored schemes are in the nature of pilot programmes. Initially, the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme was also of a pilot nature, and limited to selected urban areas. Subsequently, however, it was extended to all the rapidly growing urban areas. When the Centre assumes the role of a path-setter by launching pilot projects, temporary inclusion of such schemes in the sponsored category stands to reason; but the indefinite continuance of pilot projects and their continuation as sponsored schemes, even when they have lost their pilot character, are hardly justified.

As already shown in Table 1, the urban development schemes have been meticulously drawn up by the Centre. The specific administrative control and authority exercised by the Central agencies in respect of these schemes are indicated in Table 3. It appears that in all the schemes, the Centre has set standards and regulations. In the case of the National Water Supply and Sanitation Scheme, Central powers extend to detailed technical scrutiny and administrative approval of States' projects. Aside from the dilatory process of administration which this procedure creates, the exercise of these Central

Table 3

## Central Administrative Responsibilities in Urban Development Schemes

| Schemes                                          | Standards<br>and regula-<br>tions | Responsibilities        |                         |                         |                            |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
|                                                  |                                   | Scheme for-<br>mulation | Scrutiny of<br>projects | Approval of<br>projects | Staffing and<br>pay scales |
| (A) National Water Supply and Sanitation (Urban) | *                                 | *                       | *                       | *                       | ..                         |
| (B) Urban Housing and Related Activities         | *                                 | *                       | ..                      | ..                      | ..                         |
| (C) Other Schemes                                |                                   |                         |                         |                         |                            |
| (i) Master Plans                                 | *                                 | *                       | ..                      | ..                      | *                          |
| (ii) Urban Community Development                 | *                                 | *                       | ..                      | ..                      | X                          |

\*=Yes

..=No

in the State List. The way the Centre and the States have been involved in the administration of urban development gives rise to certain other constitutional issues. For instance, all conditional Central financial assistance including that for the urban development projects is made to the States on the strength of Article 282. But such use of this Article is highly questionable. Its placement under "Miscellaneous Financial Provisions" and the phrase "grants for any public purpose" included in it do not seem to warrant its present use to validate large-scale devolution of Central plan funds to the States.<sup>5</sup> In this connection, reference may be made to section 96 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900 which provides for conditional Commonwealth financial assistance to the States, and which deserves to be closely examined for incorporation of some such provision in the Indian Constitution.

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<sup>5</sup> This viewpoint was also expressed by Dr. P.V. Rajamannar, the Chairman of the Fourth Finance Commission in his Minute appended to the Commission's Report. *Report of the (Fourth) Finance Commission*, 1965, Government of India, 1965, pp. 90-92.

With the exception of the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme, the other two Centrally sponsored schemes are in the nature of pilot programmes. Initially, the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme was also of a pilot nature, and limited to selected urban areas. Subsequently, however, it was extended to all the rapidly growing urban areas. When the Centre assumes the role of a path-setter by launching pilot projects, temporary inclusion of such schemes in the sponsored category stands to reason ; but the indefinite continuance of pilot projects and their continuation as sponsored schemes, even when they have lost their pilot character, are hardly justified.

As already shown in Table 1, the urban development schemes have been meticulously drawn up by the Centre. The specific administrative control and authority exercised by the Central agencies in respect of these schemes are indicated in Table 3. It appears that in all the schemes, the Centre has set standards and regulations. In the case of the National Water Supply and Sanitation Scheme, Central powers extend to detailed technical scrutiny and administrative approval of States' projects. Aside from the dilatory process of administration which this procedure creates, the exercise of these Central

Table 3

## Central Administrative Responsibilities in Urban Development Schemes

| Schemes                                          | Standards and regulations | Scheme for-<br>mulation | Scrutiny of<br>projects | Approval of<br>projects | Staffing and<br>pay scales |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| (A) National Water Supply and Sanitation (Urban) | *                         | *                       | *                       | *                       |                            |
| (B) Urban Housing and Related Activities         | *                         | *                       | ..                      | ..                      | ..                         |
| (C) Other Schemes                                |                           |                         |                         |                         |                            |
| (i) Master Plans                                 | *                         | *                       | ..                      | ..                      | *                          |
| (ii) Urban Community Development                 | *                         | *                       | ..                      | ..                      | X                          |

\*=Yes

..=No

powers is often resented by the States. In the case of two schemes, viz., the Master Plans Scheme and the Urban Community Development Scheme, even staffing pattern and scales of pay have been laid down. A major disadvantage of such Central prescriptions is that when the grants from the Central government are discontinued, the States are faced with the problem of meeting these financial commitments created by the schemes.

A marked tendency in all these cases is to impose schematic straight-jackets without regard for the heterogeneity of the States in respect of their needs and circumstances. These schemes, therefore, clamp down a dull uniformity in State administration at the cost of their flexible and purposive implementation. A second consequence of the extension of Central control exercised in respect of the urban development schemes is that the concerned State departments are virtually reduced to mere line agencies of their Central counterparts. The way the Central agencies are interlocked with their corresponding State departments has led to what may be called a "vertical integration" of the two levels of government.<sup>6</sup> This has a dislocating effect on the horizontal co-ordination at the State level. For instance, in urban housing administration the State housing departments resent diversion of housing funds to other "heads" of development; the State Planning Departments, however, take the view that such diversions do not pose any serious problems from the standpoint of reaching the overall State plan targets.

### *Financial Aspects*

Table 4 gives a synoptic view of the diverse patterns of Central financing of the different urban development schemes. The first impression that one gets from it is that the line of distinction between the two plan devices—sponsored and assisted—runs very thin, and there is no attempt to differentiate between national and local needs.<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that the sponsored schemes unduly interfere with State autonomy. The purpose of these schemes could also be achieved by placing them under the assisted category with absolute ties fixed to them as is done in the case of agriculture and co-operation, and “village and small industries”. A more controversial issue in this connection is the problem of diversion of Central assistance from one “head” and scheme to another.

<sup>4</sup> Santhanam has characterized this phenomenon as "Vertical Federation"; K. Santhanam, *Union State Relations in India*, 1960, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> This point was also discussed by the Third Finance Commission, *Report of the (Third) Finance Commission 1961*, Government of India, 1962, p. 31.

Table 4

## Central Financing of Urban Development Schemes

| Scheme                                        | Plan-Finance<br>Centre |          | Non-Plan<br>Finance<br>LIC |          |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|
|                                               | Loan                   | Grant    | Grant                      | Loan     |
|                                               |                        | Per cent | Per cent                   | Per cent |
| (a) Centrally sponsored                       |                        |          |                            |          |
| 1. Slum Clearance and Improvement             | 50                     | 37½      | 12½                        | ..       |
| 2. Preparation of Master Plans                | ..                     | 100      | ..                         | ..       |
| 3. Urban Community Development                | ..                     | 50       | 50                         | ..       |
| (b) Centrally assisted                        |                        |          |                            |          |
| 4. Subsidised Housing                         | ..                     | 50       | 50                         | ..       |
| *5. Low Income Group Housing                  | 80                     | ..       | ..                         | 80       |
| *6. National Water Supply and Sanita-<br>tion | 100                    | ..       | ..                         | 100      |
| 7. Middle Income Group Housing                | ..                     | ..       | ..                         | 80       |
| 8. Land Acquisition and Development           | ..                     | ..       | ..                         | 100      |
| 9. Rental Housing for State Employees         | ..                     | ..       | ..                         | 100      |

\*.

\*These two schemes draw funds from parallel sources.

This problem is especially serious in the case of urban housing and related schemes. It may be argued that such diversions often become necessary because of unavoidable shortfalls in expenditure and escalation in costs.

Under the system of conditional plan assistance to which the urban development schemes are subject, the States are not expected to unilaterally reappropriate funds from one "head" of development to another or from schemes which bear patterns of assistance to those which do not. In practice, when the States make such reappropriations all that happens is that they lose the Central grant which they could earn according to the patterns attached to the dropped schemes ; but if they achieve the total expenditure target for their plan, they earn corresponding Central assistance in the form of a loan called "the miscellaneous development loan". When this is subsequently

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serviced by the States with additional Central loan, the distinction between loan and subsidy, becomes illusory. Thus, through a fiscal backdoor the main purpose of conditional assistance is defeated, and it has the effect of transforming the grants system by making it unconditional or general purpose.

While urban development is a composite whole, the current practice of formulating schematic patterns of assistance for specific urban facilities has the disadvantage of taking a fragmented view of urban development and promoting lopsided growth. It creates imbalance in sectoral outlay and makes it difficult to achieve inter-scheme co-ordination. Also, such patterned assistance has a tendency to fetter the discretion of the States in the matter of choosing between alternative urban facilities. In such a context, it is worth considering how far Central plan assistance can be related to broad heads of development rather than specific subjects.<sup>8</sup>

A related issue concerns the method of distribution of Central assistance for urban development among the States *inter se*. One obvious basis is the percentage of urban to total population in the States. However, if the policy is to change the present uneven distribution of urban population in the country, this basis would be unsuitable. Another method is to match the States' allocation in the unassisted part of their plan for urban development either in the same or in the reverse direction. This would operate in the same manner as a variable matching contribution by the Centre in the assistance formula. However, one difficulty here is that the needs and capacities of the States, generally speaking, run in the same direction so that the richer States are also the most urbanised and accord higher priorities for the development of their urban areas. Under the circumstances, the basis of distribution of Central plan assistance among the States *inter se* has to be rational and objective.<sup>9</sup> The current practice is to determine the question of Central plan assistance to the States on *ad hoc* considerations which encourages political horse-trading and bickering among the States. A way out would perhaps be to entrust this task, under Article 280 (3) (c) of the Constitution, to the Finance Commission which would formulate the principles for the distribution of such assistance.

<sup>8</sup> For similar suggestions see James A. Maxwell, *Fiscal Impact of Federalism in the United States*, 1946, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p. 390.

<sup>9</sup> The Planning Commission recently announced that Central plan assistance to the States for the Fourth Five Year Plan would be distributed as follows : 70 per cent on the basis of population 10 per cent each for economically backward areas and socially backward classes, and the balance 10 per cent for special and emergency programmes ; *The Times of India* (Delhi edition), October 23, 1966.

In Table 4 it has been shown that matching provisions exist in two of the urban development schemes under review. In the case of the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme, the matching contribution from the States is 12 per cent while in the case of the Urban Community Development Scheme it rises to 50 per cent. Both these schemes are Centrally sponsored. It is rather curious to note that such matching conditions do not exist in the States' plan schemes where it is necessary to recognize more explicitly the heterogeneity of the States and their differential needs and capacities. The bigger issue in this connection is to what extent such uniform matching is justified. In view of wide disparity in State resources and needs, it is also to be considered whether matching should be on a constant or variable percentage basis.

Presently, two of the urban development schemes, namely, the Slum Clearance and Improvement Scheme and the Subsidised Housing Scheme, are being financed by a mixture of Central loan and grants. This amalgam, however, is not made on any examination of the relative productivity of the schemes ; it is purely accidental. The easier lending policy of the Central Government, owing to the exigencies of planning, has also tended to obliterate the distinction between loans and grants. The loan financing of capital expenditures which are not directly productive but are in the nature of social amenities has increased the debt burden of the States. Since the indebtedness of the States to the Centre has taken an alarming proportion, a remedy might lie in financing social overheads entirely through Central grants rather than a mixture of grants and loans.

An interesting recent development has been that the National Water Supply and Sanitation Scheme and the Low Income Group Housing Scheme have been receiving funds from both plan and non-plan sources. Such dual system of financing raises the problems of integration of plan and non-plan financing and priorities of planned development. Although the participation of other financial institutions in financing schemes is generally welcome, the Centre should determine the volume of such institutional participation, and apportion non-plan assistance among the States *inter se*, and see that the priorities set down in the schemes are not disturbed.

Apart from the two aforesaid schemes which are partially financed from non-plan sources, three other schemes, *viz.*, the Middle Income Group Housing Scheme, the Land Acquisition and Development Scheme and the Rental Housing Scheme for State Government

Employees are now being wholly financed from such sources. The financing of schemes from non-plan sources has important implications for Centre-State relations. Firstly, it leads to the mobilization of additional resources for urban development. Secondly, the financing of low-priority social overheads from non-plan sources is a welcome relief to the Centre which would thus be in a position to allocate more for the high-priority sectors. Lastly, to the extent purely loan schemes would draw funds from the non-plan sources, there will be more scope for the Centre to launch bigger subsidized programmes in the field of urban development.

#### CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, it may be observed that the operation of centralized planning in a developing country like ours would inevitably lead to the blurring of constitutional jurisdictions of the two levels of government. At the same time, State autonomy needs to be preserved in order to maintain the federal spirit embodied in our Constitution. Although, a federation with centralized planning sounds somewhat paradoxical, the two are not wholly incompatible. A reconciliation between the two is possible by suitably adjusting the planning mechanism to the needs of a federal system. In examining Centre-State relations in the sphere of urban development, we have sought to identify the salient administrative and financial features of the plan practices, and to indicate possible ways of mitigating the overwhelming, centripetal tendencies inherent in the process of planned development.

## ASPECTS OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE IN AUSTRALIA<sup>1</sup>

*Thelma Hunter*

THE Australian National Health Service has in recent years occasioned a considerable measure of interest overseas. Critics of excessive Government control in the United Kingdom have been attracted to the apparently unique combination of Government and private activity which it seems to combine. In U.S.A., on the other hand, those who would like to see a more positive role played by state authorities in providing for medical care look forward to a development of Government subsidized voluntary insurance along Australian lines rather than towards the more collectivist orientated British system. The special characteristics which appear to attract various observers of Australia's National Health Insurance Scheme is the combination of a substantial degree of Government financial assistance with, at the same time, the retention of large areas of decision making in the hands of private individuals and institutions involved in the provision of medical care: a combination which seems to satisfy advocates of collectivism and individualism alike.

Many Australians on the other hand with some 16 years experience of the working of National Health Insurance behind them are increasingly more sceptical in their appraisal of their system. The major opposition party, the Australian Labour Party, which has been out of office since 1949 is, of course, the major critic of Government policy. It would like to see in Australia a free comprehensive system provided by Government along British lines, a system which the Australian Labour Government of 1945-1949 tried, unsuccessfully, to introduce while it was in office. There are also a few but an increasing number of doctors, mostly those with a strong interest in public health, who are perturbed by some of the more obvious anomalies of the service. And finally, from time to time, patients themselves, as they are affected by some injustice during periods of illness, make public their criticisms.

Broadly speaking, the major criticism tend to fasten on the limited coverage of the population as a whole under the scheme which it is

<sup>1</sup> For an administrative history of the scheme, see, "Planning Australia's National Health Policy", *Journal of Public Administration*, Autumn, 1966.

estimated leaves some 15 to 20 per cent uncovered; the uncomprehensive nature of the service compared to that of the United Kingdom; and the apparently privileged and relatively uncontrolled role which the medical profession in Australia enjoys under the present arrangements. In particular the lack of control of medical fees, it is claimed, creates a continuous discrepancy between the financial benefits provided by Government and the hospital and medical insurance societies and the costs to the patients of medical services. An excessive degree of freedom among those who provide medical care has, it is argued, led to an uncontrolled scheme whose costs are rapidly getting out of hand. From the patient's point of view, it is little more than a system of financial benefits which, increasingly, cannot keep up with the rising costs of medical care rather than a comprehensive service to which, as citizens, they have a social right.

These varied interpretations of the Australian system must be seen within the wider context of existing pattern of health services. More important perhaps, they must also be assessed in terms of the objectives of social policy and of health policy in particular which the present system was designed to achieve. What differentiates the Australian system from those currently operating in other societies and how far does the present service meet the declared objectives of Australian policy makers who were responsible for its introduction and continue to be in favour of its retention? It is with these questions that the remainder of this article is concerned.

## II

K. Evang, Director-General of Health Services for Norway, provides a useful classification of health services within which it is possible to place the Australian.<sup>2</sup> Broadly, provisions for health services fall into four major categories: the so-called welfare-state type of service to be found mainly in the United Kingdom, in Sweden, and in Norway, where the orientation of social thinking has been predominantly collectivist and where the State takes a major role in providing for medical care; secondly, the so-called individualistically orientated service to be found in U.S.A. and Canada where the emphasis is on the continued provision of medical services by free enterprise institutions; thirdly, there is the system to be found in Russia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and China where the service is provided within the general framework of a completely planned economy; and fourthly, the type of service not dissimilar to that existing in Soviet Russia appears to be developing

in the so-called underdeveloped countries. Here the State accepts full responsibility in terms of social needs though it may not be able to carry them out for economic reasons. These categories are, of course, to some extent arbitrary ones. There must necessarily be an overlap of characteristics as between countries, elements of individualism and collectivism are interwoven in varying degrees and any rigid delineations are likely to be misleading. Nevertheless, with reservations, these categories assist a preliminary distinction between one country and another.

In the United Kingdom, medical services have developed as an integral part of the welfare state which has been designed to protect the individual by a network of social legislation against any loss of income, to subsidise wage systems by various methods and to move in a self conscious way towards an egalitarian society. Like other social services in the United Kingdom social provisions for medical care have passed through a number of stages, from the old Poor-Law approach to the insurance approach embodied in the 1911 National Health Insurance Act and at a later stage to the so-called social welfare approach in which society takes a major responsibility for the nation's health. Services are financed from general taxation or compulsory contributions and embodies the concept that each individual should have by law the right to many services free, though it should be noted that the means test is not absent in the United Kingdom. Those which exist on the American model, on the other hand, are mainly characterized by the existence of a "free market" in health services, that is to say services and their prices are largely left to the free interplay of private medical economic institutions. Society concerns itself only with those areas which overtly cannot be left to private enterprise and to the provision of services for clearly definable medically indigent groups. This system, as Evang points out, contains more contradictions than any other. Provisions for medical care may be for certain groups of the population of the highest excellence and on the other hand for other groups almost non-existent since their price may be too prohibitive to make possible their effective use. In the so-called "peoples' democracies", society has taken complete responsibility for health services as part of a pre-arranged overall centralized and centrally directed plan, the whole financed by government and administered by a high status Ministry of Health which is administratively integral to social and economic policy. Provisions in the underdeveloped countries tend to vary considerably. Broadly, they resemble those of the Eastern democracies rather than the West. Because of the nature and dimensions of the problems involved, potentials are limited. Here most individuals are overtly too poor to cater for themselves.

Educational, economic and population problems may militate against their implementation but the state is committed, in some cases by its constitution, to a national health policy within the context of its overall social planning.

The Australian system represents a rather unique half-way house between that provided in the United Kingdom and in U.S.A. in that it combines both collectivist and individualistic elements. Society has taken considerable responsibility for the provision of health services. For example, in Australia 59 per cent of these services is financed by taxation (as against 82 per cent in the United Kingdom and 24 per cent in U.S.A.); 10 per cent is financed by voluntary insurance (cf. 13 per cent in U.K., 24 per cent in U.S.A.); and 31 per cent by patients' payments (cf. 5 per cent in U.K. and 52 per cent in U.S.A.).<sup>3</sup> The Australian services have also, like those in U.K. developed as an integral part of the welfare state but unlike U.K. emphasis tends to be on cash payments rather than on services and on income redistribution. On the other hand, despite these resemblances to the British system, in some respects the right of all members of society to medical care has not yet been either as fully recognized or implemented. The emphasis in Australia tends still to be on those who are in need, or the so-called medically indigent.

Earle Page, the Minister of Health in the Liberal/Country Party Government who introduced the present system in 1949 was clearly suspicious of the implications in terms of government control created by the existence of this new class and determined to establish a system which would limit the first while meeting the second. "The existence of this new class (the medically indigent) has created a disposition on the part of Government to control *en masse* what is essentially an expert matter dealing with the relationships of individuals to one another." An important result of this position was that, as in U.S.A., private providers of medical care are left as free as possible and the status of the medical profession in Australia is very high. Introducing his scheme to the British Medical Congress in Brisbane in 1950 Page offered it as "a new conception of a national health service for Australia".<sup>4</sup>

Its primary objective, he said, was to meet the problem of the medically indigent, in Australia, a problem created by the

<sup>3</sup> National Health Service, Professor J. Griffith, Professor of Hospital Administration University of N.S.W., Unpublished Paper, 12-8-64.

<sup>4</sup> "A New Conception of a National Health Scheme for Australia", Address by The Commonwealth Minister of Health to the British Commonwealth Medical Congress, May 23, 1950.

revolution in the nature and scope of medical treatment over the previous 50 years. The development of a septic surgery, the discovery and the use of radium, developments in the use of specific drugs, had wrought great changes in the nature of medicine and increased the cost of medical care to such an extent that a new indigent group now existed in the community, which was unable to meet the high costs of illness, specialized treatment and hospitalization. He wanted also to establish a system which would represent a partnership between government and the various groups concerned with the operation of the scheme. He wanted, thirdly, a system which would maintain the institutions which had worked well in the past, the friendly societies and the voluntary insurance organizations, and to adapt these to the requirements of his system. But above all Page wanted a system which, he said, would leave everyone free and "keep alive the element of initiative and competition in service that really produces progress". He therefore saw his "new conception" as a different approach to the problem of health from that which existed either in U.K. and, by implication, U.S.A. "These over-simplified solutions", he said, referring to the United Kingdom, "have proved wasteful in their administration and disastrous in their effects on the quality of treatment and destructive to the morale of the people. This new conception of a national health scheme can prove the pattern democracy is seeking." These objectives of policy have frequently been restated by succeeding Ministers of Health in the Liberal Country Party administration. Mr. R.W.C. Swartz, for example, when introducing amendments to the National Health Scheme in Parliament on April 23, 1964, referred to the increase in membership in voluntary insurance organizations in Australia. "This public support", he said, "is a matter of very great satisfaction to the Government. It vindicates the view we have always held that a voluntary insurance scheme based on self help is the most appropriate to Australian needs and way of life... We believe that this system and protection are well worth preserving." More recently, the present Minister for Health, Dr. A. J. Forbes had this to say "The Commonwealth Government is convinced that the fundamental principles of voluntary health insurance allied to Government assistance on cost and with freedom of choice of members offers the system of health care which most closely approaches the ideal of health service for everybody according to their needs and consistent with human dignities"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *National Health Benefits—Forward*. Commonwealth Department of Health, 1966.

*Brief Description of the Service<sup>6</sup>*

The objectives which the service was designed to achieve can be seen in the structure and content of the provisions made under the National Health Service Act 1953-54. The Australian National Health Service consists of a combination of private medical practice with voluntary insurance by private citizens and subsidies by the Commonwealth paid through approved insurance organizations. The problem of the medically indigent is met by the provision of four separate sets of benefits; the Hospital Benefits Scheme originally set out in the regulations of the 1948/49 National Health Act; the Pensioner Medical Service which came into force in 1951; the Pharmaceutical Benefit Scheme 1950; and the Medical Benefit Scheme 1953. These individual schemes were combined into a consolidated act which was passed in 1953.

*The Hospital Benefit Scheme*

This scheme is designed to assist patients in two ways. A subsidy of 80 cents (\$1.20 for pensioners) per day is paid to all patients in hospital whether insured or not. An additional subsidy of \$1.20 is paid to patients who are insured with any one of the 200 or so voluntary insurance societies. The lump sum of \$2.00 is paid by the insurance organization. The range of benefits paid for a family under this scheme varies for a payment of 10 cents to 40 cents to \$4.40 to \$11.60 per day. For example, a family paying 25 cents per day to an insurance organization is paid a combined Commonwealth and insurance benefit of \$5.60 a day which is approximately the daily charge made in public wards of public hospitals. It should be noted that the second subsidy, that paid only to patients who are members of insurance societies is designed also to encourage the principle of self help and maintain individual initiative. Freedom within the scheme is fairly extensive. The organizations are subject to a degree of government control but doctors are left quite free to charge their own rates. It should also be noticed that this Hospital Benefits Scheme is significantly different from that which was operative in Australia between 1945 and 1948 under the Australian Labour Government. During these years treatment in the public wards of public hospitals was completely free and hospitals in return for this free treatment were paid a subsidy of 80 cents per day per occupied bed which was estimated to cover more than the revenue foregone by the hospitals from patients themselves.

\* *National Health Benefits—Forward, op. cit.*

### *The Medical Benefit Scheme*

The Medical Benefit Scheme originally set out in the regulations to the 1948/49 Act and later incorporated in part 3 and 6 of the National Health Act of 1953 provides a subsidy towards medical expenses which is wholly contingent upon the patient having insured with one of the approved societies. Patients not so insured do not qualify for benefit. The stress here on "individual responsibility" is therefore even greater than in the Hospital Benefits Scheme. Under the scheme general practitioner services are subsidized according to a complicated schedule of benefits which covers some 1,000 possible medical conditions. Benefits are estimated to meet some 50 per cent to 80 per cent of the total cost of medical treatment. The total patients' refund depends on the insurance premium which he pays and the benefit to which this entitles him and on the government subsidy.

**The Pensioner Medical Service**, which came into force in 1951, is a service which is available to all who qualify for a social service pension by virtue of age, invalidity or widowhood and to those who suffer from tuberculosis. Dependents of these categories are also covered by the service. This provides a free general practitioner service, a comprehensive range of pharmaceutical services and free public ward accommodation in public hospitals. This is the only part of the National Health Service which involves directly arrangements between doctor and government. It is estimated that some 6,000 doctors in Australia take patients at concessional rates of approximately half the normal fee. This is paid to the doctor by the Commonwealth Department of Health, the only charges to which the patient is liable are after-hour charges or a small portion of a mileage fee.

**The Pharmaceutical Benefit Scheme**, unlike the Hospital and Medical Benefits Scheme, contains no insurance element.<sup>7</sup> It provides, for a nominal charge of 5/- per prescription which is estimated to cover less than 26 per cent of the full cost of the drug, a wide range of medicines which are drawn from an extensive list of lifesaving and disease preventing drugs. This list covers some 80 per cent of total prescriptions in Australia and is kept up-to-date by a statutory pharmaceutical benefits advisory committee which recommends additions and extensions as new drugs appear in the market. Before 1959 this scheme was entirely free but rising costs and estimated over-prescribing led to the imposition of a 5/- charge. The Pharmaceutical Benefit Scheme is the

<sup>7</sup> T. Hunter, "Some Thoughts on the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme", *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Autumn, 1963.

largest single item in National Health benefits expenditure. Between 1963 and 1964 it accounted for rather less than the combined cost of hospital benefits, medical benefits, and pharmaceutical benefits. The disturbing rise in costs of this scheme appears to be due to the extension of benefits to cover a wider range of drugs than originally intended; the introduction of cheaper substitutes which led to unexpected increases in overall demands, population rises, increases in the number of old age pensioner, liberalization of the means test and general inflation. In terms of the objectives of national health in Australia it is somewhat different in principle in that the insurance societies are not involved. Doctors are completely free to prescribe on their own forms and the subsidy (80 per cent of cost) is considerably higher than for the other schemes.

It seems clear that these provisions have gone some way to meeting the problem of the medically indigent in Australia. Certainly no comparable provisions existed prior to the present scheme apart from contract service arrangements between doctors and existing benefits organizations and these had covered a relatively small proportion of the population. The present provisions also provide a more comprehensive coverage than that envisaged under the 1938 National Health and Pensions Insurance Act. Although never implemented provisions of this act were, in fact, severely criticized by all the bodies set up to investigate national health policy in Australia on the grounds that their scope and applicability were limited. For example, though it has been based on compulsory contributions provisions were limited to insured persons earning £7 a week or less and it excluded their families and dependents. Nor did it include specialist services or domiciliary visits or hospital services. As soon as the patient went into hospital his insurance benefits ceased.

In terms of the first objective of the service, that of meeting the needs of the medically indigent, it is clear nevertheless that there are some important deficiencies in the structure and content of these provisions.<sup>8</sup> In the first place the scheme leaves some 15 to 20 per cent of the total population uncovered. More important, it is by no means comprehensive. There is no provision for central services, ophthalmic services, occupational and therapeutic therapy, though some individual insurance funds do provide some of these services. Life assurance and friendly societies examinations are ineligible for benefits as are charges by doctors in hospitals. Emergencies which require speedy medical attention within a hospital are therefore not eligible for assistance. In

<sup>8</sup> This critique is drawn from various sources. The most comprehensive published account is contained in Hugo Gold, "A Health Policy", *Dissent*, Winter, 1964, pp. 11-15.

addition to these general limitations of the scheme the specific components leave some important gaps. In the hospital benefit scheme for example the ability to meet charges depends on paying the maximum premium and it is estimated that only some 40 to 50 per cent of insured persons in fact do so. This means that a large proportion of hospital bills may not be covered and as a consequence many hospitals find that their bills are not met. Moreover, there is some evidence that the scheme operates in a regressive way. Those who are able to pay the maximum premium cover may often find that the rebate for attention in either the public wards or the so-called intermediate wards is somewhat greater than the actual cost of hospitalization. A more serious deficiency, however, is that the hospital benefit scheme, despite some recent amendments, still does not adequately cater for bad risks in society—the elderly and the chronically ill. Thus in 1959 it was estimated that some 2·6 per cent of these groups were affected by the provision by the fund of an 84 day maximum for payment of benefits. Funds also refuse to pay claims for ailments which can be shown to have existed prior to joining the organization and in 1957-58 it was estimated that some 8·3 per cent were affected by this provision. Until 1959 hospital and medical benefit organizations placed specific limitations on the benefits to which these particular groups were entitled. These provisions mean in effect that many whose need is particularly urgent are likely to be excluded. The so-called special account system was introduced in 1959 and did something to meet this problem. Special accounts are essentially a device for covering insurance companies for bad risks. The Commonwealth in fact undertakes to reimburse the benefit organization in the event of any actuarial loss caused by paying out benefits to these particular groups provided they eased the restrictions under which they operate. As a result, therefore, since 1959 hospitalized patients in these categories have been eligible for a benefit of \$3·60 for indefinite periods instead of the previous 80 cents for a limited period. The aged and the chronically ill are also catered for more efficiently by the provision of \$2·00 a day to those treated in a hospital approved under the Act. Further anomalies however remain in both cases. The patient who is entitled to \$3·60 a day if he is being treated in a public hospital ward would still have to pay \$2·40, perhaps more, per day in some States and the aged and the chronically ill may still not receive this benefit if they are, as large numbers of them are, actually in hospitals which are not approved under the Act. The criteria by which a hospital is held to be approved is in fact one of the major administration problems facing the Health Department today.

Like the Hospital Benefit Scheme the Medical Benefit Scheme also has its anomalies. Here again benefits depend upon the premium

actually paid and there is no provision for continuing cover when payments lapse due, say, to economic hardship caused by unemployment. There is also under the medical benefit scheme a 2-month waiting period specifically designed to discourage short term insurance. This may affect seriously some groups, like migrants, who may not have had time to insure themselves before falling sick. A major problem of the Medical Benefits Scheme, however, is in the so-called schedules of benefits. These remained unchanged for a period of 14 years between 1950-64 despite rises in doctors' fees and general price rises. This has to some extent been remedied since June 1964 by an increase of Commonwealth benefits of some 33½ per cent and an extensive revision of the items on the schedule. Nevertheless the discrepancy between doctors' fees and Commonwealth Benefits remains and the objective which Earle Page envisaged that the scheme should cover some 90 per cent of charges for medical and specialist treatment has not in fact eventuated. Indirect estimates put the coverage at something like 50 to 60 per cent and less in cases of acute illnesses and major operations. The more serious the illness and the more expensive the medical attention the less, proportionately, is the refund.

Nor does the Pensioner Medical Service entirely avoid the pitfalls of the other parts of the service. Though it is allegedly a free scheme, it is subject to a fairly stringent means test which was tightened in 1955 so that some 25 to 30 per cent of all pensioners were excluded. This means that old people who are liable to be ill for long periods must swell the ranks of the medically indigent. Moreover, the coverage of the Pensioner Medical Scheme is by no means comprehensive. It excludes specialist attention unless the pensioner goes to the outpatient department of a hospital, treatment for fractures—a condition which must surely be prevalent among old people. And hospitalization is available free only in the public wards of public hospitals, it is not available in the convalescent homes where, in fact, a high proportion of our old people pass their last years. In these cases, the Commonwealth pays a daily rate of £ 2·00 and for the rest the patient must insure himself.

Clearly the present provisions of the National Health Service do not eliminate nor do they, for many, adequately minimize the problem of the medically indigent in Australia. The system is perhaps more successful when measured against another of Page's major objectives of policy. Page was concerned to establish what he described as "a partnership" between Government and all the major groups involved in the provision of medical care. This partnership, he was emphatic, must leave everyone free and in particular it must impose the minimum of control on doctors, friendly societies, and consumers. Co-operation

between benefit organizations and government is achieved by a series of regular agreements between both bodies. Changes in Schedules, for example, are undertaken only after full consultation with doctors. The latter are, however, left completely free to charge fees according to their own professional judgment (though in fact most doctors' fees are usually determined by some kind of joint medical agreement), and although doctors play a considerable part in certain aspects of administration of the health services, contacts between doctors and Government exist only in the case of the Pensioner Medical Service. Arrangements with hospitals are also determined by a series of annual agreements with the States which in no way interferes with the rights of hospitals to charge their own fees at different categories of patients. Registered organizations do not enjoy the same degree of freedom as the medical profession. Their schedule of benefits must be approved by the Commonwealth government and so must any proposed change. Consumers, however, have been a curiously neglected group in this partnership. It is of course true that he is left free in the sense that he is able to choose whichever doctor, whichever specialist, and whichever hospital he likes. The system therefore operates, as it was intended to, with a minimum degree of actual government control and this has resulted in a highly decentralized scheme operated mainly by the 200 medical and hospital benefit associations.

### III

The main agencies involved in the administration of the National Health Service are the Commonwealth Department of Health, six regional departments in each of the States, six advisory bodies which operate under the Act, and the 200 hospital and medical benefits organizations. The use of the Department of Health as the main administration agency was at first opposed by the medical profession who would have preferred a statutory corporation with a high degree of medical representation. The compromise solution which was accepted by the profession was the establishment of what has been referred to as "a system of co-administration". Medical personnel are used in the senior posts in the Commonwealth and State Departments of Health, and they are strongly represented in the various committees. The Commonwealth Department of Health was established in 1921 and a separate Health portfolio came into being in 1927. During the first 26 years of its life its functions were restricted to research and it operated by favour of the States. A referendum in 1946 gave the Commonwealth Department power to legislate for a wide range of social services, including health services, and this has led to a considerable growth in the structure and functions of the department. The Director-General of Health must

be legally qualified medical practitioner of not less than ten years standing and this rule applies to all divisional directors. Below these senior positions the administration tends to be weak on the professional side due in part to inadequate training on the public health side and the greater financial gains to be had by the profession by going into private practice. The Department therefore tends to recruit its medical members from its quarantine section. Medical men are, however, used extensively in an advisory capacity. The Medical Practices Committee of Inquiry for example which investigates alleged abuses of the Pensioner Medical Benefit Scheme consists of five doctors, four of whom are nominees of the A.M.A. This committee was set up to inquire into and report on matters referred to them which arise from the conduct of medical practitioners who participate in the scheme.<sup>9</sup> During 1963-64 it held 41 inquiries. The procedure tends to be somewhat time-consuming and excessively cumbersome. The divisional department collects statistics from various sub-sections and refers cases of suspected malpractice to the division. This is based on a calculation of what is a reasonable level of utilization of Pensioner Medical Service. Extreme deviations are referred to the medical services committee of inquiry. Doctors' claims for a 12 to 15 month period are examined, the names of the pensioners are also examined and details of their clinical condition in order to establish whether in fact the service has been abused by the doctor. The committee consists of 4 general practitioners nominated by the A.M.A., a secretary and an assistant both of whom are Department of Health officers, 2 court reporters and a government legal officer. A doctor who is asked to present himself before this committee must give account of various aspects of his treatment of pensioner patients. If he is found guilty of abusing the system a number of possibilities are before the committee. The claims made by the doctor for servicing these patients may be rejected or they may be reduced, the doctor may be reprimanded or he may be reprimanded with public knowledge. In the most serious cases his agreement with the Department may be suspended. This committee appears to operate fairly but it tends to be cumbersome and there is some evidence that Divisional Directors sometimes try to by-pass it.

The Commonwealth Health Insurance Council was set up under section 136 of the Act to advise the Minister on matters relating to Hospital and Medical Benefit schemes and to recommend any improvements in the scheme. It consists of a chairman who is the Director-General, six nominees of State associations of registered organizations, five ministers who are nominees of registered organizations generally,

\* *Medical Journal of Australia* (Supplement), February 13, 1963, pp. 14-16.

and one nominee of the A.M.A. This committee has dealt with and recommended such matters as a change in the special account system and changes in the schedule of benefits. For example, in 1964 when the Commonwealth agreed to an increase in its benefits the Commonwealth Health Insurance Council resolved that there be no increase in contributions to medical benefits funds for the time being to allow them to study the effects of the rise on the funds. This was subsequently done and changes in the schedules were introduced in 1965. The use of approved societies as the main administration agents of this scheme means that administratively speaking the Australian National Health Service is a highly decentralized one. The State regional officers of the Commonwealth Department of Health are mainly concerned with the detailed implementation of central policy. One divisional director of health has claimed that he is "just an office boy" but in fact it would appear that the divisional officers often have greater powers in practice than on paper. True, they cannot take as strong a line for example with recalcitrant doctors, as they would like to, but the divisional officers deal with complaints which very often do not have to be referred to the centre. There is also some scope for discretionary authority at a divisional level, for example, in restricting the application of certain drugs under the pharmaceutical medical benefits act and there is scope for divisional directors to by-pass some of the machinery of the advisory boards.

#### CONCLUSION

No complete assessment of the Australian system has yet been undertaken. There have been no full-scale Government investigations into its operation and academic inquiry is in its infancy. Only tentative conclusions may be suggested. Despite growing evidence of dissatisfaction there has so far been little indication that the movement for change is a strong one. No strong and vociferous pressure groups have taken up the cause of fundamental change. And the Australian Labour Party has significantly abandoned its intention to abolish the existing arrangements. Indeed its major policy decisions at its conference in 1965 make it quite clear that if it came to power it would establish "a comprehensive Government Health Service as an alternative to the present private service... and *not* instead of it."<sup>10</sup> The party is now committed to a Government health service but only and specifically for those who *choose* to use it and staffed by those who chose to serve on it. The party has been careful to stress the importance

<sup>10</sup> Australian Labour Party—Federal Conference, 1965. *Report to Conference by Health Committee.*

of retaining freedom of choice for the patient and for the doctor. In this respect the 1965 platform is a significant break away from all its previous conference decisions on national health. The present service is to be retained with significant improvements and patients are therefore to get the best of all possible worlds. If they choose to use the Government's service they will get it free. If they prefer to pay they will get a much improved range of services.

Doctors will be under no compulsion to join. Nevertheless plans for a general practitioner service would clearly depend upon the co-operation of the medical profession and this is, in Australia, still likely to be the major obstacle. There is little evidence that the profession is seriously, if at all, dissatisfied with present arrangements. A recent investigation of 214 practitioners showed that over 90 per cent of doctors said they were broadly satisfied with the present scheme.<sup>11</sup> Specialists may have more to gain from Government service, but this is uncertain. The scheme provides a higher level of remuneration for the medical profession in Australia. It maintains them in positions of prestige and even of political authority (through the administration of the scheme). Any major changes, particularly along British lines, would endanger this situation. On the other hand, the U.S. system would be unpalatable to doctors and patients alike. The Australian system in short succeeds, despite its deficiencies, in providing a practicable alternative to British socialized medicine and the American free enterprise system.



<sup>11</sup> C. C. Jungfer, "General Practice in Australia", *Annals of General Practice*, March, 1965.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE PANCHAYAT SYSTEM IN WEST BENGAL

*Subrata Kumar Mukherjee*

VILLAGE Panchayat is the lowest unit of our democratic state apparatus. The setting up of village Panchayat as a true self-governing institution is one of the Directive Principles of State in our Constitution. During the last 17 years this provision (Art. 40) has been implemented more or less in almost all the States of India. It has also to be remembered that even though these institutions have been set up, there has been and still continues some hesitancy on the part of the authority, in transferring effective power to these bodies.

### PRE-INDEPENDENCE ACTS

The rural life of Bengal till 1957 was administered by three pre-Independence Acts, e.g., "The Village Choukidari Act of 1870"; "The Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885" and "The Bengal Village Self-Government Act of 1919". In the British period, the villagers of Bengal were first acquainted with the idea of Panchayat practically in 1870 through the Village Choukidari Act. But the scope of the Act was extremely restricted. "These Panchayats, appointed by the District Magistrate, were merely an agency for the assessment and collection of a local tax, which was levied for the support of the village police without having anything to do with the management or affairs of immediate interest to the villagers."<sup>1</sup>

In the historic Resolution of Lord Ripon new possibilities were opened for local self-government. In the subsequent Acts, power and scope of Local Self-Government were extended to a large extent. The Government of India issued in May, 1882, a Resolution in which the lines on which the future development of rural local boards should take place were indicated. By the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885, the District Road Cess Committee was replaced by the District Board and the Branch Committee of such District Committee by Local Boards in the Sub-divisions of the District.<sup>2</sup> But a comprehensive Panchayat System at the village level was never established prior to 1957. The

<sup>1</sup> *Union Board Manual*, Vol. I., Government of West Bengal, Local Self-Government Department 1954, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute*, Bombay, Jan-March, 1965, p. 276.

situation remained unaltered even after the inauguration of the new Constitution.

It should also be pointed out that even under the "1919 Act" no institution at the village level was created. Under the said Bengal Village Self-Govt. Act of 1919 the Union Board comprising several villages was the lowest unit. Their powers were restricted to mainly civic functions. Moreover, due to inadequacy of funds the Local and the Union Boards presented a dismal picture. In such an atmosphere people's apathy and frustration in Local Self-Government were quite national. It has also to be admitted that compared to other States the progress of rural self-government in Bengal was slow and halting.

#### **WEST BENGAL PANCHAYATI RAJ IN POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD**

Like other States in India, West Bengal has also evolved its own Panchayati Raj System in the post-Independence era. It has been introduced in two stages—first stage, i.e., the basic part, was introduced in 1957 with the enactment of "West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1957".<sup>3</sup> The second stage has been introduced very recently through the enactment of "West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963". These two Acts, constitute the legal basis of the "Panchayati Raj System" in West Bengal. These Acts have envisaged a four-tier Panchayat System, a novelty and innovation in the whole of India. Starting from Gram Panchayat (at the village level), there is at the next higher stage the Anchal Panchayat (combination of several Gram Panchayats), then the Anchalik Parishad (at the block level) and lastly the Zilla Parishad at the District level.

##### **I. GRAM SABHA**

The Gram Sabha of West Bengal which is a general body consists of all persons whose names are included in the electoral roll of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly for the time being in force pertaining to the area for which the Gram Sabha has been constituted.<sup>4</sup> Although no area or population is mentioned for a Gram Sabha in the Act, it roughly covers about 800 to 1,000 population. Thus a Gram Sabha

<sup>3</sup> "The West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957" comprises altogether 120 sections divided into three parts. Part I deals with the administration of Gram Panchayat having 10 chapters in it. Part II deals with the Nyaya Panchayats, the judicial system. The Part III deals with the miscellaneous item (Rule making power of the State Government).

In part I a two-tier Panchayat structure has been provided. Apart from the basic body, the Gram Sabha, the two executive organs are Gram Panchayat and the Anchal Panchayat.

<sup>4</sup> Sec. 7(1) of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

may cover a single village or two to three adjoining villages at the same time.

Through these Gram Sabhas "Adult franchise" was introduced for the first time<sup>5</sup> in the constitution of rural local bodies in West Bengal.

### *Meetings*

According to the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957, every Gram Sabha is required to hold one annual meeting and one half-yearly general meeting. About agenda the Act observes : "The Gram Sabha shall (a) at an annual general meeting—(i) Consider the Budget for the following year, (ii) Consider the report submitted by the Gram Panchayat on the work done during the previous year and the work proposed to be done during the following year, and give such directions to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary, and (iii) Transact such other business as may be prescribed; (b) At the half-yearly General Meeting it shall transact such business as may be prescribed." Apart from the said "statutory" meetings there is also provision for "extraordinary general meeting" either by the Adhyaksha of the Gram Panchayat himself or on requisition by the Gram Sabha members.<sup>6</sup>

### *Quorum*

Like Panchayat Acts in other states there is provision of a quorum for the Gram Sabha meetings in the West Bengal Panchayat Act 1957. But the quorum is somewhat liberal in West Bengal. In all Gram Sabha meetings the presence of at least one-tenth of the total number of members of the Gram Sabha is required. The author had the opportunity of visiting about 25 village Panchayats recently in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Hooghly, Howrah and Nadia. On enquiry it was learnt that excepting one or two Panchayats such "annual" or "half-yearly" meetings could not be held on scheduled dates due to lack of quorum. The Act, of course, provides : "In absence of proper quorum the meetings of the Gram Sabha shall be adjourned to a date within one month and the date of such adjourned meeting shall be announced by the presiding person. Proper notice of such meeting shall be required and no new item shall be allowed to be taken up."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Incidentally it may be stated that due to historic reasons the system of adult franchise had already been introduced in 1955 in the Chandernagore Corporation under the "Chandernagore Municipal Act, 1955".

<sup>6</sup> Sec. 8(1) of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

<sup>7</sup> Sec. 10(2) and (3) of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

The general body, *i.e.*, the Gram Sabha, has been empowered under the Act to supervise, to scrutinize and to control to some extent the activities of the Gram Panchayat as a whole. The holding of the Annual and half-yearly meetings and the agenda to be placed in such meetings are mandatory on the part of the Gram Panchayat, the executive body of the Panchayat. The Act also states that either the Adhyaksha or the Upadhyaksha shall preside at such meetings. In their absence "the Gram Sabha" shall elect in the manner prescribed one of the members present at the meeting to preside.

A close observation of the Act reveals that there are a number of lacunas in the Act insofar as meetings and quorums are concerned. For instance, although it is imperative for the Gram Sabha to hold aforesaid meetings it is not clear how the "Budget" and "Annual Report" are to be passed by the Gram Sabha. Similarly, while the Act provides that the Gram Sabha shall "give directions to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary" it is silent over the subsequent steps. It is not clear whether it is "imperative" for the Gram Panchayat to modify or to revise the "Annual report" or the programme of work to be taken up next year in the light of these "recommendations." There is also no provision for re-submission of such report or Budget in the Gram Sabha meetings. With regard to the Budget estimate the "Rules" provide "that the Adhyaksha shall convene a meeting of the Gram Panchayat within seven days after the meeting of the Gram Sabha and the Budget shall be finalized at that meeting after reconsideration of the recommendations of the Gram Sabha."<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 while making such a provision had laid down clear procedure in this behalf. "Every Panchayat prepares an estimate of its income and expenditure for the year and lays it before the 'Kharif' meetings of the Gaon Sabha commencing on the 1st day of April next following. Similarly, the report including the accounts of its actual and expected receipts and expenditure of the year ending on the 31st March last preceding such report is laid before the 'Rabi' meeting of the Sabha". Gaon Sabha may pass or refer back to the Gaon Panchayat the budget submitted to it for reconsideration with such directions as it may give in the prescribed manner and may likewise pass a recommendatory resolution in respect of the report or of any other matter.<sup>9</sup>

However, it is provided in the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 that if the annual estimate is referred back to Gaon Panchayat for

<sup>8</sup> Rule 137 of the W.B. Panchayat Rules, 1958.

<sup>9</sup> Sec. 41(1) of the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947.

reconsideration, the Pradhan calls an extraordinary meeting of the Gaon Sabha to be held within a fortnight of the said annual meeting and the Gaon Panchayat re-submits the annual estimate at the said meeting with certain changes according to direction of the Gaon Sabha and then the Gaon Sabha passes the annual estimate in the prescribed manner.<sup>10</sup>

The importance of the Gram Sabha and its role in the "Panchayati Raj" has been appreciated by the experts in other States also. The Basappa Committee on Panchayati Raj in Mysore State made an identical recommendation in their report in 1963 providing for a Gram Sabha with similar functions like that of U.P. for the Mysore State. Gram Sabha was accorded statutory recognition in Rajasthan simultaneously with the introduction of democratic decentralization through an amendment in the Rajasthan Panchayat Act, 1953 which now forms Sec. 23A of the Act.<sup>11</sup> In the "reconstituted" and "revised" Panchayati Raj Acts, 1964 of Andhra Pradesh provision has been made for this village assembly, i.e., the Gram Sabha. Other provisions of this Section of the (Section 6) Act are almost similar to those of U.P. and West Bengal excepting that the "recommendations" of the Gram Sabha are harmless.

## II. GRAM PANCHAYAT

There is an executive wing of this General body (Gram Sabha) under the West Bengal Panchayat Act, which is known as Gram Panchayat. It is elected by the Gram Sabha members from amongst themselves. Its strength varies from 9 to 15. Apart from these "elected" members there is provision in the Act for "nominated members". It is provided that persons possessing special qualifications, irrespective of the fact whether they are members of the Gram Sabha concerned or not, may be nominated by the State Government as members of the Gram Panchayat. But two disabilities have been imposed upon them : (i) they shall not have the right to vote, and (ii) they are debarred from holding the office of Adhyaksha or Upadhyaksha. Further the number of such associates should not exceed one-third of the total number consisting the Gram Panchayat.<sup>12</sup>

The term of office of the members including that of the Adhyaksha and the Upadhyaksha has been fixed as four years. This term may be extended up to one year by the prescribed authority. At its first meeting

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute*, Bombay, July, 1960, p.88.

<sup>11</sup> M.V. Mathur and others, *Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan*, 1966, Delhi, Impex, p. 143.

<sup>12</sup> Sec. 11(1), (2) and (5) of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

the members of the Gram Panchayat elect from amongst themselves the Adhyaksha and the Upadhyaksha of the Panchayat. The nominated members cannot participate in such elections. The total number of Gram Panchayats in 1964-65 were 19,647 covering to the extent of 29,470 villages. Thus on an average a Gram Panchayat covered 1.5 village areas.

### *Women Representation*

It is interesting to note that unlike some of the other States in India there is no provision in the "West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957" for reserving seats or associating women or persons belonging to Scheduled Castes in the Panchayat bodies. Of course, in West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963, such provision has been made both at the Anchalik Parishad (institution at the Block level) and at the Zilla Parishad. There is very poor response from the women. The total number of women representatives (members) in Gram Panchayats and in the Anchal Panchayats in 1964-65 were 91 and 27 respectively. Wide-spread illiteracy and prevailing *parda* system are largely responsible factors for non-participation of women in local affairs.

It is further interesting to note that the response of women in the "Urban Local Bodies" in West Bengal is also depressing. In the 87 municipalities and 2 corporations of the State, the number of women representations barely exceed 4 or 5.

### *Functions of the Gram Panchayats*

The Gram Panchayat has been empowered to undertake a long list of functions covering as many as 48 items. But excepting the "obligatory functions" (12 in numbers) the rest are either "delegated" or "discretionary".

The powers and duties may be classified under three heads:

1. Obligatory;<sup>13</sup>
2. Other duties (delegated);<sup>14</sup> and
3. Discretionary.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Sec. 31 of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

<sup>14</sup> Sec. 32 of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

<sup>15</sup> Sec. 33 of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

Apart from these functions there are also the "Agency functions". On a perusal of these functions it will be observed that most of the "obligatory functions" are civic functions whereas the "other functions" and "discretionary functions" are mainly concerned with development and rural reconstruction works. Some of the obligatory functions are : (a) Sanitary, Conservancy and drainage; (b) Anti-epidemic measures; (c) Maintenance, repair and construction of public streets or places; (d) Registration of births and deaths; (e) Organizing voluntary labour etc.; (f) Supply of drinking water ; (g) Supply of local information to the higher authorities, when required; and (h) Vaccination and inoculation.

The "delegated and discretionary" functions include groups of authority which can be called :

- (1) Agricultural, (2) Economic, (3) Social and Public Health, and (4) Cultural.

#### *Financial Resources*

The functions enumerated above can never be properly implemented unless adequate funds are provided at the disposal of the Panchayats. Under the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957 only Anchal Panchayat is entitled to impose taxes. The Gram Panchayat has no independent source of revenue. Not only that, the Act provides under Section 55, sub-sec. 2(d) that the Anchal Panchayat shall allot such sum to the Gram Panchayat under its jurisdiction taking into consideration :

- (a) Amount available for distribution;
- (b) Amount realized from each of the Gram Sabha within its jurisdiction as tax, fee or rate ; and
- (c) Amounts required by the Gram Panchayats concerned according to the budget framed by them for carrying on their duties and functions.

It can be well understood that after meeting its own expenses and that of the cost of administration of the Nyaya Panchayat and after considering that amount raised from each Gram Sabha as taxes, the Anchal Panchayat may be able to contribute only a meagre sum to the Gram Panchayat. There is also no provision of a fixed amount of land revenue as it provided in some State Acts. Under these circumstances the functions of the Gram Panchayat may only remain in paper. In the context of building up a true Panchayat system in the State the provisions of the Act are unsatisfactory and disappointing.

It should be further realized that welfare functions primarily belong to the Gram Panchayats whereas the police and judicial functions are vested in the Anchal Panchayats. On account of financial handicaps the welfare functions of the Gram Panchayat suffer.

The significance of these two bodies, however, lies in introducing, for the first time, adult franchise for all sections of the village people (irrespective of their property, education or income) and also a free choice in selecting the pattern of the "executive" they like. Of course, there are seven disqualifications and any Gram Sabha member having any of these disqualifications cannot be elected as a member of the Panchayat. One of the important disqualifications is with regard to the age-limit of a member. Under the provisions of the Act, no one can be elected a member or an office-bearer of the Gram Panchayat or the Anchal Panchayat unless he is of 25 years of age. This section can be compared to Art. 84 of the Indian Constitution regarding qualifications for Lok Sabha membership. Similarly, the other important disqualifications like "unsound mind" and "an undischarged insolvent" may be compared to Art. 102 of the Constitution. At the initial stage of this novel experiment in "Self-Govt" the presence of outsiders may be useful as a source of guide and inspiration. But on the other hand there are genuine misgivings in the minds of the people that such "nominated members" may create unnecessary complications in the rural politics and they may be useful "instruments" in the hands of the ruling party to serve the particular party interest.

It is also noticed that while the election of the Executive Committee (Gram Panchayat) is direct, that of the office-bearers is indirect. The term of office in both the cases is, of course, the same. The system of election in U.P. and Punjab is direct in both cases. In U.P. although the Pradhan is elected by the members of the Gaon Sabha for a period of 5 years, the Up-pradhan is elected by the Gaon Panchayat for a period of one year only.

### III. ANCHAL PANCHAYAT

The second higher tier in the West Bengal Panchayat administration is the provision of the "Anchal Panchayat".<sup>16</sup> An Anchal Panchayat roughly covers about 7 to 10 village Panchayats having 9 to 10,000 population within it. Practically speaking it has replaced the old "Union Board" under the "1919 Village Act". But compared to Union Boards the Anchal Panchayats will have a different

<sup>16</sup> Sec. 25 of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

constitution and larger scope of powers and functions. Up to 1964-65, 2,924 Anchal Panchayats have been established in the 15 districts of the State (excluding Calcutta).

### *Mode of Election*

For the Anchal Panchayats the system of election is indirect. Here the Gram Panchayat members constitute the Anchal Panchayat from amongst the Gram Sabha members in the following manner:

Every Anchal Panchayat shall consist of the following category of members:

- (1) *Ex officio*, and (2) Elected.
  - (a) The Adhyakshas of all Gram Panchayats within the jurisdiction shall be *ex officio* members of the Anchal Panchayat; and
  - (b) At least one member from each Gram Sabha shall be elected on the basis of one Anchal member for every five hundred members of the Gram Sabha.<sup>17</sup>

The seven disqualifications stated earlier in the case of the Gram Panchayat (Section 15) also apply in case of the Anchal Panchayat. At its first meeting the Anchal Panchayat elects a Pradhan and an Up-Pradhan. The members of the Anchal Panchayat including the office bearers shall hold office for four years. A person can simultaneously be a member of the Gram Panchayat as also of the Anchal Panchayat.

### *Powers and Functions*

The Anchal Panchayat is responsible for :

- (1) Control and administration of Anchal Panchayat fund;
- (2) Imposition, assessment and collection of the taxes, rates or fees leviable under this Act;
- (3) Maintenance and control of Dafadars and Chowkidars;
- (4) Constitution and maintenance of the Nyaya Panchayat; and
- (5) Other duties assigned to it by the State Government.

The Act also empowers the Anchal Panchayats to constitute Committees for facility of work.

<sup>17</sup> Sec. 3(1) of the W.B. Panchayat and Zilla Parishad Amendment Act, 1965.

### *Officers and Servants*

There is provision for a Secretary for each Anchal Panchayat. The Secretary functions as the Executive Officer of the Anchal Panchayat. The Secretary is required to frame the Budget, the annual estimate and the report of the Anchal Panchayat. Although his appointment, promotion, dismissal and other service conditions is determined by the State Government, he is under the general supervision of the Anchal Panchayat. Although the Act provided that the salary and allowances of the Panchayat Secretary shall be paid from the "Anchal Panchayat Fund", the State Government is at present meeting the entire cost of such charges.

### *Finance*

It has already been noted that under the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957, Gram Panchayat has no authority to impose, assess or collect taxes. Only the Anchal Panchayat possesses the requisite power and authority in this behalf. The Act<sup>18</sup> has empowered the Anchals to impose the following tax, rate or fees :

- (1) Anchal Panchayat shall impose yearly a tax on lands and buildings not exceeding two per cent of the annual value of such lands and buildings to be paid by the owners or occupiers;
- (2) a tax on professions, trades, callings and employment carried on or held within the local limits of its jurisdiction on the basis of the total income accrued from such professions, etc., subject to a maximum of two hundred and fifty rupees per annum in respect of any one person.

It may also impose fees or rates, as the case may be:

- (1) on registration of vehicles;
- (2) for plaints, petitions, etc;
- (3) for providing sanitary arrangements, etc;
- (4) water rate;
- (5) light rate; and
- (6) conservancy rate.

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<sup>18</sup> Sec. 57 of the W.B. Panchayat Act, 1957

It is noticed that in West Bengal excepting the "property tax" and "profession tax" all other taxes and fees are voluntary in nature. Also the sources of revenue stated above are mostly "inelastic" in character. There are also reluctances on the part of the executives to levy those fees or rates which are not compulsory in nature. It is doubtful how the Panchayat bodies with these limited sources of revenue can undertake genuine development and nation-building work without substantial grant and assistance from the State Government. It is relevant to quote here from the Santhanam Committee which observed about Panchayat finances as follows:

"We hold that levy of at least a few compulsory taxes is essential not only to ensure every Panchayat a small income from its own resources but also to emphasise the fact that it is a self-governing body. House tax, profession tax, and vehicle tax are eminently suitable for the purpose."<sup>19</sup>

#### *Control over Budget*

Section 59 of the Act indicates the procedure or the preparation of the Gram Panchayat Budget. In the first instance budget is supposed to be framed by the Panchayat and the same is then deliberated by the Gram Sabha members. The Act provides that thereupon the Budget will have to be submitted to the prescribed authority through the Anchal Panchayat. The prescribed authority is competent to introduce modifications "as it may think fit". The prescribed authority is also entitled to modify in a similar manner the budget of the Anchal Panchayat.

Undoubtedly the whole procedure of Gram Panchayat Budget in West Bengal is to some extent complicated. It is admitted that superior bodies should have powers to scrutinize and supervise the activities of the lower bodies. Particularly financial matters and proposals for taxation deserve serious considerations. But steps should be taken to avoid unnecessary delays. Caution should also be taken so that local initiative, interest and activity may not stultify and suffer in these procedural checkings.

#### *Anchal an Additional Tier*

It has already been pointed out that the Anchal Panchayat is a peculiar innovation of the West Bengal Panchayat system. No other

<sup>19</sup> *Report of the Study Team of Panchayati Raj Finances*, 1963, Part I, 1963, New Delhi, Government of India, p. 11.

State has evolved such a stage, neither did Balwant Rai Mehta Committee suggested such a tier. It has been justified on the grounds that abolition of the Union Boards will create a void which can hardly be replaced by any institution at the village level. Further, compared to other States rural people in West Bengal did not hitherto enjoy any comparable institution at the village level. As such it was thought that any drastic change at this initial stage may be harmful and may frustrate the very purpose for which these institutions are created. On the other hand the creation of this additional tier between the "Block" and the "Village level" had been severely questioned by the critics regarding the genuineness of devolution of power and authority by the Government to the people. In a nut shell, the functions of the Anchal Panchayat are rural police, rural finance and rural justice. Over and above, the Anchal Panchayats have an important say over the Gram Panchayat budget. The funds of the Gram Panchayat are distributed through the Anchal. It has, therefore, been suggested by some critics that, by and large, the leadership of the village has been invested in the Anchal than in the village Panchayat.

The author is of the opinion that this additional tier (Anchal Panchayat) has definite utility in the Panchayat system of this State. Anchals can be entrusted with some of the development works which the village Panchayats cannot undertake at present due to their inexperience as also due to paucity of funds. The Santhanam Committee had also observed : "The constitution of small hamlets with a population of a few hundred into statutory village panchayats does, in our view, incapacitate them to make any effective progress. If such small panchayats are considered unavoidable, the constitution of Anchal Panchayats as in West Bengal consisting of 4 or 5 small village panchayats, pooling staff and funds of such Anchal Panchayats and using the gram panchayats as agencies for local development may provide a possible solution."<sup>20</sup>

There are differences of opinion also with regard to the provision of "indirect election" at the Anchal stage. It is the consensus of opinion that "Anchal Panchayats" should be constituted along with the "Gram Panchayat" simultaneously on direct vote by the Gram Sabha members.

#### *Removal of Panchayat Executives*

There is provision of removal of the heads of Gram Panchayats (Adhyaksha and the Anchal Panchayat Pradhan) by the respective

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<sup>20</sup> *Report of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee*, 1963, Vol. I, 1966, New Delhi, Ministry of Health, Government of India, p. 41-42.

bodies if at any time a resolution for such removal has been carried by two thirds of the total number of members of the Gram Panchayat or the Anchal Panchayat, as the case may be, holding office and the same adopting at a meeting specially convened for the purpose. If the decision is carried by less than two thirds of the votes but more than one half, the decision for such removal rests with the prescribed authority.

Apart from this procedure, the prescribed authority can also remove the Adhyaksha and the Pradhan on the grounds of: (1) wilfully omitting or refusing to carry out the provisions of the Act or Rules or orders or (2) abusing the powers vested in them under the Act.

The Act provides that before taking such action the persons concerned shall be given an opportunity to show cause. Further, the aggrieved person has the right of appeal to the Commissioner of the Division within 30 days from the date of the order. Section 65(1) is an extraordinary provision. Of course, the Bengal Village Self-Government Act of 1919 also contained such a step for removal with regard to the "Union Board" President. The difference in the present Act, however, is the provision of the "right of appeal". It is further interesting to note that although the provisions for removal by the members of the concerning bodies are provided in the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932 no provision for removal of a Municipal Chairman by the superior authority directly has been made. There is room for apprehension that the provision may be misused by the ruling party at the higher level to remove a Panchayat executive belonging to the opposite party even though the persons concerned may possess requisite majority at the time of his removal.

#### *Rural Police*

We have already observed that one of the main tasks of the Anchal Panchayat is to maintain and supervise the work of the village Dafadars and Chaukidars. Principle of recruitment of these staff, question of their pay and emoluments and other relating matters are, however, left to be determined by the Government. In the "Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919" a similar provision existed. "The number of Dafadars and Chaukidars to be employed in a Union, the salary to be paid to them and the nature and cost of their equipment shall be determined from time to time by the District Magistrate after consideration of the views of the Union Board." It may be recalled that in Bengal prior to Bengal Municipal Act, 1884 the municipalities had to bear the cost of policing city. This was strongly resented by the social

reformer and nationalists of the period. This provision was subsequently abandoned in the 1884 Act.

In the rural government of West Bengal today we witness the repetition of the same retrograde provision. Since Anchal Panchayat, have to undertake and guide the Panchayats in the matter of nation building and development work, it is in the fitness of things that the State Government as the sole custodian of law and order and being the recipient of the largest share of State revenue should bear the full responsibility of the rural police.

#### **IV. ANCHALIK PARISHAD**

“Anchalik Parishad” is the “third executive tier” of the West Bengal Panchayati Raj system. Comprising elective-cum-*ex officio* members this new body located at the Block level is expected to lead and guide the lower Panchayat bodies.

#### *Constitution of Anchalik Parishad*

An Anchalik Parishad consists of the following category of members : (1) *Ex officio*, (2) Elected, (3) Appointed, (4) Co-opted, and (5) Associate.

The *ex officio* members include all the Pradhans of the Anchal Panchayats and the Presidents of the Union Boards, if any, located in the Block. The elected category includes the members of the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assembly elected from any constituency comprising the Block and also members of the Rajya Sabha and the State Legislative Council having a place of residence in the Block. The “appointed” category includes one Adhyaksha from the territorial limits of each Anchal Panchayat elected by the Adhyakshas of that area from among themselves. It also includes 4 members appointed by State Government of whom two have to be women and two from the backward community. The members of the Parishad co-opt two persons who have experience or knowledge in social and rural development work and shall have residence in the Block. The Block Development Officer is *Associate member*.

All members of the above category shall hold office for a period of four years. A President and a Vice-President shall be elected by the members of the Parishad from among themselves. An Associate member cannot be a candidate in such election.

### *Powers and Functions*

An Anchalik Parishad has powers to undertake schemes or adopt measures relating to :

- (a) Development of agriculture, livestock, cottage industry, co-operative movement, irrigation, public health and sanitation, primary or adult education, establishment of dispensaries, etc.;
- (b) Management of public utility concerns;
- (c) Make grants-in-aid to public organization within the Block and also to Zilla Parishad or Anchal Panchayat;
- (d) Contribute with the approval of the State Government towards cost of water supply or anti-epidemic measures undertaken by a municipality;
- (e) Adopt measures for the relief of distress ; and
- (f) Co-ordinate and integrate the development plans and schemes prepared by the Anchal Panchayats.

It has already been stated that the Anchalik Parishad is the third tier of the Panchayati system in this state. Out of 335 Blocks 325 Anchalik Parishads have been constituted so far. The Anchalik Parishad is expected to organize the developmental work of the entire Block. Further it has to co-ordinate and supervise the work of the Anchal Panchayats under it. But the provisions of the West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963 in regard to the role of the B.D.O. *vis-a-vis* the Anchalik Parishad are not very clear. As a result the discontentment and conflict have been noticed in many of the Blocks. The author while holding interviews with the B.D.O.s. noticed dissatisfaction and frustration in their work. Necessary amendment of the Act and clarification of the provisions, are, therefore, urgently called for.

### *Staff of the Anchalik Parishad*

The Block Development Officer is the *ex officio* Chief Executive Officer of the Parishad, who exercises general control over all officers and employees of the Anchalik Parishad. It has already been noted that the Chief Executive Officer is an associate member of the Parishad.

### V. ZILLA PARISHAD

With the implementation of the "West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963" and the subsequent setting up of the respective bodies at the

Block and District level the process of the Panchayati Raj has been completed in West Bengal. It may be recalled that the rural self-government which was introduced in 1885 in West Bengal (properly speaking in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) based on the historic resolution of Lord Ripon was to some extent wrongly drafted and vitiated the very purpose of the "Self-Government" and the participation of the people in these activities. The District Administrative report in 1912-13 rightly observed "we think that it was mistake to make the District Board the administrative unit of Local Self-Government and to leave the smaller bodies dependent on its charity and with no clearly defined position in the general scheme. This was to begin local self-government at the wrong end, for the system ought to start from the bottom and work up, as was originally intended in 1883 rather than from the top and work down."<sup>21</sup>

During the last 78 years while important changes were made in the "Bengal Act III of 1885" and its subsidiary bodies and Acts, the strong edifice of the rural Government in this State rested primarily in the District Board. This mistake has been rectified in the West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act 1963. The Act begins with the short preamble as follows : "An Act, to provide for the remodelling of Local Government with a view to associating the local authorities with development activities and bringing about democratic decentralization and people's participation, in planning and development."

Thus these are three clear objectives of the new Act, viz:

(a) Associating Local Bodies with development activities ; (b) Bringing about democratic decentralization ; and (c) People's participation in planning and development.

#### *Constitution of the Zilla Parishad*

Section 3(1) of the Act provides that "there shall be a Zilla Parishad for each district and it shall bear the name of the district. Further it shall be body corporate having perpetual succession". It shall consist of 4 categories of members:<sup>22</sup> (i) *Ex officio*, (ii) Elected, (iii) appointed, and (iv) Associate.

The *ex officio* category consists of : (i) all presidents of the Anchalik Parishads, (ii) all members of the Lok Sabha and the State

<sup>21</sup> District Administration Report, 1912-13, p. 83.

<sup>22</sup> Sec. 4 of the W.B. Zilla Parishads Act, 1963.

Legislative Assembly who have been elected from any constituency in the district, (iii) the members of the Rajya Sabha and those of the State Legislative Council (not being a Minister) who have a place of residence in the district, and (iv) the President of the District School Board.

From each sub-division of the district Gram Panchayat Adhyakshas elect two Adhyakshas from among themselves. A municipal Chairman or a Mayor in the District is appointed by the State Government. Two women having a place of resident in the district will also be appointed by the State Government.<sup>23</sup> The Sub-divisional Magistrate of the District and District Panchayat Officer are associate members.

The members of the Parishad shall elect from among themselves (excluding the appointed member and the President of the School Board) a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman. The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and other members of the Parishad hold office for a period of four years. The Act provides that the Chairman shall : (a) have full access to all records; (b) have general responsibility for the financial and executive administration; (c) exercise administrative supervision and control over the Executive Officer and the Secretary ; and (d) exercise or perform such work as may be specially assigned by the Zilla Parishad or the State Government. The Vice-Chairman is expected to perform those duties which are delegated to him by the Chairman from time to time in writing. He also performs all duties of the Chairman in his absence.<sup>24</sup>

Leaving Calcutta, there are at present 15 districts in West Bengal. It is observed that fifteen Zilla Parishads have been set up in place of the district boards in the aforesaid fifteen districts of the State. The remarkable features of the present Zilla Parishad Executives are its 'unwieldy number' and the presence of excessive "*ex officio* members". The district of 24-Parganas having 63 lakhs population is the largest district in the State. It contains 51 Development Blocks. The newly constituted Zilla Parishad consists as many as 127 members (48 of them belong to Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assembly as elected Members). It may be recalled that in the old District Board (24-Parganas there were 40 members only.

Excepting Maharashtra, Andhra and Punjab, the Zilla Parishads are generally dominated by *ex officio* members, particularly the M.Ps.,

<sup>23</sup> Sec. 4 (1)(d) of the W.B. Zilla Parishads Act, 1963.

<sup>24</sup> Sec. 3(3) of the Amended W.B. Panchayat and Zilla Parishads Act, 1965.

M.L.As. and M.L.Cs. West Bengal has further allowed these members full "voting rights" including the rights to get themselves elected as executives of the Zilla Parishad. This may result in the local leaders hesitating in taking initiative in their own affairs due to the constant presence of eminent persons in the body politics of the Zilla Parishad. The State Government is reported to be reviewing<sup>25</sup> the matter.

Like the lower bodies, the Gram and the Anchal Panchayat, there is no provision of sending representatives from co-operative societies even in these apex Panchayat institutions. In a recent amendment there has been provision for honoraria and allowances for the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman. They are also entitled to "leave of absence" for a scheduled period. Similar provisions have been made in other Acts also. In the changed circumstances the Chairman of a Zilla Parishad will have to perform manifold duties. In the fitness of things the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman should be whole time persons. It is also evident that after the abolition of Zamindari system the elected executives of or Local Bodies generally belong to middle class people (teachers, social workers or peasants). It is, therefore, necessary that they should be provided with adequate remuneration in the nature of honoraria or allowances.

#### *Powers, Functions and Duties of Zilla Parishad*

The functions and duties of the Zilla Parishad range over a wide field of subjects relating to public utility, welfare and development of the district. They may be grouped under the following heads :

- (1) Undertaking schemes or adopting measures (including financial assistance) relating to livestock, co-operation, water supply, irrigation, public health, education, communications and other objects of general public utility;
- (2) Management of public utility concerns;
- (3) To provide grants-in-aid or other contributions to public welfare institutions;
- (4) To acquire and maintain village hats and markets;
- (5) To provide grants to the Anchalik Parishads;

<sup>25</sup> To make Panchayati Raj institutions more effective Mr. Talukdar (Departmental Secretary) has referred to the measures adopted in Andhra and Maharashtra banning M.Ps. and M.L.As. from holding positions as office-bearers in Zilla and Anchalik Parishads. If the objective is to throw up local leadership it is imperative that Chairman and Presidents of Zilla and Anchalik Parishads should be in regular attendance. It does not seem possible for M.Ps. and M.L.As. to be members of those bodies and he suggests that they should be Associate members only, as in Maharashtra and Andhra.

- (6) To co-ordinate development plans prepared by the Anchalik Parishads and also to examine and sanction the budget estimates, etc.
- (7) To adopt measures for the relief of the distress; and
- (8) Advisory power to State Government in regard to development of the district.

The Zilla Parishad exercises general powers of supervision over Anchalik Parishads, Anchal Panchayats and Gram Panchayats in the district. Further, it is the duty of these authorities to give effect to any directions of the Zilla Parishads on matters of policy and administration.<sup>26</sup>

An analysis of the powers, duties and functions of the Zilla Parishads of West Bengal will show that they have under the Act "four-fold" role to perform. These are : (1) Undertaking schemes or measures by themselves relating to district development; (2) Co-ordinating and integrating development plans prepared by the Anchalik Parishads; (3) Exercising supervisory functions over the lower Panchayat bodies, including the Anchalik Parishads ; and (4) Serving as adviser to the State Government in regard to development of the District.

It has to be observed that, by and large, the Zilla Parishads in majority of the States in India have supervisory and co-ordinating functions. But important exceptions in this general order are Maharashtra, U.P., Gujarat and West Bengal. As observed by the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation in their publication "Panchayati Raj at a Glance", in Maharashtra, the Zilla Parishad is the strongest of the Panchayatiraj bodies and is vested with executive functions in various fields including planning and development and advising the State Government. In Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, also the Zilla Parishads is vested with administrative functions in various fields. In the remaining States the Parishad has no specific executive functions and is supervising and co-ordinating body.<sup>27</sup>

It is further observed that while the West Bengal Act has vested the Zilla Parishads with substantial powers to prepare schemes and to undertake development work for the welfare of the district, there is no provision either to link up these programmes with those drawn up by

<sup>26</sup> Sec. 27 of the W.B. Zilla Parishads Act., 1963.

<sup>27</sup> *Panchayati Raj at a Glance* (as on 31-3-1964) Department of Community Development, Government of India, 1964, p. vi.

the lower bodies or to accept recommendations, if any, from below. In the absence of these provisions, it is apprehended that the very object of people's participation and initiation in the planning and development may be frustrated. It is noticed that village Panchayats in various parts of West Bengal are very keen in undertaking various development projects for the improvement of their areas. But due to acute paucity of funds they cannot in most cases implement these schemes. Adoption of these schemes<sup>28</sup> either wholly or even in parts by the higher bodies like the Zilla Parishads would have convinced the villages that "democratic devolution of power" is not a mere slogan rather an objective reality.

#### *Standing Committees*

The Act of 1963 provides for appointment of Standing Committees by the Zilla Parishad. Ordinarily there are seven types of "Standing Committees" in a Zilla Parishad. These are:

- (1) Finance and Establishment Committee,
- (2) Public Health Committee,
- (3) Public Works Committee,
- (4) Agriculture and Irrigation Committee,
- (5) Public and Social Welfare Committee,
- (6) Industry and Co-operation Committee, and
- (7) Primary Education Committee.<sup>29</sup>

Besides these seven, other committee or committees can also be constituted with the approval or direction of the State Government.

It is also provided that no person excepting the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman shall be member of more than two Standing Committees.

The Standing Committees of the Zilla Parishad other than "Education Committee" consists of two categories of members : (1) Elected, and (2) Appointed. In regard to elected members it has been provided

<sup>28</sup> It is heartening to note that the Maharashtra Act has made an important provision in this behalf : "The Zilla Parishad shall endeavour to promote planned development of the District by utilising to the maximum extent, local resources and for that purpose prepare annual and long term plans, *regard being had to the plans* already prepared by the Panchayat Samities". Vide Sec. 100 of the Maharashtra Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samities Act, 1961.

<sup>29</sup> Sec. 33 of the W.B. Zilla Parishads Act, 1963.

that Zilla Parishad may elect up to 9 members in a Standing Committee from among themselves.

Two officers either of the State Government or of the Zilla Parishad are appointed as members of the Committee by the State Government. Besides the above persons the Zilla Parishad can also nominate persons from outside (not exceeding two) having special knowledge in the "subject" for which the Committee is formed.<sup>30</sup> The Chairman and the Vice-Chairman or the President and the Vice-President of the Anchalik Parishad are members of the Standing Committee of the Zilla Parishad or the Anchalik Parishad as the case may be.

In regard to Education Committee, Section 38 of the Act provided that subject to certain special conditions the "District School Board" constituted under the 'Bengal Primary Education Act (1930)' shall function as the Primary Education Committee of the Zilla Parishad". It is the duty of the Board to give effect to the "instructions" of the Parishad unless they are inconsistent with the provisions of the Bengal Act, 1930. The "instructions" referred to above can relate to: (a) transfer of management of schools, (b) inspection of schools, and (c) making payment to schools by way of contribution of grants-in-aid.

The "Committee system" particularly formation of Standing Committees based on specialized subjects is a significant provision of the present Zilla Parishads Act. In the old 1885 Act Committees played a minor role.<sup>31</sup>

In the new set-up manifold functions and powers have been entrusted to the district organizations. Practically speaking every aspect of the country's life and its development depends on the initiative and co-ordinating activity of the Zilla Parishad. The membership of the newly created Zilla Parishad in contrast to the earlier "District Board" has almost been doubled. It is obvious that in order to deliberate properly and to undertake proper development scheme the members should sit in small committees. These may further help in obtaining expert opinions, as also in reaching quicker decisions.

<sup>30</sup> Sec. 34 of the W.B. Zilla Parishads Act, 1963.

<sup>31</sup> There were provisions only for three committees : (a) Finance (Sec. 55), (b) Education Committee (Sec. 65B) and Public Health Committee (Sec. 91). It is further observed that even though the committees existed, their scope and functioning were extremely limited.

As observed by Dr. N.C. Roy—"The Committees of the District Boards in Bengal do not occupy the same position and exercise the same authority in their administration as the Committee of the County Councils in England. In the latter country the Committees fill a most important role in Local Government."

Formation of Committees and investing them with decisive power indicate division of labour, decentralization of power and extension of democratic ideals.

There is no specific mentioning in the Act of the powers, functions and mode of functioning of the Standing Committees which have been laid down in the "West Bengal Zilla Parishads Rules, 1964". The Rules have imposed some further limitation in regard to financial competency of the Standing Committees. They have to function in close co-ordination with the Finance Standing Committee in matters like the according of administrative approval, financial sanction and cost of a scheme.

#### *Sources of Income of the Zilla Parishads*

Under the 1963 Act the Zilla Parishad has the following sources of income : (a) Taxes, (b) Non-tax revenue, (c) Other sources, and (d) Grants and Contributions.

Under "Taxes" are included all proceeds of road cess levied in the district. Under non-tax revenue are included: receipts on accounts of tolls, rates, and fees levied by the Zilla Parishad. Fines and penalties imposed and realized under the provisions of the Act. Under other sources are included, contribution and grants, if any, from the Anchalik Parishad, income from remunerative schemes, income from trusts and endowments and loans from the State Government.

Under the aforesaid Act, the Anchalik Parishad has the following sources of income :

(a) *Grants and contributions* : These may be (i) contributions and grants made by the Central or State Government or the Zilla Parishad ; and (ii) Loans, if any, granted by the Government or raised by the Anchalik Parishad.

(b) *Non-tax revenue* : All receipts on accounts of tolls, rates and fees levied by the Parishad. It is also provided that the Anchalik Parishad may levy the following fees and rates:

- (i) Fees on the registration of vehicles;
- (ii) A fee for providing sanitary arrangement at public places or fairs and meals;
- (iii) A fee for license at hat or market ; and

- (iv) Water and light rate—provided arrangement for supply of water (drinking and irrigation, etc.) and street lighting is being made by the Anchalik Parishad within its jurisdiction.

(c) *Other sources* : This category will include all (a) those "receipts" in connection with public institutions, like Schools, hospitals, etc., vested in the Parishad and such sums received as "gifts" and "contributions" from any trusts or endowment made in favour of the Parishad, and (b) fines or penalties realized under the provisions of the Act.<sup>32</sup>

It is observed that excepting Gujarat, Maharashtra, U.P., West Bengal, and Madras no other State in India has made "tax" as sources of revenue for Zilla Parishads. In majority of the States the Zilla Parishads get grants or contributions from the State Government. These are shares of land revenue or forest revenue or local cess. It has been complained that the Zilla Parishads of West Bengal are not receiving sufficient grants from the State Government.

So far as Anchalik Parishad is concerned, an analysis of the "sources of revenue" reveals that excepting "Grants or contributions" they have no stable source of revenue. With regard to levying fees or rates it has a concurrent "jurisdiction". The scope is limited since the Zilla Parishad or the Anchal Panchayat may also have power to impose such "fees" or "rates". It may be recalled that in other States the Samiti at the Block Panchayat is entrusted with manifold executive-cum-development work. Such organizations are also provided with grants and other adequate sources of revenue (land revenue, property tax, entertainment tax or stamp duty). In the context of sponsoring "block development programme" as also integrating the work of Gram and Anchal Panchayats the Anchalik Parishad in West Bengal should be provided with suitable and elastic sources of revenue.

#### *Government Control*

Sections 103, 104, 107, 108 and 109 of the Zilla Parishad Act 1963 deal with State Governments control and interference, if required, in the affairs of the Zilla or Anchalik Parishad. Particular mention may be made of Sec. 107 and 108. These Sections provide that State Government in the first instance may rescind any resolution passed by the Zilla Parishad or the Anchalik Parishad or any standing committee

<sup>32</sup> Sec. 40 of the W.B. Zilla Parishads<sup>1</sup>Act, 1963.

thereof. The State Government may take such action if in its opinion such resolution :

- (a) has not been legally passed,
- (b) is in excess or abuse of the powers, and
- (c) is likely to cause danger to human life, health or safety or breach of peace.

Similarly, on grounds of "incompetency" or "persistent" default in the performance of duties or "exercise of its functions" or for "exceeding or abusing its powers" the State Government may supersede the Zilla Parishad or the Anchalik Parishad, as the case may be. It is also provided that the institution concerned shall be given an "opportunity of making any representation against the proposed order". It is further noted that the order of "supersession" shall not exceed in the first instance "more than two years". The period of supersession may be modified or extended by the State Government.

It may be recalled that the Bengal Act III of 1885 made identical provisions of supersession with regard to "District Boards" on similar grounds of incompetency of "persistent default of duties", or "abusing or exceeding its powers". The only difference is in the duration of the period of supersession. In the old Act the period was "three years", in the present Act this has been reduced to "two".

The Act of 1962 also provides for removal of an elected Chairman or Vice-Chairman of a Zilla Parishad or the President or Vice-President of an Anchalik Parishad, as the case may be, by the State Government if he is found to be : (a) Incapable of exercising powers, performing functions or discharging duties, or (b) Wilfully neglecting or refusing to carry out the directive of the State Government or (c) Abusing powers, or (d) On grounds of disqualification stated in the Act.

#### VI. CONCLUSION

We were so long analyzing the provisions of our "Village Panchayat Act". In spite of some of the shortcomings stated above it cannot be denied that for the first time objective conditions have been created for the foundation of "basic democracy" in West Bengal. It may be remembered that only in the "Gram Sabha" meetings we observe the functioning of direct democracy. Under the Act members have got the right to put question, to discuss and to participate in the Panchayat budget and in the finalization of the annual report. In a sense it

functions during its very short session as a "legislature" to which the Gram Panchayat (the Executive) is held responsible. Along with this one must also remember the manifold functions, particularly relating to development and rural planning which the Panchayats can undertake if suitable funds are provided at their disposal. But the ultimate success of the "Panchayati Raj" will depend on the future leadership that may have to be created from amongst the rural masses. It appears to the author that the following minimum conditions ought to be prescribed for building up this "basic democracy" from below:

- (1) Provision for liberal and scientific education.
- (2) Adequate training facilities for office-bearers and members.
- (3) Close co-ordination between different administrative bodies and the base.
- (4) Infusing faith and confidence in the masses.
- (5) Instead of cheap propaganda—provision for regular assessment of work and corrective measures for remedying the mistake.
- (6) Insistence on active participation, spontaneity, boldness and initiative and to learn through mistakes.
- (7) Provision for adequate financial resources for the Gram Panchayat and other higher tiers of the Panchayat system.
- (8) Setting up of large-sized co-operatives with manifold functions and to co-ordinate their activities with that of the Panchayat.
- (9) Adequate representation of co-operative bodies in different Panchayati Raj structures.

Acceptance and implementation of these essential measures may set in a new horizon and a new outlook in the rural masses.

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## MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS : SOME SHORTCOMINGS

J. N. Bose

The Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings as also the Public Accounts Committee have revealed in their reports a number of shortcomings in the management of public sector undertakings. I have pointed in this note some of the serious defects noticed by me which, in my opinion, are generally responsible for inefficiency and losses in the Public Sector Undertakings.

### A. ORGANIZATIONS

#### (i) *Organization in Public Undertakings as Compared with Similar Establishments in the Private Sector.*

The organizations in the former categories are in many cases unnecessarily elaborate and overstaffed specially at the top levels.

In one Division, one Works Manager and two Assistant Works Managers are employed whereas one Manager is in a position to manage the affairs smoothly in the corresponding position in the Private Sector Undertaking. For example, in the Non-productive Departments like the Store in a medium-sized Public Undertaking of which the writer has got recent knowledge—there are two Senior Officers at the top—one is the Director, In-charge of Central Stores, and another is Controller of Stores below him in addition to other subordinate staff whereas one Controller of Stores manages in the corresponding position in the similar enterprises in the Private Sector. These facts are the striking examples of top heavy management set up in the organization.

On the side of administrative set-up, too, there is a General Manager in addition to the Chief Mechanical Engineer. This is a Transport Undertaking and as such, the Chief Mechanical Engineer might be in a position to carry on the duties of the General Manager most efficiently with consequent economy in expenditure on the administrative side. In other top heavy posts in the administrative hierarchy which leads to higher rate of administrative over-heads, there appears to be ample room for economy without any loss of efficiency, e.g., one special discipline officer in addition to four discipline officers have been employed whereas one discipline officer, if necessary, may manage the affairs without any apparent difficulty.

#### (ii) *Recruitment*

In the topmost posts of Public Undertakings which require purely technical personnel for efficient management for obvious reasons, retired

ICS or some IAS officers are posted who do not necessarily possess any technical knowledge which is absolutely essential<sup>1</sup> for effective control of activities of Public enterprises to run on commercial lines.

Criticizing the bureaucratic approach of the top men, Shri Gajendragadkar, the former Chief Justice of India, called upon the employees of Public Undertakings to develop a real spirit of dedication. The country was witnessing "devaluation of good ideas and what is more distressing is the atrophy of democratic conscience. This poses a very serious danger to democracy".

Similarly, Dr. Deshmukh has also decried the "rigidity" in Public Commercial Undertakings in equating certain posts with administrative positions like Secretary and Joint Secretary. We are living in a competitive world and functionally public and private undertakings act in accordance with the same principle. Therefore, they must stimulate the conditions under which they are working.

Similar remarks have also been offered in the Press<sup>2</sup>. It is, therefore, felt that promotions to and recruitments in higher and middle management posts, technical qualification and practical experience are the prime factors that are to be taken into consideration in selecting proper personnel who will be in a position to deliver the goods. It is heartening to note that in a letter to the Minister of Industrial Development the Prime Minister has recently stressed the need for employment of men with enterprise who should be given a chance to rise to the top.

#### B. MATERIAL MANAGEMENT

(i) *Overstocking and Idle Stores* : The report of the Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings states, that Rs. 269 crores of 90 per cent of the working capital was locked up in inventories in 34 Public Sector concerns in 1964-65 which deserves wide publicity. Based on annual production also the position is unsatisfactory; the inventories of 22 Public Sector Industrial running concerns are to the order of Rs. 229 crores which are equivalent to 11 months' production.

The experience of the writer is that over-stocking of raw materials and stocking of unmoved and slow moving stores are one of the common defects

<sup>1</sup> In this connection the words of an eminent person like Shri Gajendragadkar, the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and now the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, will be quite relevant here. "It appears today that the administrative services (IAS and ICS people) are capable of managing any problem. The Government should realize that Public Undertakings have to be run in a competitive way and appoint persons who can deliver the goods."

<sup>2</sup> "It is really astonishing that the Government should continue to appoint retired and superannuated personnel to top posts in public sector projects, when the qualities most needed are dynamism and drive. Such men are hardly likely to adapt themselves to new ideas which are essential if the public sector projects are to prosper. A business outlook is essential if the projects are to be run on sound commercial lines. The committee on public undertakings has rightly criticized this tendency on the part of the Government. It is time the Government realizes the importance of having the right person in the right place. It is a colossal waste of the nation's resources to spend crores of rupees in setting up a project and to pay little or no heed to the men who will have to run it."

of Public Undertakings. In a recent case it has been found that nearly 18 months' stocks are held in relation to annual consumption unmoved and slow moving stores—amounting to nearly fifteen lakhs in a medium-sized undertaking are lying in stock without any apparent steps having been taken so far for disposal thereof so that borrowed capital locked up on account of idle stores might have been released for better utilization in manufacturing or operational functions; it has also been found in another enterprise in the public sector that a large number of unmoved items of materials are lying idle in stock for more than 10 or 12 years.

(ii) *Non-utilization of Stores*—Non-utilization of stores bought in the market in some cases proved to be instances of unplanned purchase and unnecessary tying up of capital.

(iii) *Stock Limit*—Review of Public Undertaking reveals absence of fixation of stock limit, namely, maximum level, ordering level and minimum level in some enterprises with the result that the stock level exceeds maximum level in a large number of cases.

(iv) *Inspection*—Losses involving large amounts occur on account of lack of proper inspection of stores on receipt.

(v) *Losses of Stores in Stock*—A pretty large amount is involved due to losses while the materials are lying in stock or at the time of retail issues due to carelessness in storage or in handling by the staff.

(vi) *Purchase*—Lack of co-ordination between the purchasing department, consuming department and planning department has also been noticed. We quote below remarks of the Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings in this connection:

"Separation of Stores and Purchase functioning under two different self-contained departments meeting at the level of General Manager/Managing Director is not conducive to efficient materials-management function."

It has been noticed in a Public Undertaking that purchases have been made in many cases in excess of actual requirements with resultant locking up of scarce capital.

For proper material planning there should be close co-ordination between the indenting and the purchasing department. I would suggest that the cardinal principle for scientific storekeeping and purchasing to be kept in view by the Controller of Stores and the Production Managers should be aimed at keeping the purchased stock—right type of store at right time and in right place and at lowest cost. I would also suggest the following increases:

- (i) Normally stock level should not exceed six months' consumption.
- (ii) A machinery should be set up for regular review of overstocking unmoved and slow moving items of stores and recommendation submitted monthly to the General Manager for quick disposal of non-moving and slow moving materials.

- (iii) Continuous verification of store items should be enforced so that necessary action might be taken for adjustment of deficiencies and surpluses.
- (iv) There should be complete co-operation between the Planning Department, Consuming Department and Purchasing Department.
- (v) Purchases should be limited normally up to 3 months' consumption in respect of purchases in India, 15 days' consumption in case of local purchases and one year in case of imported materials. This limit will vary from one case to another according to the circumstances and location.
- (vi) Efforts should also be made to procure indigenously manufactured components or spare parts, where possible, as it has come to notice that many firms in India specially those in collaboration with foreign firms are manufacturing components or spare parts which were formerly imported from foreign countries. This step will save expenditure of foreign exchange which is very valuable for obvious reasons. In some public undertakings attempts are being made with profit for import substitution.
- (vii) If possible, the total inventories of industrial running concerns could be limited to six months' production.
- (viii) Strict inspection by an authority independent of the store staff of materials, spare parts purchased from the trade.
- (ix) Proper arrangement for safety and prevention from deterioration in respect of materials and finished parts held in stock.
- (x) Introduction of scientific and regular provisioning procedure. A separate cell may be created for working out the regular provisioning arrangements with reference to existing stock, dues and liabilities specially in respect of each item of major and costly materials and capital goods. This cell might be under control of the Purchasing Department or the Planning Department.
- (xi) All material management functions should preferably be entrusted to the officers specially qualified and trained for the purpose.

#### C. MANAGEMENT OF LABOUR

It is hardly necessary to mention in the present context the management of labour has assumed a very good significance in the management of industrial or commercial enterprises.

Unrest and dissatisfaction exist among the labourers. The high cost of living at the moment is partly responsible for such disturbance amongst the working classes. These troubles invariably result in loss of production which is valuable in these days of economic trouble in our country with resultant erosion of profit.

Analysis of the defects in some of the Public Undertakings has revealed the following shortcomings:

- (i) Lack of control over labour productivity generally due to inefficient supervisory staff. No norms have been laid down for labour productivity and as such no control over the output can be exercised;
- (ii) Absence of the incentive system of payment. In some cases the incentive system of payment proves satisfactory from the points of view both of employers and employees;
- (iii) Loss due to idle labour is not infrequent in many undertakings. Of course, these are attributed to some factors, such as inefficient supervision, idle machinery within the control due to careless maintenance beyond control, such as lack of orders;
- (iv) Injudicious recruitment of labour force is responsible for idle labour. No consideration is made for actual requirement commensurate with the work load. Further entertainment of untrained or undertrained labour leads to higher percentage of rejections. In one or two cases it has been noticed that number of workers recruited far exceeds actual requirements.
- (v) Higher percentage of Labour Turn Over leads to loss of efficiency. In one undertaking it has been found that the percentage has increased progressively from 3.79 per cent to 4.16 per cent.
- (vi) Abnormal absenteeism is responsible for fall in production and also for deviation from scheduled programme. It has been found in one case that the percentage of absentees has risen progressively from 11.2 per cent to 13.4 per cent. This factor discloses absence of any effective control over discipline in respect of labour attendance,

I suggest that the following measures might be taken to remedy the above shortcomings:

- (i) Fixation of norms for labour productivity and efficient supervision over their activities; standards of labour productivity might be assessed by scientific time study, where possible, or by other technical methods based on past performances;
- (ii) The quantum of labour force should be maintained commensurate with the programme of output;
- (iii) Introduction of incentive system of payment, where possible;
- (iv) Effective control over absenteeism;
- (v) Adoption of measures for labour contentedness, such as, Co-operative Credit Societies, Co-operative Stores, free medical treatment and education for children and the like;

- (vi) Initiation of measures for further training of workmen and supervisory staff, both theoretical and practical.

#### D. MANAGEMENT OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

It is very much regrettable from the point of view of the national finance that imbalance in capital expenditure has been observed in many public undertakings.

Everybody is conscious that big projects are financed out of loans from foreign Governments, major portion of which is invested in capital expenditure—both in machinery and plants as well as in buildings and roads. But it has been observed that owing to lack of appropriate planning and foresight with regard to actual requirements for meeting the production programme, plants and machinery are purchased in excess of immediate requirements with consequent reduction in working capital and thereby fixed capital is not purposefully tied up. Similarly Idle Machine Capacity is another very common malaise in some public enterprises. It has been astonishingly found that in one undertaking only 15 to 20 per cent of the installed machine capacity is utilized which necessarily leads to increase in overhead charges levied on the cost of output.

Scrutiny of another undertaking disclosed that some of the machines are lying idle and many are not utilized to the full extent. Among other defects, I could mention the following:

(i) Expenditure in building and roads is incurred sometimes without much relation to actual requirements. There should be planned programme in such cases.

(ii) Frequent breakdown of machines and plants leading to idle labour and idle machine capacity.

(iii) Lack of control over capital expenditure which results in excess expenditure over the sanctioned amount, necessitating fresh approach to Government for further capital grant.

(iv) It has been noticed in a Public Enterprise that unfinished or semi-finished capital expenditure is not evaluated under the appropriate costing method, and, as such it is difficult to verify the figures exhibited in the balance sheet nor there appears to be any effective control over such expenditure.

(v) Scrutiny of capital expenditure in some public undertakings indicated either non-utilization or delayed utilization of equipment and machinery purchased by the authorities. This proves either infructuous or unplanned capital expenditure resulting in waste of scarce capital of our country.

To remedy the above shortcomings, the following measures are absolutely needed:

(i) Purchase of plants and machinery just to meet the full requirement of the actual production programme in view at the time;

- (ii) Initiation of planned programme for investment in capital—both machinery and building—by stages with a view to meeting the actual demand;
- (iii) Programme for regular and periodic repair and maintenance of machinery and plants with the object of obviating avoidable breakdowns which are some of the bottlenecks which result in retardation of execution with regard to planned programme of output;
- (iv) Strict watch over capital expenditure at every stage by weekly and monthly review by the Management Accountant in comparison with the sanctioned estimate and regular procedure for reporting to the authorities concerned.

#### E. MANAGEMENT OF OVERHEAD EXPENDITURE

The remarks incorporated in the foregoing paras will lead one to conclude that many avoidable factors are responsible for unnecessary increase in each element of production cost with resultant loss arising out of operation of the Public Undertakings. Some of them are summarized below:

- (i) Excessively heavy cost of top administration;
- (ii) Cost of surplus supervisory and managerial staff;
- (iii) Waste of valuable materials in production;
- (iv) Rejection much in excess of permissible limit on account of inefficient operation of machines and of negligence of workers;
- (v) Waste and deterioration of materials in stock due to bad and inefficient storage the cost of which inflates overhead expenditure;
- (vi) Unnecessary locking up of capital in overstocking, the disposal of which results in avoidable loss of the working capital;
- (vii) Control of expendable stores in the shops and departments. In many public undertakings it has been found that neither any standard has been fixed nor is there any control exercised over consumption of valuable consumable stores which are drawn by the shop foreman on "as-required-basis" with consequent rise in avoidable overhead expenditure;
- (viii) Loss of interest on borrowed capital on account of delayed realization or non-realization of sale value of finished goods supplied or services rendered to customers; and
- (ix) Avoidable higher rate of management and administration overhead on account of entertainment of staff much in excess of actual requirements.

It has been seen in some Public Undertakings that little or no attempts are made, or rather no machinery is in vogue to ensure appropriate cost planning and cost reduction, which are considered to be *sine qua non* in management specially of public enterprises which do not prove to be paying propositions in these days.

Planned profit means higher profit with minimized capital investment. Every member of the administrative and management set-up is expected to bear in mind that cost which is a sum total of efforts spent for a unit of output is a monetary symbol of efficiency and productivity. In order to achieve cost reduction it is suggested:

(i) A cost-reduction cell should be set up which will function as a watch dog over every element of cost incurred and review thereof should be exercised from week to week and from month to month and reports submitted by the Management Accountant to the Shop Managers weekly and top most official monthly, who control business policy, with interpretation of cost.

(ii) Quality control should be introduced in order to ensure avoidance of rejection of the part finished or of end products, the cost of which proves to be a total loss of revenue to the concern.

(iii) Standard cost should be introduced as far as practicable and analysis of variances reported weekly and monthly by the Management Accountant for remedial action by the Management with constructive suggestions.

(iv) Budgetary control is to be initiated from the shop level to the top management in respect of actual expenditure with the object of obviating reduction in profit on account of avoidable excess expenditure by exercise of strict control at every stage.

(v) Introduction of regular reporting system.

#### MANAGEMENT OF PROFIT PLANNING

Everybody is now aware about the huge loss that is being incurred in some cases or the nominal profit earned by operation of some other public sector enterprises as opposed to the results of performance by corresponding private sector ones. It is admitted that there is scope for increasing profitability in the public sector. This objective can be achieved by introduction of modern method of *value analysis* which is a form of cost reduction exercise. It is a tool of management which approaches the question of saving cost from the point of view of "value". There are a number of stages involved and an explanation of these should indicate what is meant by value analysis. These stages are as follows:

(i) Ascertain what the customer wants.

(ii) Determine the best methods of performing the work to be done.

(iii) Ascertain the "appropriate cost" for the "appropriate performance".

- (iv) Search for better ways of performing work and consider the functional use of each part of a product.

The recent survey of 32 public enterprises has revealed that contribution by the private undertaking is Rs. 31 for investment of every 100 rupees as against Rs. 9 by the public undertaking. The profit earned by the private sector enterprises is 19 per cent on the capital employed whereas in the public undertakings as a whole is 6.1 per cent excluding steel plant and 3 per cent including steel plant.

In 1958-59 Profit was 13.04 Paise per rupee whereas in 1963-64 it has come down to 7.4 Paise per rupee including Hindustan Steel Plant. The total average loss incurred by the public undertakings during the Second and Third Five Year Plans is Rs. 588 crores of rupees per year. This picture of financial achievement of public undertakings which are mostly financed from the borrowed capital will appear undoubtedly to be surprisingly shocking to the tax payers, from the economic development point of view for our nation as a whole.

In the private sector enterprises the assessment of yearly performance is made by the Share-holders in the Annual General Meeting and a censure motion is passed on the Board of Directors in cases of loss or comparative reduction of profit during a year. In the Public Undertakings, on the other hand, loss or erosion of profit is made good by Government and obviously there is no scope for criticism by share-holders except through the Report of the Public Accounts Committee or of the Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings. But these reports are published much later after the mischief has been done.

In order to have a good management of profit planning, I suggest the following:

- (i) Provisional Monthly Profit and loss Accounts should be prepared by the Management Accountant and placed before the Board of Directors through the Managing Directors on the 10th, if not earlier, of the month following that to which it relates so that corrective action in respect of loopholes, sources of leakages and weaknesses might immediately be taken in order to ensure increase in earning capacities of all industrial and commercial enterprises in the Public Sector.
- (ii) Inter-firm comparison which is the most effective and modern aid to management might with profit be introduced, wherever possible, to throw out the sources of inefficiencies and losses of one firm against another by comparative study. As a matter of fact in the Hindustan Steel Plant and NCDC, this type of inter-firm comparison was considered to be extremely helpful for ensuring increase in profit by the then Minister in Charge. But this proposal was not pursued further, so far as we know, consequent on transfer of the Minister in Charge to another Ministry.

(iii) There is ample scope for profitability by cost reduction if the number of store items is minimized in the same way as is being done in other countries.

In conclusion, the motto of the administrative and management authorities should always be "Cost Reduction and Increase in Productivity". These are the points emphasized also in the recent conference held in New Delhi with regard to Export Promotion Activities.

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## INSTITUTE NEWS

The Tenth Annual Conference of Members of the Institute will be held this year, as usual, on the day following the Annual Meeting of the General Body, which is proposed to be convened tentatively in the second half of October 1967.

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The Executive Council has appointed an Implementation Committee to draw up a scheme of alternative courses to be organized in place of the MDPA Course discontinued from this Session following the recommendation of the Evaluation Committee.

The Implementation Committee has since met twice and has selected some short-term courses to be run during the session 1967-68. The Committee is also considering the question of organizing an Executive Development Programme at the Institute.

\* \* \*

The Institute had taken up several research studies on various problems of administrative reform and improvement, since July 1966. Out of these final or interim reports of the following studies have already been furnished to the Administrative Reforms Commission:

- (1) Experience of Citizens with regard to Administration.
- (2) Union-State Relations in Urban Development.
- (3) Communication to and application by Industry of the researches of Scientific

Institutions and allied Case Studies.

The following studies were submitted during the quarter :

- (1) Control of Panchayati Raj Institutions.
- (2) Participation of Scientific Community in decision-making in scientific institutions.

The following studies are at different stages of preparation:

- (1) Relation between Legislators, Ministers and Civil Servants.
- (2) Working of the Scientists' Pool.
- (3) Recruitment and Promotion Procedures in the Atomic Energy Commission.
- (4) Administrative Problems of Pricing in Public Enterprises.
- (5) Union-State and Inter-State Relations in Multi-Purpose River Valley Projects.
- (6) In-service Training Programmes and Commitment of Civil Servants to Organizational Objectives.
- (7) Position Classification in Public Services.
- (8) Administrative Growth.
- (9) Combination of the posts of Heads of Executive Agencies and of the Secretariat Departments.

- (10) Relations between Specialists and Administrators.
- (11) Relations between Politicians and Administrators at the District Level.
- (12) Studies on State Level Administration.
- (13) Case Studies.

The Sixth Appreciation Course concluded on April 29, 1967, with a valedictory address by Shri K. Hanumanthaiyya, Chairman, Administrative Reforms Commission. This Course, which opened on March 6 brought together twenty officers (Centre 9, States 10), including one from Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

In fulfilment of the fourth phase of the programme, the trainees undertook a trip to Bombay from April 13 to April 19 where they had an opportunity to follow the work of Messrs. Hindustan Lever Limited, the Administrative Staff College, O and M Division in the Sachivalaya, etc.

\* \* \*

With the assistance of a grant-in-aid from the Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, the Indian Institute of Public Administration has set up a Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration. The Centre will function as an apex organization and keeping in mind the programme of activities which the regional/State units might undertake, its major functions would be : (a) to organize training courses for municipal and State officials concerned with Municipal administration in order to improve the technical and professional character of municipal services; (b) to hold seminars for the elected leaders of urban local authorities for the purpose of facilitating awareness

of problems facing the local bodies and encouraging communication between the technical experts and the popular leaders ; (c) to arrange special conferences and study groups on contemporary problems of municipal administration ; (d) to help other States and regional training and research centres; (e) to promote research on various governmental problems of urban and metropolitan growth in India ; (f) to develop efficient and up-to-date information centres and documentation services in municipal administration in India and abroad ; and (g) to provide suitable consultancy service to the various public bodies on municipal administration and to represent India in international conferences.

The following persons are at present on the staff of the Institute's Centre : Shri A. Datta, Reader in Municipal Administration, Shri M. Bhattacharya, Senior Research Officer and Shri R. S. Gupta, Lecturer in Municipal Administration.

The Centre has already undertaken a few research projects and proposes to run the short-term training courses for municipal executives during the next financial year.

An Advisory Committee has been constituted for the Centre with the following members : Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director, IIPA ; Prof. N. Srinivasan, Vice-Principal, ISPA ; Shri Gian Prakash, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Planning ; Shri Deva Raj, OSD, Ministry of Health and Family Planning ; Shri Nur-ud-din Ahmed, ex-Mayor of Delhi Municipal Corporation ; Prof. Shantilal Kothari, visiting Professor, ISPA ; Shri K. L. Rathee, Municipal Commissioner, Delhi : Shri P. R. Nayak, Secretary, Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals ; Shri H. K. L. Bhagat,

Ex-Deputy Mayor, Delhi Municipal Corporation ; and Shri I. K. Gujral, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

\* \* \*

A three-day Workshop on "Some Aspects of Research Administration in India" was organized by the Institute from May 22 to 24, 1967. The purpose of the Workshop, which was intended for Directors/Heads of the CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) Laboratories and private research organizations in India was to share experiences regarding research administration innovations and to thrash out common problems. The agenda included discussions on topics, such as, Techniques used for choosing research and development projects ; Methods for organizing research projects ; Problems and innovations in organizing administrative support ; Techniques and current problems in organizing information support required for research and development projects ; Methods for gaining collaboration and commitment from the users of research results ; Tested techniques for motivating and developing research personnel—the problem of environment ; New techniques for evaluating benefits *vs.* cost ; Techniques applied for reducing the work cycle ; Methods for "selling", the idea of research and development to industry, government, and society—the popularization of R and D and public relations.

\* \* \*

The Institute organized, from March 22 to 24 at Udaipur, a residential symposium to discuss the problems and opportunities for science and technology in India. The symposium was chaired by Prof. M. S. Thacker, Member, Planning Commission, and was attended by twenty senior officers, including persons connected with the formulation of

scientific policy, directors of research laboratories and industrialists.

The symposium considered the fields of scientific and technological research and development in which India should place emphasis. It also considered the policy actions and machinery which are needed to deal with the problems identified and to capitalise on the opportunities.

\* \* \*

The following subjects have been announced for the 1967 Prize Essay Competition ; (1) The merits and defects of the present system of relations between the administrator and the specialist : (2) Creation of a cadre of local civil service personnel ; (3) Management of personnel functions at the Central Government : The case for a Central Personnel Agency.

The essay must be written in English and should not exceed 10,000 words in length. It must be typed on one side of the paper only and submitted in triplicate under *nom de plume*. Closing date for the competition is August 1, 1967. As usual, the essay adjudged best will carry a prize of Rs. 1,000 ; a second prize of Rs. 500 may be awarded for the second best contribution. The competition is open to all citizens of India as have not, at any time, secured a prize of Rs. 1,000 in any previous Essay Competition of the Institute.

\* \* \*

*Shri K. N. Butani* (till recently Director, Special Areas Development Programme, in the Department of Rehabilitation, Government of India, has joined the Institute as Project-Director, Case Study Programme under the new Ford Foundation Grant.

*Dr. S. P. Verma and Dr. H. R. Trivedi* have also joined the Institute under the same Grant.

\* \* \*

*S'hi M. B. Deshmukh*, Joint Director (E & S), Oil and Natural Gas Commission joined the Institute on April 3, 1967 as Project Associate in connection with the Programme of Supporting Administrative Research for Administrative Reforms Commission.

\* \* \*

*Shri B. S. Narula* of the Institute has been appointed Special Assistant to the Chairman, Administrative Reforms Commission. He will, however, continue his work as Project-Director for research studies allotted to him by the Institute.

\* \* \*

*Prof. William A. Robson*, Emeritus Professor of Public Administration at the London School of Economics and Political Science visited the Institute on April 15, 1967 and his presence here was availed of by organizing on that day a Seminar at the Institute on "The Relations of Administrative Theory and Administrative Practice". The discussion was initiated by Prof. Robson and was attended by senior members of teaching and research staff.

*Dr. J. Lee Westrate*, Senior Management Analyst (Science, Technology and Education) in the U.S. Bureau of the Budget and Visiting Professor in the Universities of Oklahoma and George Washington, who has joined the IIPA as a Ford Foundation Consultant in the IIPA on Science and Government Studies, delivered a lecture on "Some Aspects of Research Administration" at the Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute (CMERI) Durgapur, on April 7, 1967. Dr. Westrate and some other staff members of the IIPA, visited CMERI from April 5 to 8 to make study of the administrative innovations brought about in the

Institute during the last few years. These innovations have been aimed at making the researches of the Institute industry-oriented, encouraging team work amongst research staff, establishing close collaboration with industry, etc.

Under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch of the IIPA, *Shri R. L. Gupta*, I.C.S. (Retd.) Principal, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, delivered a talk on the "Management of Public Sector Undertakings" on March 28, 1967.

Under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch of the IIPA, *Shri S. S. Khera*, I.C.S. (Retired), delivered a lecture on "Decision Making" on March 1, 1967.

Under the auspices of Maharashtra Regional Branch, *Prof. Edwin A. Bock*, President, Inter-University Case Program, U.S.A., initiated a discussion on "Case Studies on Administrative Leadership, Centre-State Relations, and Project Implementation" at Bombay on March 23, 1967, *Shri B. Venkatappiah*, I.C.S. (Retd.), was in the chair.

Under the auspices of the Poona Regional Branch of the IIPA, *Shri N. G. Goray*, Chairman, Praja Socialist Party, delivered a lecture on "Parliament and Administration" on June 22, 1967.

\* \* \*

A two-day Seminar on "The Report of the Administrative Reorganisation Economy Committee 1965-67" was held on June 10 and 11, 1967 at Trivandrum Local Branch Office of IIPA. The Chief Minister of Kerala inaugurated the Seminar.

\* \* \*

At the Annual General Meeting of the Maharashtra Regional Branch

of the IIPA, held on June 23, 1967, the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1967-68:

Chairman: Shri D. R. Pradhan,  
Chief Secretary.

Honorary Secretary: Shri J. B.

D'Souza, General Manager, B.E.S.  
& T. Undertaking.

Honorary Treasurer: *Shri S. Rama Moorthi*, Deputy Secretary, Education and Social Welfare Department.



## INDIAN JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

In the context of the present emphasis on rapid industrialisation in India, and the complexity of problems that have arisen in consequence, industrial relations studies directed towards the understanding of these problems and their implications have assumed special significance. It is with a view to locating such problem areas, and providing reliable guidelines for formulating future policies that the Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations was founded in 1963.

The research results of the Centre are published in several forms. The quarterly *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations* is one such. The Journal is, thus, devoted to the promotion of scientific study and advancement of knowledge in the field of industrial relations, besides being a forum for inter-disciplinary discussion. In other words, it serves as a bridge between the scholar and the practitioner.

The Journal is published in July, October, January, and April. It is currently in its third year of publication.

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**SHRI RAM CENTRE FOR INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS**  
5, Pusa Road, New Delhi-5, India.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

### *Administrative Reforms*

The presentation of two interim reports—one on the Machinery for the Redress of Citizens' Grievances and another on the Planning Machinery—by the Administrative Reforms Commission was reported in the last review. Since then a further progress in the A.R.C. work has been recorded. The following study teams appointed by the A.R.C. presented\* their reports to the Commission:

- (a) Administrative Tribunals (final report)
- (b) Economic Administration (final report)
- (c) Budgetary Reforms, Control of Public Expenditure, and Procedure Governing Financial Relations between the Centre and the States (final report)
- (d) Public Sector Undertakings (final report)
- (e) Recruitment Education, UPSC/State PSCS & Training (final report)
- (f) District Administration
- (g) Relation between Press & Administration (final report).

The reports of these Study Teams are under the consideration of the Commission which is expected to present its report by December this year.

The Commission has recently appointed one more Working Group on Union Territory Administration which is headed by Shri R. R. Morarka, M.P.

On the implementation side the recommendations of the Commission, regarding the Lok Pal and the Lok Ayukta, were referred to State Governments by the Central Government for their views. Regarding the reorganization of Planning Commission the Government has announced that: (1) they broadly agree with the A.R.C. that the role of the Planning Commission should be mainly to formulate Plans and to evaluate Plan performance. The Commission should not be burdened with any executive functions. (2) Government also agree with the recommendation that the Planning Commission should submit an annual report on Plan performance, and that this report should be placed before Parliament. (3) The Government is of the view that the Prime Minister should continue to be the Chairman of the Planning Commission. (4) The Finance Minister should also be a Member of the Planning Commission. While Central Ministers will not be formally associated

\* Presentation of the reports of the following Study Teams was reported in the last issue :

(1) District Administration (Interim Report) (2) Relation between Press and Administration (Interim Report) (3) Machinery of Government, and (4) Machinery of Planning (Interim Report).

with the Commission as its Members, it will be open to the Prime Minister to invite them from time to time to join in the deliberations of the Commission as may be necessary. (5) Government have decided that the Planning Commission should have the guidance of a whole-time Deputy Chairman who need not be a member of the Council of Ministers. (6) The Administrative Reforms Commission recommended five full-time Members including the Deputy Chairman, and two other part-time Members as may be found necessary. While Government consider that there need be no rigidity about the number of Members, they agree with the broad approach that the Commission should be a compact and small body of full time Members. Government are of the view that it should not be necessary to make any part-time appointments to the Commission. (7) Matters pertaining to specific subjects allocated to different Ministers will be dealt with in Parliament by the Ministers concerned. Financial, administrative and general questions will be dealt with by the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister as the case may be. (8) The National Development Council, of which the Prime Minister will continue to be Chairman, should be composed of all Union Cabinet Ministers, Chief Ministers of the States and the Union Territories and Members of the Planning Commission. (9) It will be essentially for the State Governments to consider what arrangements they will make to deal with planning at the State or lower levels. These will be discussed and settled between the Central and State Governments from time to time.

#### *Administrative Reorganization*

In the matter of administrative reorganization, the most outstand-

ing development was the reorganization of NEFA administration. Administration of NEFA had been enquired into by a committee called the Ering Committee in 1963. Later, a Parliamentary Delegation visited NEFA in 1966. In pursuance of the recommendation of these bodies Government have decided to consider whether NEFA Secretariat may be shifted from Shillong, leaving a skeleton secretariat there to assist the Governor in pursuance of the recommendations of Parliamentary Delegation which visited NEFA. It is also proposed to set up 11 low-powered transmitters in NEFA to give greater publicity through the radio in NEFA. Among other measures proposed are: (1) pending the establishment of direct-land-line communication system with the various District and Sub-divisional Headquarters in NEFA, radio telephone system has been established in certain districts. (2) Decision to integrate the Indian Frontier Service with the IAS has been taken and details are being worked out. (3) A scheme for the resettlement of Ex-Servicemen and their families is already in execution in Tirap District of NEFA. The question of resettling more Ex-Servicemen in suitable places of NEFA is now under active consideration. A Liasion Officer from Army Headquarters has already been posted at the NEFA Secretariat, Shillong, for the purpose.

The information service of the Union Government would see major reorganization, if the report of the latest and last report of the Committee on Broadcasting and Information media are implemented. The report on "Co-ordination of the Media of Mass Communication" has recommended that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should be remodelled on the lines of the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs

Boards, manned largely by technical personnel. It would be the Board of Information and also the Ministry of Information. The other major recommendations made by the Committee are: (1) The Minister of Information should be responsible for the formulation of information policy for government as a whole. He should advise the Cabinet on information matters and be accountable to Parliament for the Board's activities. To play this role the Minister of Information must have a place in the Cabinet and a high standing in the ruling party. The Minister should be supported by a Secretary who would also be *ex officio* Chairman of the Central Information Board. The Board should replace the hierarchy of a conventional ministry. (2) The existing media units of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should be integrated and formed into four groups. Group I, which should be in charge of the chairman would comprise the Press, Overseas Publicity, Evaluation and Research Divisions. Groups II and III, in charge of technical members, recruited from the Central Information Service, the Films Division, Radio and Television, Photo, Films, Art, Exhibition, Field publicity, Advertising and Publications Division, Group IV comprising the Administration, Personnel and Finance Divisions, should be in the charge of a Finance Officer selected in consultation with the Finance Ministry. Three or four part-time expert members should be added to the Board to attend meetings periodically and to advise and assist in its planning functions. The full-time members should have *ex officio* status of Joint Secretary and should receive the salary and allowance which go with it. It may be necessary to give a higher rank of Additional Secretary depending on the individual. The Report also recommends establishment of a

National Council of Mass Communication to examine the question of expanding and enlarging the channels of communication and their harmonized use to evoke public interest. The Chairman of the Council may be the Minister of Information or a distinguished publicist.

With a view to promoting better understanding between the government machinery and the public and to improve the efficiency of the Information and Public Relations Department, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has decided that at the State Headquarters, the Joint Secretary to Government should be the *ex officio* Director of Information and Public Relations. At the district level there should be two Assistant Directors—one each for Information & Public Relations and the Personal Assistant to the Collector should be designated as *ex officio* Deputy Director, Information & Public Relations, who should be a nominal head of the district office to co-ordinate the work of two Assistant Directors and will be the Chief Officer to maintain liaison between Department for Information & Public Relations and other Departments.

Government of India have asked State Governments/Union Territory Administrations to make both the Home Guards and Civil Defence organizations permanent. A number of improvements have been introduced in consultation with the State Governments and Union Territories Administration in the organization, training and equipment of these organizations.

The Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power has reconstituted the Flood Control Board for Delhi and contiguous areas of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh to ensure integrated planning, speedy

execution and effective maintenance of flood control works. The Board will formulate a joint integrated plan of flood control and drainage, timely execution and effective maintenance of protection works, and ensuring effective co-ordination on matters relating to flood control and drainage between the State authorities concerned.

The Government of Assam has constituted an Advisory Council for the Autonomous Districts, with the Minister for Tribal Affairs and Backward Classes Departments as the Chairman under the Rules for the Constitution of the Advisory Council for the Autonomous Districts. The functions of the Council are: (1) to advise the Government on matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the Autonomous Districts, as may be referred to it by the Government, and, particularly to assess the requirements of the Scheduled Tribes in the Autonomous Districts ; (2) to recommend welfare schemes for the development of these Districts ; (3) to review, from time to time, the working of the schemes sanctioned for the development of the Autonomous Districts ; (4) to appraise and evaluate the benefits derived with a view to suggesting improvements or changes as and where necessary : and (5) to advise the Government on the administration of the Autonomous Districts and on the working and affairs of the District Councils and Regional Council.

Among the less important organizational developments mention could be made of the reconstitution of Punjab State Electricity Board & constitution of a State Planning Board by Punjab. Pursuant to a mutually arrived at decision amongst the Union Ministry of Irrigation &

Power and the States of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, the Punjab State Electricity Board (constituted in 1959) has been dissolved and replaced by separate Electricity Boards for the Punjab and Haryana. Under the new arrangement, financial assets, liabilities and stores of the hitherto composite body will be tentatively divided in the ratios of 54.5 per cent for the Punjab, 39.5 per cent for Haryana, 3.5 per cent for the Union Territory of Chandigarh, and 2.5 per cent for Himachal Pradesh.

The Government of Punjab has also reconstituted the State Planning Board, with the State Chief Minister as its Chairman. It will lay down the broad lines of policy to be followed by the various departments of the State in regard to Planning. The Board will also review regularly the implementation by the departments of the developmental schemes included in the State Five Year Plans and consider all other matters concerning the formulations and implementation of the Plan Schemes.

#### *Improvements in administrative procedures*

Improvements in administrative procedures too received some attention during the quarter. The Study Team on Customs Re-organization, appointed in March 1956 to examine the present structure and methods of work in the Customs Department to identify areas of delay and bottlenecks in operation and recommend measures for re-organization, submitted its report. The report has suggested a number of measures aimed at speedy clearance of imports and exports and quick settlement of disputes and payment of refunds and drawbacks to the traders. The Team has also suggested the

establishment of much closer co-ordination between the Customs Department and the policy-making authorities concerned with controls, imports and exports, foreign exchange and other related matters.

Like the Customs Reorganization Committee, the One-man Committee appointed under the chairmanship of Shri Bhoothalingam has also made a number of suggestions on the rationalization and simplification of Direct Taxation Laws. These suggestions are to be given effect through the Finance (No. 2) Bill 1967.

A Review Committee appointed by the Government of India in February last, to evaluate the work of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, also presented its report during the quarter. The report has recommended avoidance of intermingling of functions between the Planning Division of the I.S.I. & the Planning Commission. The report suggests that it should function entirely out side the Government and also recommend courses for the personnel engaged in planning at various levels. Finding the administrative machinery of the Institute as "extremely weak and ineffective", the Committee has stressed the need for immediate steps to improve its administrative structure.

After examining the recommendations made by the Expert Teams—particularly the Agricultural Research Review Team (Parker Committee) regarding the re-organization of agricultural research in India, the Government of India have decided to reorganize the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, so as to make it a more functional, technically competent and comprehensive organization. The Rules and Bye-laws of the I.C.A.R. have

been suitably revised, so as to make it a really functional, technically competent and fully autonomous research organization. The Governing Body of the Council has been reconstituted, making it thereby pre-eminently a body of scientists and those with interest or knowledge in agriculture. An eminent scientist has been appointed as the Director-General and Vice-President of the Council, thereby replacing the tradition that such a post is to be occupied only by an administrator. The administrative control of nine research institutes, which were previously controlled directly by the Department of Agriculture, has been transferred to the reorganized Council with effect from 1st April, 1966. The Central Commodity Committees have been dissolved and their research functions (including the administrative control of the commodity research institutes—named below) have been assumed by the I.C.A.R. with effect from 1.4.1966.

The Secretariat of the Council had been provided all along by the Government of India and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research was functioning as an Attached Office of the Department of Agriculture. Consequent upon the decision to reorganize the Council, it has been decided that the Society should establish and maintain its own office. Accordingly, the I.C.A.R. Secretariat which is now a Government Office will be converted into an office wholly financed and controlled by the Council as soon as administratively possible.

#### *Personnel Policy—Recruitment and Training*

In the personnel field, three most important developments took place at the Centre as follows :

The Indian Administrative Service (Recruitment) Rules, 1954, have been amended providing for the reservation for a period of five years of 20 per cent of the total number of annual permanent vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment on the results of competitive examination, in favour of the Emergency Commissioned/Short Service Commissioned Officers commissioned in the Armed Forces of the Union after 1st November, 1962 and released thereafter. In accordance with the rules framed for the I.A.S. etc. (Released EC/SSC Officers) Examination, 1966, a candidate, in order to be eligible to sit for the examination, must not have attained the age of 24 years on the 1st August of the year in which he joined the pre-commission training of the Armed Forces.

Twenty-five candidates have been recommended by the Union Public Service Commission for appointment to the All-India and Central Services on the basis of the examination held in 1966. Out of these, four have been selected for I.A.S./I.F.S.

A Memorandum along with the draft Cadre Rules, Recruitment Rules and Initial Recruitment Regulations regarding the Indian Service of Engineers have been sent to all State Governments on 31.3.1967. Further steps to constitute the Service would be taken as soon as their comments are received.

Initial recruitment to the Indian Forest Services, which was constituted in September 1966, has been completed in all the States except Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Jammu & Kashmir, and Union Territories. So far recruitment to this Service has been limited to inducting provincial service officers into the cadre. The UPSC has now been

authorized to hold examination for the direct recruitment of foresters along with the IAS and IPS examinations this September.

It is proposed to constitute a Delhi and Himachal Pradesh Higher Judicial Service and a Delhi and Himachal Civil Service (Judicial Branch). The former Service will comprise posts of District and Sessions Judge and comparable posts. The latter Service will comprise posts of Sub-Judges, Judicial Magistrates and comparable posts. The draft rules are under preparation in consultation with the Delhi High Court.

A working group of officials has been constituted to look *inter alia* into the question of representation of Scheduled Castes in all Government Services.

#### *Condition of Service and Motivation for Public Personnel*

The Government of India has set up a National Committee on Training in Community Development and Extension, under the chairmanship of *Shri B. Sivaraman*, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, to tender advice to the Government on the general problems of training at various levels with a view to making training in Community Development and Extension more effective. Besides, the Committee will review the progress of the training programmes in different states and help in the development of a pool of technical personnel to assist the State Governments of Planning and organizing the training programmes and act as a coordinating body for the training programmes of the Departments of Community Development and Agriculture.

In keeping with the spirit of the scheme of reorganization of

agricultural research and to provide the much needed financial incentive and recognition to deserving scientific workers, the Scheme of 'Merit Promotion and Advance Increments' has been introduced for the benefit of scientific staff employed at all the 17 Research Institutes under the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

The Union Ministry of Transport and Shipping has set up a committee, with *Shri K. T. Desai*, retired Chief Justice, Gujarat High Court as its Chairman, to enquire into and report on the conditions of work of the personnel of the Marine Services of the Port of Bombay. It will make recommendations on the scales of pay, allowances, accident insurance, system of turns and shifts, hours of work, periods of rest, leave and holidays.

Army and ex-Army personnel are entitled to re-employment in the Border Security Force, according to latest orders issued by the Director-General of Border's Security Force. The age-limit prescribed for sepoys is 35 years though relaxation is permitted up to five years for technical hands. The age-limit for Naiks is 42, for Havildars 45 and for Junior Commissioned Officers 50 years. They should not have been out of the Army after release or retrenchment for more than 18 months at the time of re-employment.

It has been decided by the Ministry of Defence that the parents of unmarried officers of the Armed Forces whose death is due to service factors may be granted a dependent's pension subject to certain considerations. The conditions which are applied to determine the eligibility of the parents for dependent's pension have also been liberalized in certain respects.

### *Public Services in States*

Some noteworthy developments effecting the public services also took place in the States. For instance, the Government of Haryana constituted an Expert Committee, under the chairmanship of the Secretary to Government, Haryana, Labour and Employment Department, to go into the working class cost of living index numbers. The terms of reference of the Committee are: (1) To examine whether the present series of working class consumer price index numbers (state series only) reflect the existing pattern of consumption and current variations in prices adequately and, if not, what readjustment on an *ad hoc* interim basis may be made; (2) To examine and recommend a scientific basis for a revised system of construction of the working class cost of living index numbers, including a study of the methods and manner of collection of current statistics, and also of linking the existing series with the new series so reconstructed, wherever necessary; (3) To examine as to what extent the existing formulae of linking D.A. with cost of living index numbers, enhanced in some units and industries, neutralise the rise in prices since pre-war-level to examine if the system could be extended further and, if so, in what manner.

The Government of Kerala decided that with effect from May 4, 1967, the age of compulsory retirement of all Government employees and aided school teachers, whose age of retirement on superannuation under the existing orders is 58 years, will be lowered to 55 years. However, all those who are already past the age of 55 or who may attain the age of 55 within a period of 3 months from the date of this order, will retire only on the date of expiry

of three months from the date of this order.

Consequent on lowering the age of compulsory retirement those who are already past the age of 55 and those who attain the age of 55 within three months from the date of this order can avail themselves of earned leave to their credit only up to a maximum period of three months. To avoid hardship, however, it has been decided that if any such officer is eligible for any earned leave preparatory to retirement in excess of this period, he will be allowed to enjoy after retirement the benefit of this leave as in the case of refused leave.

No officer will hereafter be given reappointment, extension of service or re-employment beyond the age of compulsory retirement. In existing cases, no further extension of service/re-employment/ re-appointment beyond the present term will be granted.

Kerala Cabinet took another momentous decision and that was with regard to the police verification. It decided to discontinue the hitherto adopted practice of denying Government jobs to persons on the ground of their association with certain specified political parties. However, the Government has decided to continue the system of police verification of character and antecedents of candidates for Government jobs.

The Government of Rajasthan has set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of the Labour Adviser, to draft separate set of rules for Government servants holding regular posts but are industrial workers. The Committee will study the impact of labour laws, existing benefits and other procedural matters.

The Uttar Pradesh Cabinet revised the decision of the former Government, with regard to the appointment of non-gazetted officers in the Rs. 200—400 grade in the service of the State. These appointments will now have to be approved by the Public Service Commission.

#### *Administrative Vigilance*

Administrative vigilance & redressal of citizen's grievances are two new directions in which something or the other continues to occur on Indian administrative scene and yet there appears need for more and more of it. The Lok Sabha passed the Anti-Corruption Laws (Amendment) Bill 1967 recently. As a result of the High Court Judgment, cases which were pending trial in various courts on 18.12.64 and in which the prosecution was mainly relying on the role of evidence contained in Section 5 (3) of the Prevention of Corruption Act 1947 were seriously effected. With a view to safeguarding these cases, the Anti-Corruption Laws (Amendment) ordinance was promulgated on 5.5.67. The bill sought to approve that ordinance.

The Law Commission has taken up for consideration the question whether a provision should be inserted in or after Section 44 of the Code of Criminal Procedure making it incumbent upon every public servant aware of the commission of an offence relating to bribery. The provision should require every public servant to give information to an authority competent to investigate such offences and to answer truly and fully all questions (other than incriminating questions) relating to such offences in any investigation inquiry or trial into these offences. The Commission has invited views of persons and organizations interested in the matter.

At the States level, the Chief Justice of Assam & Nagaland constituted a Vigilance Committee for the States of Assam and Nagaland consisting of a Judge of the High Court who will be the Chairman of the Committee. Four District Judges of Assam and the three Deputy Commissioners in Nagaland will be the members and Deputy Registrar of the High Court will be the Secretary of the Committee. The Committee will meet as often as required and take such action as may be necessary for the prevention of corruption within the sphere of Judicial Administration.

The Government of Punjab has appointed public grievances officers at district headquarters with wide powers to weed out corruption. The officers have been instructed to dispose of complaints within four weeks, if not earlier. They would have jurisdiction to make inquiries into all government departments, except the judiciary.

The Punjab State Government has also abolished the District Public Relations and Grievances Committees. Instead, a District Vigilance Committee will be constituted in each district. Besides the Deputy Commissioner (Chairman), the Committee will consist of the following members: All M.Ps., M.L.As. and M.L.Cs. from the district, President of the Municipal Committee at the district headquarters, Chairman of the Zila Parishad, Representatives of each of the political parties in the district (only such parties will be allowed representations as have been recognized by the Election Commission). The function of this Committee is to ensure that all grievances are properly looked into. When any non-official

member is not satisfied with the result of an enquiry, the Deputy Commissioner may entrust the matter to the Public Grievances Officer of the district and get it re-investigated in consultation with the member complaining.

#### *Pay, Pension Perquisites*

With the constantly rising prices, it is natural, that the Centre & State Governments should both be increasingly concerned with revisions of pay scales, pensions and such benefits. The Gajendragadkar Commission which was appointed regarding Dearness Allowances to Central Government employees submitted\* its report on 6 June, 1967.

About five lakh Class III and IV Railway employees will henceforward receive night duty allowances at increased rates. According to a decision taken by the Railway Board recently: (i) All Class III and Class IV Staff, including workshop staff, drawing pay up to Rs. 470, (A.S.) but excluding those who are classified as "essentially intermittent" and "excluded" under the Hours of Employment Regulations, shall be granted weightage for night duty; (ii) night duty for this purpose shall mean all duty performed between 22 and 6 hours; and (iii) the rates of night duty allowance shall be related to the basic pay (substantive or officiating), instead of pay plus Dearness Allowance as at present, according to the table below:

The new rates of night duty allowance (shown in brackets) are as follows : Basic pay up to Rs. 103 (Rs. 0.60); Rs. 103—130 (Rs. 0.85); Rs. 130—160 (Rs. 1.06); Rs. 160—209 (Rs. 1.30); Rs. 209—240 (Rs. 1.40 ; Rs. 240—290 (Rs. 1.60);

\* While the MS. was in the press, Government of India announced its decisions on the aforesaid report. Those will be reported in the next review.

Rs.290—340 (Rs. 1.80); Rs. 340—390 (Rs. 2.00) Rs. 390—430 (Rs. 2.20); and Rs. 430—470 (Rs. 2.40). These orders came into effect from April 7, 1967.

The Government of Assam has decided as an experimental measure that the pay and allowances of all Superintendents (Gazetted) and gazetted stenographers of Assam Secretariat shall be drawn with effect from the 1st June, 1967 in establishment pay bill forms in the same manner as in the case of non-gazetted Government servants without specified authority from the Accountant General.

The Government of Assam has, with effect from January 1, 1967, sanctioned an *ad hoc* Dearness Allowance to all Government servants drawing emoluments up to Rs. 750 p.m. at the rate of Rs. 10 p.m. This allowance is in addition to the Dearness Allowance of Rs. 10 p.m. already drawn by officials drawing pay up to Rs. 250 p.m.

The Government of Assam has set up a Commission under the chairmanship of Shri D. Das, Special Secretary and Commissioner for Agricultural Production and Rural Development, to examine the question relating to Dearness Allowances of the State Government employees and anomalies and representations arising out of the last Pay Committee Report and to make recommendations with findings to the Government.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has sanctioned the additional Dearness Allowance as indicated below to the State Government employees: (i) 50 per cent of the difference between the current rates of Central rates of Dearness Allowance and State Dearness Allo-

wance will be given with effect from January 1, 1967. (ii) Remaining 50 per cent of the difference will be given with effect from April 1, 1967. The increased D.A. will be admissible to all employees of Government, local bodies, teachers of aided schools and colleges and to the whole-time employees working in the Government Industrial Undertakings (such as Government Distilleries, Government Press). The additional Dearness Allowance will be extended to the wholetime employees paid from the contingencies, workers on Nominal Muster Rolls and work-charged establishments, subject to the condition that the total Dearness Allowance admissible after these additions should not exceed the total D.A. admissible to a Government servant in the respective pay range. The village officers and village servants will be given additional Dearness Allowance of Rs. 3 per mensem from January 1, 1967 and further Rs. 3 per mensem from April 1, 1967. The Government has also sanctioned D.A. to all State Gazetted Officers drawing pay above Rs. 1,000 and up to Rs.2,000 at a uniform rate of Rs. 50 p.m. from January 1, 1967 and at a uniform rate of Rs. 100 p.m. from April 1, 1967. They will be subject to marginal adjustments for persons drawing above Rs. 2,000.

The Bihar Government has decided to raise the dearness allowance of its employees to bring it at par with that of the Central Government employees.

The Government of Haryana appointed a pay revision committee to examine the pay structure of employees at all levels and recommend the necessary revisions. The Committee which is headed by the Chief Minister, is to submit its recommendations within 3 months.

The Government of Haryana has granted additional dearness allowance to the State Government employees at the following rates: Rs. 10 up to the pay range of Rs. 50; Rs. 12.50 for the pay ranging from Rs. 51 to Rs. 300; Rs. 15 for scale of pay between Rs. 301 to Rs. 500; and Rs. 20 for the pay slab of Rs. 501 to Rs. 1,000. The additional dearness allowance has been granted with retrospective effect from January 1, 1967.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has decided to empower heads of offices to sanction payment of sums subject to a minimum of Rs. 50 and a maximum of Rs. 300 in cases of death of a Government servant while working in office, or on tour, or inspection towards meeting the expenditure in connection with the performance of obsequies or transport charges of the dead body to the native or other place of the deceased Government servant, if the occasion so requires. The payment will be made to the nearest relative of the deceased Government servant or a responsible official on production of a death certificate given by the attending doctor. Where there is no such doctor, a statement of the circumstances and reasons resulting in the death of the employee duly authenticated by the head of office will have to be furnished.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has issued instructions to all pension-sanctioning authorities that retired non-gazetted Government servants should be paid anticipatory pension/ service gratuity, family pension/death-cum-retirement gratuity, as may be due, up to 75 per cent of the anticipated amount without waiting for the verification and report of the Accountant General, and such payment started from the month following the month

in which a Government servant retires or dies. For this purpose, the amounts of pension, gratuity, etc., may be drawn in separate establishment pay bills under intimation to the Accountant General till the pension payment order is issued by him.

The Government of Maharashtra has reduced the number of pay-slabs from 13 to 9 for the purposes of dearness allowance admissible to the teachers in Government and non-Government secondary schools, assistant masters in Government and non-Government primary training colleges, trained graduate assistant deputy educational inspectors, lecturers in Multipurposes high schools and guaranteed teachers in non-Government secondary schools who have opted for upgraded pay scales.

The Government of Orissa has sanctioned enhanced rates of dearness allowance to their employees. The enhanced rates admissible in the various pay ranges are as follows: Rs. 47 for employees getting pay below Rs. 80; Rs. 61 for the pay slab between Rs. 80 and 150; Rs. 78 for Rs. 151—210; Rs. 96 for Rs. 211—400; Rs. 105 for the pay slab of Rs. 401 to 1000; Rs. 100 for the pay between Rs. 1001 and Rs. 2250; and for the pay above Rs. 2250—amount by which pay falls short of Rs. 2350.

These rates of dearness allowance will also be admissible to employees of Local Bodies and Aided Educational Institutions (excluding Teachers of Aided Primary Schools).

The Punjab Government has decided to appoint a one-member commission for examining the pay structure of its employees. The Commission would consist of a serving judge of the Punjab and Haryana High Court.

The Punjab Government has withdrawn its previous instructions to the Municipal Committees in the State not to allow any gratuities for their employees. The Municipalities have now been informed that the Government would have no objection if any Municipal Committee wants to introduce any gratuity scheme for the benefit of its employees.

The Punjab Government decided to grant dearness allowance to its employees at Central Government rates. About 1.80 lakh employees have benefited from this decision. The revised dearness allowance took effect from 1st May, 1967.

The Punjab Government has accepted the recommendations of the University Grants Commission in respect of pay scales of college teachers and that of the Kothari Commission for school teachers. The decision which would have retrospective effect from Nov. 1, 1966, would cover 45,000 school teachers and 1,000 college teachers in Government institutions. The Government-aided private educational institutions would be required to adopt the new grades for their employees.

The Government of Rajasthan has appointed a single-member Pay Commission consisting of Shri Jawan Singh Ranawat, former Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, to examine the question of dearness allowance to State Government employees. The Commission will examine the question taking into consideration such factors as the rising prices, the needs of the States' developing economy, the financial resources of the States, etc.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has announced the revised

rates of dearness allowance to Government servants which are payable with effect from April 1, 1967.

The interim relief sanctioned with effect from January 1, 1967, will be merged in the revised rates. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has also set up a five-man Committee to examine the budgetary position, with reference to the demands for abolition of certain taxes and higher D.A. for Government employees.

Additional dearness allowance to Government employees and teaching and non-teaching staff of non-Government schools and colleges were announced by Government of West Bengal. The additional D.A., effective from May 1, will benefit 4.31 lakh employees and cost the State exchequer an additional Rs. 11.5 crores per annum. All categories of Government employees drawing a basic salary of Rs. 109 to Rs. 2,250 will benefit. Those in the lower income group will get Rs. 33 more while those in higher-salary cadre Rs. 20 more per month.

A scheme for Contributory Provident Fund, Pension Retiring Gratuity, Death Gratuity and Family Schools and benefits for over 1,60,000 teachers of Primary Schools and teaching and non-teaching staff of Secondary Schools has been sanctioned by the West Bengal Cabinet.

#### *Local Self-Government*

The Commission of Inquiry appointed to inquire into the resources and requirements of Local bodies in Delhi had submitted, under the chairmanship of *Shri B. Gopala Reddy*, an interim report on the finances of the General Wing of the Delhi Municipal Corporation and the New Delhi Municipal Committee. Later at its meeting held on the 7th March, 1967, the Commission

decided to re-examine their recommendations. The recommendations of the Commission are awaited by the Government.

It is proposed to promulgate a Regulation to provide for the constitution of democratic bodies at block, district and Agency level in NEFA, with a view to have self-government in that area.

The four-member Committee constituted by the Governor of Assam to consider the expansion and development of local self-government in the Northeast Frontier Agency has recommended that the territory's representative in Parliament should be elected and not nominated as at present.

The Committee proposes that the administration of NEFA should come under the Ministry of Home Affairs.

It feels that the posts of political interpreters and jamadars should be abolished because this system has ceased to serve its purpose.

A Police force drawn from among the people of NEFA should be set up to guard the inner line.

The committee recommends a fresh examination of the procedure relating to the constitution of the Indian Frontier Service, principally from the point of view whether it should remain a wholly separate cadre or should provide for interchangeability with the Indian Administrative Service.

The Committee recommends the introduction of Panchayati Raj and the formation of an Agency Advisory Council. Gram panchayats should have power to settle and adjudicate cases involving tribesmen.

The committee recommended that zilla parishads should be effective district bodies with a membership between 24 and 30.

#### *Agricultural Administration—New Development*

The Government of India have announced a New Strategy for agricultural production. The following are its important programmes :

- (i) Applying a package of practices, comprising water management, high-yielding varieties of seeds, pest control and a sufficiency of fertilizer application along with good agricultural practices covering an area of 32.5 million acres in 1970-71, and
- (ii) Introducing short-term varieties in the major cereals of the country which are as good yielders as the long term varieties under a suitable package of practices; thereby allowing for the growing of a major second crop in the irrigated areas of the country where only one crop was being grown under irrigated conditions. This programme is expected to reach 30 million acres in 1970-71.

These programmes together with the normal programmes for minor irrigation, soil conservation and land development are expected to create a production potential of 30 million tonnes in 1970-71 over 1965-66 and will have their certain impact on the economic development of the country. The principal

elements of the agricultural production programmes which are being implemented in 1967-68 in pursuance of the new strategy are as under :

- (i) High Yielding Varieties Programme will be undertaken over 15 million acres.
- (ii) Multiple Cropping Programme will be organized over nearly 7.5 million acres.
- (iii) Fertilizers to the extent of 13.5 lakh tonnes of nitrogen, 5 lakh tonnes of P<sub>2</sub>O and 3 lakh tonnes of K<sub>2</sub>O will be made available for the various programmes.
- (iv) An additional area of 3 to 3.5 million acres will be covered by minor irrigation works.
- (v) The area to be benefited by plant protection measures will be extended to 126 million acres (gross).
- (vi) Benefit to soil conservation measures on agricultural lands will be extended to an additional area of 3.9 million acres.
- (vii) Supporting arrangements for the supply of inputs (e.g. seeds, pesticides, machinery and credit) training of extension personnel and of farmers, have also been made.

Several States have exempted the cultivation from land revenue or have given some relief as follows:

The *Haryana* State Government has decided to exempt from land revenue holdings of 5 acres or less.

In the *Jammu and Kashmir* the existing system of land revenue is to be replaced by a more scientific system of taxation based on actual earnings of cultivators, with complete exemption for small holdings. The precise nature of the measure to be adopted is under examination by the State Government.

The *Madhya Pradesh* State Government has abolished land revenue on holdings of 7½ acres or less and those in respect of which the assessment did not exceed Rs. 5 per annum.

The *Madras* State Government has withdrawn the surcharge on land revenue and water rates imposed in 1965. The *Madras* Government also feels that there should be a phased programme for giving relief to small landholders from the rigours of land revenue.

The *Mysore* State Government has taken a decision to abolish land revenue in its present form. Since it will take some time to implement the decision, in the meantime, the surcharge on land revenue has been discontinued.

The *Orissa* State Government has decided in principle to abolish land revenue. However, the decision would be implemented after a detailed examination of its implications.

The *Punjab* State Government has decided to abolish land revenue on holdings up to 5 acres, together with the surcharge leviable thereon.

The *Rajasthan* State Government has decided to exempt small holdings from land revenue.

The *Uttar Pradesh* State Government has decided to withdraw the surcharge on land revenue from the ensuing *rabi*.

The *West Bengal* Government is actively considering the question of exempting from land revenue the poorer sections of people who have small holdings.

The Government of *U.P.* has accepted the suggestion that the Departments of Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation may be integrated, and a Commissioner-cum-Secretary has been appointed to bring about co-ordination in the working of the various departments. A Cabinet Sub-Committee for agricultural production consisting of the Chief Minister as chairman and Ministers for Agriculture, Cooperation, Community Development and Panchayati Raj and Revenue and Finance has also been appointed to effect Ministerial Co-ordination. The decisions of this Committee have the same force as that of the Cabinet.

#### *Industrial Policy and Licensing*

Several significant developments took place in the field of economic administration during the quarter. But the most prominent event was, the presentation of the Interim Report on "Industrial Policy and Licensing" by Dr. R. K. Hazari who was appointed as Honorary Consultant in the Planning Commission in July 1966 to conduct a study of licensing under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951.

Dr. Hazari in his report pointed out that during the past few years some of the bigger industrial houses particularly Birlas have been able to increase their share in the industrial production of the country. He also drew attention to some other weaknesses in the industrial licensing system. He stressed the need for a more positive approach to the

development of priority sectors of industry rather than what he considers to be the somewhat negative approach under the present operation of the said Act.

The Minister for Industries and Development subsequently while replying to a debate on the Hazari Report in *Rajya Sabha* announced on May 29 that Government had decided to conduct an enquiry to ascertain whether in the issue of past licences, there had been any discrimination. Government has also further decided that in future Government propose to take a stricter line in the matter of extension of the period of validity of letter of intent. In addition, it has been decided to conduct special reviews of all long-pending licences/letters of intent.

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Mudaliar Committee on Foreign Collaboration Government have decided to announce a comprehensive policy in that regard. Details are under examination.

The *Lok Sabha* passed the Companies Tribunal (Abolition) Bill 1966, which had earlier been passed by *Rajya Sabha* also. Accordingly the Tribunal will be abolished with effect from July 1, 1967. The reason given for the abolition was that throughout its existence for 4 years, only one case had been filed with the Tribunal and that too had been subjected to stay order by the Calcutta High Court. All those matters which were hitherto being looked after by the Tribunal will be looked after by the High Courts with effect from July 1, 1967.

The Reserve Bank issued a directive to the major scheduled banks at the beginning of the busy season in October 1966 to ensure that no less than 80 per cent of the seasonal expansion

in credit went to industrial concerns and export/import bills. It appears that certain banks allowed the advances to other sectors to grow at a higher rate in the earlier part of the season and curtailed or cancelled the credit limits to these sectors drastically from April onwards to achieve the desired ratio.

With a view to making available steel to exporters of engineering goods at international prices, the expenditure will be borne by the producers, and not by Government. The expenditure incurred will depend upon the export performance of the manufacturers of engineering goods. The difference between the international and Indian base prices ranges between Rs. 30 and Rs. 200 per tonne according to the category of steel.

#### *Other Administrative Developments*

The Union Ministry of Health and Family Planning has constituted five Committees to co-ordinate and guide the preparation and effective use of various media for supporting the Family Planning Programme. These are : (1) The Family Planning Mass Education Co-ordination Committee; (2) The Radio and Television Committee; (3) The Films Committee; (4) The field Publicity Committee; and (5) The Printed Materials and Press Committee.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the third meeting of the Central Family Planning Council held at New Delhi on January 3, 1967, the Government of India have decided to constitute a Committee, under the chairmanship of the Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, to study and make recommendations on proposals like "No Birth" Bonus" Maternity to popularise a small family norm."

\* \* \*

The Union Home Ministry has prepared a draft code to regulate the relationship between members of Parliament and of State Legislatures and the Administration.

The two basic principles of the code are : (1) that Government servants should show courtesy and consideration to members of legislatures; and (2) that while they should consider carefully what legislators may have to say, they should always act according to their own judgment. It is envisaged that every officer should endeavour to help legislators to the extent possible in the discharge of their important functions under the Constitution. In case, however, when an officer is unable to accede to the request or suggestion of a member, the reasons for inability should be courteously explained to the member. An officer should set apart two to three hours every day when anybody can see him, and within these hours, and also during other office hours in which he is to meet visitors, he must give priority to members of legislatures except when a visitor has come by previous appointment. Letters received from members of Legislatures should be acknowledged promptly. Officers should furnish to members of legislatures when asked for, such information or statistics as are readily available and are not confidential. The Government servant conduct rules bar any attempt to bring any political or outside influence to bear upon any superior authority to further the interests of individual Government servants. A Government servant is not expected to approach a member of legislature for sponsoring his individual case.

It is equally necessary for members of legislatures to follow certain conventions in their communications to Ministers and officers of

Government in connection with their Parliamentary affairs. The code suggests that Members of Legislatures should ask for information only about matters of public interest or national interest. Information should not be gathered to further private interests or for use in court litigation. It is not desirable that requests should be made for intervention of officers in investigation of criminal cases, for issue of firearms licences and or grant of permits and licences to particular individuals. Nor should requests be made regarding recruitment of a particular person, or promotion or transfer of individual Government servants, or for a particular order in a disciplinary case.

\* \* \*

The Government of Madras has directed that in all official correspondence the Tamil honorifics should be prefixed to the names of Indian Nationals irrespective of the race or religion of the person concerned. In pursuance of the policy of introducing, as soon as possible, the Official Language, namely, Tamil, in all Government offices, the Government of Madras has also introduced partial scheme of Tamil correspondence with effect from the 1st of May, 1967 in certain departments.

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According to the Interim Report of Metropolitan Transport Team, set up by the Planning Commission, in September, 1965 under the chairmanship of *Shri V. D'Costa*, formerly Chief Engineer, Central Railways, a phased programme of studies ensuring continuous flow of data has been proposed for effective long-term planning of a comprehensive transport system in metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi. Among recommendations of the team are

that towns should be developed in surrounding regions of metropolitan cities as counter-magnets to the metropolis. Suitable legislation should be enacted, and enforcement and development agencies provided in the metropolitan cities. A unified metropolitan traffic and transport authority should be responsible for planning, financing and operation of the entire transportation system. The study team has also stressed the need for providing grade-separated and road crossings to remove major traffic bottlenecks in metropolitan areas. The rules regarding allocation of expenditure for such crossings also required to be reviewed at the highest level, as the railways did not accept any liability for grade-separated arrangements between level crossing gate-posts on the pattern of new road widths. The team has further recommended establishment of an organization, which could provide facilities for adequate training of personnel in view of increasing demand for comprehensive traffic studies and surveys for metropolitan cities.

The transportation studies undertaken by the Joint Technical Group for Transport Planning which has been set up jointly by the Planning Commission and the Ministries of Railways and Transport continued to make progress. The transport studies include investigations pertaining to major commodities and regional transport surveys. Reports on the various studies including the specific recommendations relating to planning and development of transport emerging from these studies, are expected to be ready by December 1967.

#### *Judicial Decision Affecting Administration*

Two important judgments were delivered during the quarter affecting public servants. A full bench of

the Allahabad High Court ruled that a Government servant whose services were terminated following his conviction on a criminal charge was entitled to the protection of Clause (2) of Article 311 of the Constitution after his conviction had been set aside in appeal. A clerk in the evacuee property department, Allahabad, was convicted on May 17, 1956 without giving him opportunity to show cause. The clerk concerned thereafter instituted a suit for declaration that the order of his removal from service was void inasmuch as he was not afforded an opportunity to show cause provided under Article 311 (2) of the Constitution. The State Government resisted the suit by claiming the benefit of sub-clause (a) of the proviso to Article 311 (2). Sub Clause (a) of the proviso said that where a Government servant was dismissed or removed or reduced in rank on the ground of conduct which had led to his conviction on criminal charge, he was not entitled to protection of Article 311 (2). But the full bench held that the clerk was entitled to a departmental inquiry and oppor-

tunity to show cause under Article 311(2) after his conviction on bribery charge had been set aside in appeal. The State could not in such a case claim the benefit of sub-clause (a) of the proviso to Article 311(2).

In another case, quashing a resolution of the Delhi Municipal Corporation whereby one of its employees had been compulsorily retired, Mr. Justice M. M. Ismail of the Delhi High Court observed on April 15 that the fundamental Rules 56-J, under which a public servant can be compulsorily retired, required that the appropriate authorities should expressly form the opinion that it was in public interest to retire a particular public servant. The Counsel for the Corporation failed to establish that the civic body had formed such an opinion before passing its resolution. A person like the petitioner, the Court held, had the right to continue in service till he completed the age of 58 years unless he could be dismissed or removed after following the procedure required for the exercise of such a power.

## DIGEST OF REPORTS

*INDIA, INTERIM REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMISSION ON "PROBLEMS OF REDRESS OF CITIZENS' GRIEVANCES"*, Administrative Reforms Commission, New Delhi, 1966, p. 18+vii.

The Administrative Reforms Commission was appointed by the President of India on 5th January, 1966 with the following terms of reference:

"The Commission will give consideration to the need for ensuring the highest standards of efficiency and integrity in the public services, and for making public administration a fit instrument for carrying out the social and economic policies of the Government and achieving social and economic goals of development, as also one which is responsive to the people. In particular, the Commission will consider the following:

- (1) The machinery of the Government of India and its procedures of work;
- (2) The machinery for planning at all levels;
- (3) Centre-State relationship;
- (4) Financial administration;
- (5) Personnel administration;
- (6) Economic administration;
- (7) Administration at the State level;
- (8) District administration;
- (9) Agricultural administration; and

- (10) Problems of redress of citizens' grievances.

"The Commission may exclude from its purview the detailed examination of administration of defence, railways, external affairs, security and intelligence work, as also subjects such as educational administration, already being examined by a separate commission. The Commission will, however, be free to take the problems of these sectors into account in recommending reorganization of the machinery of the Government as a whole or of any of its common service agencies."

The Commission presented its Interim Report on "Problems of Redress of Citizens' Grievances" to President on October 30, 1966. The Commission was so impressed by both the unanimity and the strength of the popular demand on this subject that it decided to devote itself to this problem rather than form a separate group for the specific purpose of devising a scheme to enable the citizen to seek redress for an administrative injustice.

The important findings/recommendations of the Commission are as follows :

### *Problems of Redress of Citizens' Grievances*

- (1) There is no doubt that an urgent solution of this problem will

strengthen the hands of Government in administering the laws of the land, its policies "without fear of favour, affection or ill-will" and enable it to gain public faith and confidence without which special and economic progress would be impossible. There is an oft-expressed public outcry against the prevalence of corruption, the existence of widespread inefficiency and the unresponsiveness of administration to popular needs. The answer to this outcry lies not in expressions or reiteration of Government's general satisfaction with the administration's achievements or its attempts generally to justify itself but in the provision of a machinery which will examine such complaints and sift the genuine from the false or the untenable so that administration's failures and achievements can be publicly viewed in their correct perspective. Even from the point of view of protection to the services, such an institution is necessary for projecting their image on the public in its true character and for ensuring that the average citizen is not fed on prejudices, assumptions and false notions of their quality and standards.

*Obligation of a Democratic Government to Satisfy the Citizens About its Functioning*

(2) An institution for the removal of a prevailing or lingering sense of injustice springing from an administrative act is the *sine qua non* of a popular administration. Democracy has been defined as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". Thus, one of the main obligations of democracy is to secure a "Government for the people" this is not merely a slogan but a philosophical concept. Such a concept can be translated into action by a democratic Government, not merely by displaying an attitude of benevolence or enlightened interest

in the well-being of the people but also by specific measures calculated to secure all round contentment and satisfaction with the policies of Government and their implementation. If, in the prosperity of the people, lies the strength of a Government, it is in their contentment that the security and stability of democracy lie. When, in earlier times, a democratic Government was mainly concerned with fiscal or revenue administration and the maintenance of law and order, there was a small sector of activities designed to bring about a betterment in the conditions of the people. That sector has progressively grown with the expansion of the scope and functions of government. With the increasing impact of government policies on administration, the need as well as the difficulty of securing popular contentment through administration has become accentuated.

(3) In recent years, the progressive regulation of a citizen's life, through the acts and policies of Government and through institutions set up to implement them, has made very substantial encroachment into the spheres of individual liberty and consequently the citizen is much more affected now, than in the past, by the activities of the administration. To seek liberty for himself and not easily to part with it is inherent in any socially enlightened individual; that enlightenment has been growing under the welfare activities of Government today. This growing enlightenment has brought about, in the average citizen, a greater awareness of his own rights and needs and has changed his attitude of resignation to his own lot. Under the pressure of this change in the public psychology, the authority's attitude of complacency or taking the citizen for granted has to yield place to the exploration of ways and means to remove genuine discontent

amongst the people and to promote a sense of satisfaction with, and recognition of the merits of the action taken in pursuance of State policies.

#### *Existing Safeguards for the Citizens and their Deficiency*

(4) As a part of this democratic response to the needs of the citizen, many constitutions contain provisions designed to safeguard individual rights. This has taken the form of a twin approach, namely, the formulation of fundamental rights of the citizen and the establishment of avenues for the ventilation and redress of citizens' grievances in relation not only to the encroachment on these rights but also to administrative delinquencies. A breach of fundamental rights has been made justiciable and the citizen can have access to Courts to enforce them and also to seek other remedies against the illegal actions of Government or officers and authorities subordinate to them. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility to Parliament has been one of the most frequently used weapons by Parliament to keep the administration on the *quieve* and to achieve the desired standard of probity, propriety and efficiency in administration. Citizens have attracted Parliamentary attention to their grievances through the Members of Parliament who have utilized procedures, such as interpellations, adjournment motions, calling attention notices and half-an-hour and other discussions to ventilate important matters of public grievances or to question the propriety of policies or measures or actions taken by Government or Governmental Institutions and Undertakings.

(5) Parliament, through its Committee on petitions, has provided another forum for the citizens to secure redress against an act of

injustice but this procedure is available only in a limited category and number of cases. On the whole Parliamentary procedure is more suited for the consideration of matters of public importance than for obtaining redress of individual grievances arising in the course of day-to-day Governmental administration.

(6) In discharging their constitutional functions of holding the scales of justice even between the State and the citizen the Courts have intervened to set right administrative actions on grounds of illegality, or failure to follow prescribed procedures or rules of natural justice. However, justice through Courts under the modern system of judiciary is generally both expensive and dilatory, whereas an individual wishes to seek, and appreciates, quick and cheap justice.

#### *Facilities Available for Ventilation of Citizens' Grievances*

(7) For the redress of his grievances, the individual is entitled to approach judicial or administrative authorities at different levels in their original, appellate, revisional or supervisory jurisdiction. The administrative orders which affect the individual are, firstly, those that are passed in the exercise of statutory responsibilities and are subject to appeal or revision or redress in a Court of Law or before administrative tribunals or before higher departmental authorities; in some cases they are final at the stage at which the relevant statute makes it so. In the last case, there is virtually no statutory remedy open to a citizen against that final order. Secondly, there are administrative orders which are passed in the exercise of discretion in the field of executive authority, by Government or authorities subordinate to it.

Such orders may be open to question either on the ground of misuse or abuse of power or on the ground of having been influenced by ulterior motives or extraneous considerations or as a result of error of judgement, negligence, inefficiency or even perversity. These are generally matters in which the citizens' forum for redress of grievances is a superior authority in the official hierarchy; in some matters he may be able to secure justice, through Parliament.

#### *The Growing Encroachment of the State on Citizens' Rights*

(8) In the past the citizen was affected by the activities of a comparatively small number of State functionaries and in respect of only a small sector of his daily life. Today he is exposed at numerous points to the impact of the multifarious activities of the administration ranging over a vast field, e.g., the operation of controls relating to the various commodities which he needs, the provision of many services intended for general benefit and welfare, the operation of the contractual relations between himself and the Government in various spheres, and the regulation of property rights and of the various social services, such as, labour, banking, insurance and provident funds. In all these spheres the machinery of the State comes directly into contact or conflict with the citizen and since these affect the latter in the pursuit of his daily avocations, they provide sensitive spots out of which spring many causes of public discontent and dissatisfaction.

#### *The Vast Areas of Administrative Discretion in which such Facilities are not Available*

(9) Judgments of judicial or quasi-judicial authorities, such as administrative tribunals, on an

individual's application are not open to challenge except before authorities competent to deal with them in appellate or revisional jurisdiction. The sanctity of judicial process would preclude such decisions from being reviewed in any other way. This sanctity, which is fundamental to democracy, and essential for the rule of law, has to be preserved at all costs. A conflict with judicial processes on the part of any other authority set up for the redress of grievances has, therefore, to be eschewed; judicial decisions must prevail even if they leave a feeling of grievance among those adversely affected. This would also apply *mutatis mutandis* to matters which are remediable by administrative tribunals of a judicial or quasi-judicial nature. However, there is a vast area of cases arising out of the exercise of executive power which may involve injustice to individuals and for which no remedy is available.

#### *The Main Problem Concerning the Redress of Citizens' Grievances*

(10) The main issue is how to provide the citizen with an institution to which he can have easy access for the redress of his grievances and which he is unable to seek elsewhere. In the circumstances of today with the expanding activities of Government, the exercise of discretion by administrative authorities, howsoever large the field may be, cannot be done away with nor can it be rigidly regulated by instructions, orders or resolutions. The need for ensuring the rectitude of the administrative machinery in this vast discretionary field is not only obvious but paramount. Where the citizen can establish the genuineness of his case, it is plainly the duty of the State to set right the wrong done to him. The need for giving this approach a concrete form

arises from the fact that Parliamentary supervision by itself cannot fully ensure to the citizen that rectitude over the entire area covered by administrative discretion. Nor have the various administrative tiers and hierarchies proved adequate for the purpose. A tendency to uphold the man on the spot, a casual approach to one's own responsibilities, an assumption of unquestionable superiority of the administration, a feeling of the sanctity of authority and neglect or indifference on the part of a superior authority may prevent a citizen from obtaining justice even at the final stage of the administrative system. It is in these circumstances, or in instances where he is unable, for some compelling reasons, to seek other remedies open to him, that an institution for redress of grievances must be provided within the democratic system of Government. It has to be an institution in which the average citizen will have faith and confidence and through which he will be able to secure quick and inexpensive justice.

#### *Studies and Discussions of the Problems in India and Abroad*

(11) During the last five years, there has been intensive discussion in this country in and outside Parliament about the specific problems of establishment of an effective machinery to look into the grievances of individuals against the administration. The study of the institution of Ombudsman in Scandinavian countries and of the Parliamentary Commissioner in New Zealand and of the working of these functionaries convinced that these institutions can be suitably adapted for India's needs. These institutions are, generally a supplement to the Parliamentary control, independent of any political affiliations, outside the normal administrative hierarchy, and free from the formalism,

publicity and delays associated with governmental machinery. They work unobtrusively to remove the sense of injustice from the mind of the adversely affected citizen and yet uphold in a very large measure the prestige and authority of the administration, instilling public confidence in its efficiency and faith in its working and introducing a proper perspective of it in the mind of the public. An analysis of the situation in our own country convinces that a reform in all these directions is required as a *sine qua non* of democratic functioning and as an essential pre-requisite of the progress and prosperity on which the fulfilment of our democracy depends. The development and expansion of the fields of governmental enterprise and activities and the shape of things to come in the wake of State policies conforming to democratic socialism alike emphasize the need of providing a machinery to remove the grievances of the individual citizen which are likely to arise against administrative actions. Under this pattern of development it is inevitable that power should devolve on subordinate categories of officials which, if not properly exercised, might bring, not only administrative measures and schemes but also Government into disrepute. An Ombudsman-type of institution is, therefore, justified not only by the study of the past but also as a safeguard for the future. Such an institution would not in any way, be a burden or imposition on the administrative machinery; on the other hand, it will surely exercise a protective role in regard to it. If the standards of conduct of the services are in fact as high as they are claimed to be, the functioning of such a machinery will confirm this fact against the prevailing unfavourable impressions that unfortunately exist. If facts prove otherwise, it will provide a corrective which in course of time is bound to influence

the psychological attitude of the services as a whole. Its influence is bound to pervade the different strata of the administrative machinery and thereby bring all round improvement in its outlook and efficiency.

*Conditions for Creation of an Institution of Ombudsman in India*

(12) However, in considering the type, nature and functions of such an institution in our conditions and circumstances, several points of importance arise which may be briefly summarised as follows :

- (a) The experience of comparatively small countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and New Zealand, having small areas and containing small population, cannot be necessarily a precedent for India with such a vast area and population. An institution of the type of Ombudsman on the analogy of those countries would require a very large staff and it would not be possible to maintain the private and informal character of investigation which has been a prominent feature of the institution in those countries.
- (b) Norway, Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have centralized administrations whereas India is a federation based on a division of functions between the State and the Centre in terms of Central, State and concurrent lists. This would raise the problem of separate jurisdiction of the Ombudsman and so many authorities with which they would have to deal. If the Ombudsman's functions were the same as in these countries, it might lead to a conflict of jurisdiction with the Central and State Governments, with Parliament, with the State Legislatures and with the Judiciary. There might be constitutional difficulties so far as its functioning in the State is concerned, because the executive powers, in relation to the State matters, vest in the State under Article 162. In Canada, where there is a federal government and a number of provincial governments, it was realized that if an Ombudsman was created under the federal law, he would not have jurisdiction over the provinces and the provinces would have to establish their own Ombudsman.
- (c) The appointment would affect ministerial responsibility to Parliament and the State Legislature. In a Parliamentary democracy Ministers are responsible to the Legislature for the acts of permanent officials under them. It is the Legislature which has the right as well as the duty to see that the Ministers and the administration function on right lines. If a Minister or an administration fails in his, or its duty, or acts improperly, unjustly or illegally, a corrective is available to the citizen both in the courts and the Legislature. Even where Commissions are appointed to investigate into the conduct of Ministers, it is the Parliament or Legislature which becomes seized of the matter and is

- action or to which action is reported.
- (d) Politically, it may be argued that for a Prime Minister to act on the advice of another functionary, rather than on his own judgment, would dilute the responsibility of his colleagues to himself and weaken his authority over them.
- (e) Under the Constitution, Ministers are only Advisers to the Head of the State who, in theory, is responsible for the executive acts of the Government. No Minister has any authority to pass executive orders. All enforceable orders are issued under the signature of the executive officers in the name of the Head of the State though they act in accordance with the direction of the Ministers. Under the Constitution, no Court can enquire into the question as to what advice has been tendered by the Minister or by an outside authority would, therefore, be against the spirit of the Constitution.
- (f) So far as permanent officials are concerned, the inquiry made by the Ombudsman would not answer the requirements of Article 311 of the Constitution and the executive Government would have to hold a separate inquiry to deal with the delinquent official. This would not only lead to long-drawn investigations and inquiries, but it might in the final result involve a conflict of findings between that of the Ombudsman and the departmental inquiry.
- (g) The question of the rights of a citizen to have access to the Ombudsman *vis-a-vis* the rights of a Parliament or Legislature to raise the same issue in the House by other Parliamentary means, such as interpellations, adjournment motions, etc., or investigation by the Committee on Petitions, will have to be resolved.
- (h) Similarly, the extensive powers of Courts to correct the actions of the administrative authorities through writs of the Supreme Court or of the High Courts would have to be taken into account and, unless very careful provisions are made in the Constitution to provide against the conflict of jurisdiction between the Ombudsman and the Courts and suitable procedures devised, such conflict of jurisdiction and responsibility might make the remedy worse than the disease.
- (i) The institution of Ombudsman might be abused by interested parties to make false or baseless charges against the administration either to discredit it or delay or halt the implementation of various measures that might be undertaken in pursuance of Government policies and programmes.

#### *The Character of Difficulties Considered*

(13) So far as the constitutional difficulties are concerned, they can be resolved by constitutional amendments, if necessary, and consequently they do not provide any insurmountable difficulty in bringing into being an institution which has been regarded as essential by some of the

enlightened democracies both of the British and other Parliamentary models. The vastness of the country and its population need not be a deterrent to the establishment of such an institution. Our administrative system already provides for the functioning of the judiciary and administrative tribunals and for a hierarchy of appeals against the orders of subordinate authorities to superior authorities. It is not intended that this system should clash with these institutions. The institutions of Ombudsman suggested would deal with only those matters for which such remedies are not available or where, in some cases, it might not be reasonable to expect a citizen to take recourse to legal proceedings. This would substantially reduce the number of complaints eligible for investigation and thus enable the institution to devote its attention and energies only to those cases in which *prima facie* the need for redressing an act of injustice or maladministration exists. Moreover, over a period of a few years, the general public will become accustomed to the working of the system and realize the futility of approaching the institution in cases which do not need its attention or in which the complaints are not genuine. Apart from this, by a suitable division of functions between the institution and other functionaries to deal with citizens' grievances, it would be possible to distribute the workload in such a manner that all the functionaries can do adequate justice to the complaints they receive.

The argument that regulatory check on the actions of the executive in the discretionary field will lead to serious delays in developmental activities or will promote a feeling of demoralisation in, or have a cramping effect on the administration is not to be relied upon. It is strongly felt that this malaise in administration mainly arises more from a sense of frustra-

tion or lack of appreciation of good work done and from an exaggerated image of corruption, inefficiency and lack of integrity current in the public mind than from actual investigation into complaints submitted by citizens. There is every reason to believe that the working of such an institution will in the long run rectify and thus restore the correct image of the administration, create public confidence in its integrity, and thereby promote, rather than impede, the progress of our developmental activities. Apart from this, the informal character of inquiries will save the public servant from exposure to public gaze during the course of an enquiry, which often has the effect of condemning him in the public eye before he is ultimately found guilty or innocent, as the case may be. The institution will thus be a protection for, and a source of strength rather than a discouragement to, an honest official, whose susceptibilities alone are germane in this context.

#### *Necessity of including Ministerial Decisions within the Scope of Functions*

(15) Ministerial decisions should be included within the scope of the investigation of the proposed institution. In the first place, having regard to the manner in which our democracy has been functioning both in the Centre and the States, cases of injustice at the ministerial level must be dealt with. Secondly, it is only at the level of Minister or Secretary, subject to his instructions and direction, that many of the important orders of Government affecting the citizen acquire finality. At lower levels, correctives through appeals, representations and personal access to various authorities are available, but at the level of the Minister or his Secretary there is a finality from which only in very rare cases, is there any escape. Thirdly, if the institution

could deal effectively and expeditiously with matters at the source of authority, it would have an exemplary effect on other officials and other level of official hierarchy and thereby it would induce a rise in the general level of efficiency, propriety and justice. It is open to the Parliament or the Legislature to deal with a Minister when he goes wrong or to deal with an officer, under him and for whom he is answerable, when he commits a wrongful act or is guilty of a culpable omission. However, apart from the fact that these institutions, in the nature of things, are not easily accessible to the common citizen, the time at their disposal, their procedures, their conventions and practices would not make for quick, speedy or effective action in a large number of cases. In the circumstances it is essential that an opportunity should be made available to an adversely affected citizen to ventilate his grievance against the order of a Minister or his Secretary. The action of the institution in respect of any ministerial decision need not be to the exclusion of Parliamentary and legislative control in other matters or even in this matter after the investigation has been completed. Thus, the ministerial responsibility to Parliament would not be diluted, but strengthened, by the establishment of this institution. Nor such an appointment might be a breach of the spirit of the Constitution. There are precedents in recent years of ministerial conduct having been enquired into by a Commission appointed under the Commissions of Inquiry Act. In essence, there is no difference between these and the enquiries which the proposed institution would be conducting and, therefore, this objection is not valid.

(16) The Prime Minister's hands would be strengthened rather than weakened by the institution. In the first place, the recommendations of

such an authority will save him from the unpleasant duty of investigating against his own colleagues. Secondly, it will be possible for him to deal with the matter without the glare of publicity which often vitiates the atmosphere and affects the judgment of the general public. Thirdly, it would enable him to avoid internal pressures which often help to shield the delinquent. What have been said about the Prime Minister applies *mutatis mutandis* to Chief Minister.

#### *The System Recommended*

(17) The special circumstances relating to our country can be fully met by providing for two special institutions for the redress of citizens' grievances. There should be one authority dealing with complaints against the administrative acts of Ministers or Secretaries to Government at the Centre and in the States. There should be another authority in each State and at the Centre for dealing with complaints against the administrative acts of other officials. All these authorities should be independent of the executive as well as the legislature and the judiciary. The setting up of these authorities should not, however, be taken to be a complete answer to the problem of redress of citizens' grievances. They only provide the ultimate set-up for such redress as has not been available through the normal departmental or governmental machinery and do not absolve the department from fulfilling its obligations to the citizen for administering its affairs without generating, as far as possible, any legitimate sense of grievance. Thus, the administration itself must play the major role in reducing the area of grievances and providing remedies wherever necessary and feasible. For this purpose there should be established in each Ministry or Department, as the case may be, suitable machinery for the receipt and

investigation of complaints and for setting in motion, where necessary, the administrative process for providing remedies. A large number of cases which arise at lower levels of administration should in fact adequately be dealt with by this in-built departmental machinery. When this machinery functions effectively, the number of cases which will have to go to an authority outside the Ministry or the Department should be comparatively small in number. In some States and at the Centre, there is now some provision for a Governmental authority to hear grievances and attempt to secure remedial action through the administration. The tendency is to set up such authorities independent and outside of the departmental machinery. After the setting up of the authorities recommended above, there should be no need for these functionaries. Under these circumstances it strongly advocated that the responsibility of the departments to deal adequately with public grievances must squarely be faced by them in the first instance.

#### *Cases of Corruption*

(18) Public opinion has been agitated for a long time over the prevalence of corruption in the administration and it is likely that cases coming up before the independent authorities mentioned above might involve allegations or actual evidence of corrupt motive and favouritism. This institution should deal with such cases as well, but where the cases are such as might involve criminal charge or misconduct cognizable by a Court, the case should be brought to the notice of the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister, as the case may be. The latter would then set the machinery of law in motion after following appropriate procedures and observing necessary formalities. The present system of Vigilance Commissions, wherever operative, will then become

redundant and would have to be abolished on the setting up of the Institution.

#### *Lokpal and Lokayukta*

(19) The authority dealing with complaints of Ministers and Secretaries of Government may be designated "Lokpal" and the other authorities at the Centre and in the States empowered to deal with complaints against other officials may be designated "Lokayukta". The Secretaries' actions have also been included in the jurisdiction of Lokpal because, it might often be difficult to decide where the role of Secretary ends and that of Minister begins.

(20) The following would be the main features of the institutions of Lokpal and Lokayukta :

- (a) They should be demonstrably independent and impartial.
- (b) Their investigations and proceedings should be conducted in private and should be informal in character.
- (c) Their appointment should, as far as possible, be non-political.
- (d) Their status should compare with the highest judicial functionaries in the country.
- (e) They should deal with matters in the discretionary field involving acts of injustice, corruption or favouritism.
- (f) Their proceedings should not be subject to judicial interference and they should have the maximum latitude and powers in obtaining information relevant to their duties.
- (g) They should not look forward to any benefit or pecuniary advantage from the executive Government.

*Appointment, conditions of service, etc., of Lokpal*

(21) The Lokpal should be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister, which would be tendered by him after consultation with the Chief Justice of India and the Leader of the Opposition. If there be no such leader, the Prime Minister will instead consult a person elected by the members of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha in such manner as the Speaker may direct. The Lokpal will have the same status as the Chief Justice of India. His tenure will be 5 years subject to eligibility for reappointment for another term of five years in accordance with the same procedure. He may, by writing under his hand, addressed to the President, resign his office. He will not be removable from office except in the manner prescribed in the Constitution for the removal from office of a Judge of the Supreme Court. His salary and other emoluments will be the same as those of the Chief Justice of India. On appointment as Lokpal, he shall cease to be a Member of any Legislature if he was one before the appointment. He shall also resign from any post or office of profit held by him prior to that date whether in or outside the Government. He shall also sever his connections with all business activities, if any. He shall also resign his membership, if any, of a political party. After retirement from the post of Lokpal he will be ineligible for any appointment under the Government or in a Government Undertaking.

(22) The Lokpal would be free to choose his own staff, but their number, categories and conditions of service will be subject to the approval of Government. His budget would be subject to the control of the Parliament.

*Jurisdiction of Lokpal*

(23) The Lokpal will have the

power to investigate an administrative act done by or with the approval of a Minister or a Secretary to Government at the Centre or in the State, if a complaint is made against such an act by a person who is affected by it and who claims to have suffered an injustice on that account. (In this context, an act would include a failure to take action.) Such a complaint may be made either by an individual or by a corporation. He may in his discretion inquire into a complaint of maladministration involving not only an act of injustice but also an allegation of favouritism to any person (including a corporation) or of the accrual of personal benefit or gain to the administrative authority responsible for the act, namely, a Minister or a Secretary to Government at the Centre or in the States. In addition to making investigations on the basis of complaints received by him, the Lokpal may also *suo motu* investigate administrative acts of the types described above which may come to his notice otherwise than through a complaint of an adversely affected person.

*Matters Beyond Lokpal's Purview*

(24) The following matters shall, however, be excluded from the purview of the Lokpal :

- (a) Action taken in a matter certified by a Minister as affecting the relations or dealings between the Government of India and any foreign Government or any international organization of States or Governments.
- (b) Action taken under the Extradition Act, 1962 or Foreigners Act, 1956.
- (c) Action taken for the purpose of investigating crime or protecting the security of the

State including action taken with respect to passports.

- (d) Action taken in the exercise of power in relation to determining whether a matter shall go to the Court.
- (e) Action taken in matters which arise out of the terms of contract governing purely commercial relations of the administration with customers or suppliers except complaints of harassment or delays in the performance of contractual obligations.
- (f) Action taken in respect of appointments, removals, pay, discipline, superannuation or other personal matters.
- (g) Grant of honours and awards.
- (h) A decision made in exercise of this discretion by an administrative authority unless the elements involved in the exercise of discretion are absent to such an extent that no discretion has been exercised to all.
- (i) Any action in respect of which the person aggrieved has or had a right of appeal, reference or review to or before a tribunal.
- (j) Matters in respect of which a person aggrieved has or had a remedy by way of proceedings in any court of law. (However, he may look into such a matter if he is satisfied that in the particular circumstances it is not reasonable to expect the complainant to take or to have taken proceedings in a court of law.)
- (k) An administrative decision which was taken more than twelve months before the date of the complaint.

*Procedure for Dealing with Complaints*

(25) On receipt of a complaint from a person claiming to have suffered an injustice through an administrative act for which a Minister or a Secretary to Government is finally responsible, the Lokpal will scrutinize it and come to a conclusion as to whether he has jurisdiction to deal with it and if so, whether the case is worth investigation. If his conclusion is in the negative on either of these points, he will reject the complaint and inform the complainant accordingly. If he decides to take up the investigation, he will, in the first instance, communicate the complaint to the administration and invite the administration's comments thereon. At this stage, it may be possible for the administration to rectify, on its own, any faulty decision made by it, or it may seek to establish the correctness or justice of the action taken. The Lokpal on receipt of the Administration's comments will decide whether the complaint is actionable and inform the complainant in case the faulty decision has been rectified or he has decided not to take any further action. In case in which he decides to proceed with the investigation, if on its completion, the Lokpal is satisfied that there is no cause for grievance, he will inform the complainant accordingly and close the case. If, however, he considers that an injustice has been done to the complainant, he will suggest to the administration remedial action where it is possible for it to provide the remedy. If his recommendation is accepted, the case will then be closed. If, however, the recommendation is not accepted it will be open to him to make a report on the case to the Prime Minister or Chief Minister of the State as the case may be. The Prime Minister or the Chief Minister will inform the Lokpal of action taken on the reference within two months. Thereafter, he may, if he is dissatisfied

with the action taken, bring it to the notice of the Parliament or the Legislature as the case may be through an *ad hoc* report or through the annual report. The administration's explanation in its defence will also be brought out in the report. Also, if the Lokpal considers, as a result of his study of any case or cases, that an amendment of the law would be justified, he can make appropriate recommendations to the Prime Minister or Chief Minister as the case may be. The foregoing procedure will apply *mutatis mutandis* to investigation taken up *suo motu* by the Lokpal.

(26) If during his investigations, he finds that a case involves criminal misconduct or would justify criminal proceedings, he will report to the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister, as the case may be, who will take further action in the matter within two months of the receipt thereof and inform the Lokpal of the action taken.

#### *Powers for Lokpal*

(27) The Lokpal will have powers of a court with regard to the calling of witnesses, documents, etc. In regard to information available with Government or subordinate authorities, he shall have access to whatever information, document, etc., he requires and no privilege will be claimed for any such information or document except when it affects the security of the State or foreign relations. However, it is expected that the exercise of the powers as a court will be unnecessary and that the Lokpal's procedure would be as informal as possible. The investigation by the Lokpal will be conducted in private. Nothing relating to the investigations shall be published or caused to be published by him till the enquiry is completed and his findings are communicated to the complainant, or to the

Legislature. Publication of any matter pending before the Lokpal or decided by him save to the extent that it is included in the *ad hoc* or annual report or is permitted by the Lokpal should be an offence under the relevant law.

(28) At the beginning of each year the Lokpal will submit a report to the Legislature concerned on his activities during the previous year. Besides giving a summary of the cases disposed of by him, he may indicate the need for amending any law in order to remove occasions for unintended hardship experienced as a result of the administration of the existing law.

(29) If any person without lawful excuse obstructs the Lokpal in the performance of his functions or is guilty of any act or omission in relation to an investigation, which, had the investigation been proceeding in a court of law, would have constituted contempt of court, the Lokpal may certify the offence to the Supreme Court. If a person making a complaint of maladministration involving undue favour being shown or to the accrual of a personal benefit, makes a false statement before the Lokpal knowing it to be such, he shall be deemed to be guilty of an act constituting contempt of court. When an offence is certified, as above, the Supreme Court may enquire into the matter and dispose of it as if it related to a charge of the Supreme Court.

#### *Lokayukta*

(30) Lokayukta would be concerned with problems similar to those which would face the Lokpal in respect of Ministers and Secretaries though, in respect of action taken at subordinate levels of official hierarchy, he would in many cases have to refer complainants at higher levels. His powers, functions and procedures

may be prescribed *mutatis mutandis* with those laid down for the Lokpal. His status, position, emoluments, etc., should, however, be analogous to those of a Chief Justice of a High Court and he should be entitled to have free access to Secretary to the Government concerned or to the Head of the Department with whom he will mostly have to deal to secure justice for a deserving citizen. Where he is dissatisfied with the action taken by the department concerned, he should be in a position to seek a quick corrective action from the Ministers or the Secretary concerned, failing which he should be able to draw the personal attention of the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister as the case may be.

#### *Constitutional Amendment*

(31) For the Lokpal to be fully

*U.K., REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRIBUNALS OF INQUIRY*, London, 1966, p.58.

The U.K. Government appointed on 28th February, 1966, a Royal Commission to review the working of the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, 1921 and to consider whether it should be retained or replaced by some other procedure and if retained whether any changes are necessary or desirable. The Commission made the following recommendations:

#### I. THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE NEED FOR AN INQUISITORIAL INQUIRY ARISES

(1) The history of inquiries\* made

\* The following inquiries were made: (a) In 1679, Lord High Admiral, the Duke of York Inquiry (b) Later in 17th century Sir John Trevor (Speaker of the House of Commons) Inquiry (c) In 18th Century many inquiries were made. One of them was made in 1715 to investigate the circumstances leading to the signing of Treaty of Utrecht (Chairman, Sir Robert Walpole), (d) In 19th century three enquiries were made to investigate: (i) the conduct of expedition to the island of Walcheren, (ii) War with Napoleon, and (iii) the Crimean war; (e) Special Commission (to enquire into allegation against Charles and others); (f) Marconi Scandal Inquiry 1912; (g) In this century 15 inquiries were made under the Act of 1921, including Budget Leak Tribunal (1936), The Lynskey Tribunal 1962; and (h) In 1963, Profumo Scandal.

effective and for him to acquire power, without conflict with other functionaries under the Constitution, it would be necessary to give a constitutional status to this office, his powers, functions, etc. But, however, it is not necessary for Government to wait for this to materialize before setting up the office. The Lokpal would be able to function in a large number of cases without the definition of his position under the Constitution. The Constitutional amendment and any consequential modification of the relevant statute can follow. In the meantime, Government can ensure that the Lokpal or Lokayukta is appointed and takes preparatory action to set up his office, to lay down his procedures, etc., and commence his work to such extent as he can without the constitutional provisions.

in the past shows that from time to time cases arise concerning rumoured instances of lapses in accepted standards of public administration and other matters causing public concern which cannot be dealt with by ordinary civil or criminal processes but which require investigation in order to allay public anxiety. These cases vary in importance, urgency and complexity and may relate to matters of local or national concern. In the past they have been dealt with by a variety of tribunals of inquiry. The Commission was required to consider in particular

whether or not there is a need for any permanent machinery of inquisitorial inquiry. In considering whether the Act of 1921 should be retained or replaced by some other procedure, the Commission have had to decide whether the inquisitorial method followed by Tribunals under the Act is so objectionable in principle that the Act should be repealed; and, if so, whether the type of cases which have hitherto been dealt with under the Act should be investigated by some alternative method.

(2) The exceptional inquisitorial powers conferred upon a Tribunal of Inquiry under the Act of 1921 necessarily expose the ordinary citizen to the risk of having aspects of his private life uncovered which would otherwise remain private, and to the risk of having baseless allegations made against him. This may cause distress and injury to reputation. For these reasons, commission was strongly of the opinion that the inquisitorial machinery set up under the Act of 1921 should never be used for matters of local or minor public importance but always be confined to matters of vital public importance concerning which there is something in the nature of a nationwide crisis of confidence. In such cases no other method of investigation would be adequate.

(3) Normally persons cannot be brought before a tribunal and questioned save in civil or criminal proceedings. Such proceedings are hedged around by long standing and effective safeguards to protect the individual. The inquisitorial procedure is alien to the concept of justice generally accepted in the United Kingdom. There are, however, exceptional cases in which such procedures must be used to preserve the purity and integrity of public life without which a successful democracy is impossible. It is

essential that on the very rare occasions when crises of public confidence occur, the evil, if it exists, shall be exposed so that it may be rooted out; or if it does not exist, the public shall be satisfied that in reality there is no substance in the prevalent rumours and suspicions by which they have been disturbed. This would be difficult if not impossible without public investigation by an inquisitorial Tribunal possessing the powers conferred by the Act of 1921. Such a Tribunal is appointed by Parliament to inquire and report. The task of inquiring can not be delegated by the Tribunal for it is the Tribunal which is appointed to inquire as well as to report. The public reposes its confidence not in some other body for person but in the Tribunal to make and direct all the necessary searching investigations and to produce the witnesses in order to arrive at the truth. It is only thus that public confidence can be fully restored.

(4) During the last 30 years some of the safeguards of our ordinary judicial processes against causing unnecessary pain and injustice to individuals have been incorporated in this inquisitorial procedure. If this procedure is to be retained, it is important to consider how these safeguards can be maintained, extended and improved. The Commission was convinced that much can be done in this direction. In the end, however, one must accept that it is impossible to eliminate all risk of personal hurt and injustice. This risk is inherent in any procedure which is effective for arriving at the truth, but the risk can and should be minimized. Even in the normal judicial processes innocent persons are sometimes forced to attend court and give evidence and are subjected to accusations which may be hurtful to them and damaging to their reputations.

This is the inevitable price that has to be paid for arriving at the truth. And in matters with which Tribunals of Inquiry are concerned it is vital in the public interest that the truth should be established.

## II. THE SIX CARDINAL PRINCIPLES

(5) The following cardinal principles should be observed to minimize the risk of personal hurt and injustice to any person involved in the inquiries :

- (a) Before any person becomes involved in an inquiry, the Tribunal must be satisfied that there are circumstances which affect him and which the Tribunal proposes to investigate.
- (b) Before any person who is involved in an inquiry is called as a witness, he should be informed in advance of allegations against him and the substance of the evidence in support of them.
- (c) (i) He should have adequate opportunity of preparing his case and of being assisted by legal advisers.  
(ii) His legal expenses should normally be met out of public funds.
- (d) He should have the opportunity of being examined by his own solicitor or counsel and of stating his case in public at the inquiry.
- (e) Any material witnesses he wishes to call at the inquiry should, if reasonably practicable, be heard.
- (f) He should have the opportunity of testing by cross-examination conducted by his own solicitor or counsel

any evidence which may affect him.

## III. ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES

(6) In modern times Royal Commissions have not been used to carry out inquiries into the facts of a particular case. They have been used to make recommendations on matters of broad policy. The tempo of even the most expeditious Royal Commission is altogether too slow for the requirements of an investigation into matters with which the Act of 1921 is concerned. Moreover, a Royal Commission has no real power to compel anyone to give evidence or produce documents. For these reasons, it does not afford any practicable alternative to the procedure under the Act of 1921.

(7) The record of Select Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry is, to say the least, unfortunate. There are many purposes for which Select Parliamentary Committees are most useful and indeed indispensable but the investigation of allegations of public misconduct is not one of them. There is no evidence from the United States or elsewhere that does anything but support the conclusion that investigation of allegations of public misconduct should be free of political influence. Select Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry would accordingly be inappropriate for dealing with circumstances hitherto dealt with under the Act.

(8) Lord Denning, in his report on Profumo Scandal, admitted that there are advantages of holding inquiry in strict confidence as the witnesses talk freely and frankly. But referring to disadvantages, he said "it has two great disadvantages: first, being in secret, it has not the appearance of justice; second, in carrying out the inquiry, I have had to be detective, inquisitor,

advocate and judge, and it has been difficult to combine them". The latter makes it more complicated since the question of jurisdiction and competence is inextricably involved in it. Moreover, there is no chance for an innocent victim of rumours to defend himself and rebut the allegations causing nation-wide crisis since there is no cross-examination of witnesses. The Commission believed that it can never be right for any inquiry of this kind to be held entirely in secret save on the ground of security. No doubt, it is true that sometimes witnesses are willing to give evidence only in private. But these evidences create suspicion in the minds of general public. Secrecy increases the quantity of evidence but tends to debase the quality. But it would be wrong to investigate Profumo type cases in public since they are based only on nation-wide rumours. The Commission was of the opinion that it was not appropriate for a tribunal of any kind to inquire into scandalous gossip and that they should best be ignored. It is an entirely different matter when it is alleged that a Minister has put himself in a situation which creates a real security risk, or that colleagues have allowed a Minister to make a personal statement which they ought to have known was untrue. If in the future there is a nation-wide crisis of confidence about any matters of this kind they should be investigated before a Tribunal appointed under the Act of 1921.

The Commission, therefore, recommended that no Government in future should ever under any circumstances whatsoever set up a Tribunal of the type adopted in the Profumo case to investigate any matter causing nation-wide public concern. Such a method of inquiry is inferior, and certainly no acceptable substitute for an inquiry under the Act of 1921.

(9) Departmental Inquiries are normally used to investigate matters which are causing public concern, but which are not of such importance as to justify the appointment of a Tribunal under the Act of 1921. A Departmental inquiry is usually appointed by the responsible Minister to be conducted by an eminent lawyer alone or as chairman with others. These inquiries have no power to compel the attendance of witnesses or the production of documents and are not in our view suitable for dealing with the special type of case for which the Act of 1921 was framed.

(10) Accident inquiries are formal inquiries into air accidents and shipping casualties. These inquiries are highly technical and usually include something in the nature of a *lis*; there is not the same degree of urgency about them and they are certainly not concerned with a nation-wide crisis of confidence in the integrity of any public persons. They deal with wholly different matters from those dealt with by Tribunals of Inquiry and could not be any substitute for such Tribunals.

(11) An inquiry by the Security Commission could never be a suitable alternative to an inquiry by a Tribunal appointed under the Act of 1921. The respective purposes of the two forms of inquiry are wholly different. The purpose of inquiries by the Security Commission is to report to and advise the Prime Minister upon security arrangements within the public service. The subject matter of such inquiries may have caused no public concern and indeed may well be entirely unknown to the public. Should the Security Commission or any other body require powers of compulsion similar to those provided by the Act, they should be furnished by separate enactment.

(12) The above consideration of the administrative procedures leads to the conclusion that it is essential in the national interest to retain the Tribunals of Inquiry Act 1921, albeit under certain amendments and safeguards.

#### IV. STEPS TO IMPROVE THE SAFEGUARD FOR WITNESSES AND INTERESTED PARTIES

(13) (a) The tempo of some of the post-war Tribunals, particularly in the early stages of an inquiry, was somewhat too hurried.

There should be no dilatoriness in starting the inquiry and pushing it to a conclusion. It is urgent that the truth should be revealed to the public as speedily as possible. Nevertheless, a few weeks more in preparing the material for arriving at the truth is a small price to pay in order to avoid injustice.

(b) Any potential witness from whom a statement is taken by the Treasury Solicitor should be told that, if he so wishes, his own solicitor may be present when the statement is taken. In many cases a witness will not require legal assistance. If, however, he does wish his solicitor to be present he should be given a reasonable opportunity to secure his solicitor's attendance even if this entails a day or two's delay.

(c) Before giving this evidence in public, a witness should be supplied with a document setting out the allegations against him, and the substance of the evidence in support of those allegations.

(d) The form of disclosure of evidence to a witness should be in the discretion of the Tribunal; and where fresh evidence or allegations emerge in the course of the inquiry, the persons concerned should be given adequate opportunity for meeting the new situation.

(e) Under the Act of 1921 as it now stands no one has the right to be legally represented before the Tribunal. The Tribunal, however, has a discretion as to whether or not to allow a person to be represented. In the past this discretion has always been exercised in favour of allowing any person to be represented if it appeared to the Tribunal that he might be prejudicially affected by the evidence or by any finding or comment in the Report. This means that a witness cannot be represented until he has satisfied the Tribunal that he may be in peril. The Act should be amended so that anyone called as a witness would have the right to be legally represented. The Tribunal should have a discretion to allow anyone to be legally represented who is not a witness, but who claims to be an interested person in that he is at risk of being prejudicially affected by the inquiry.

(f) When a witness is legally represented, he would be examined by his own solicitor or counsel on his statement to the Treasury Solicitor. When he is not represented, he should be examined by one of the counsel appearing for the Tribunal. No witness should be examined and cross-examined by the same counsel.

(g) Subject to the discretion of the Tribunal, a witness should have the right to have evidence called on his behalf by counsel for the Tribunal.

(h) The Act should be amended so as to include a provision empowering the Tribunal to order payment of a witness's costs out of public funds. This would enable witnesses to receive costs as of right and not *ex-gratia*. The Tribunal should deprive a witness of all or part of his costs if, in their view, there are good grounds for doing so.

(i) No one should be disabled by comparative poverty from being legally represented if reason and justice require that he should be represented.

Necessary amendments to the relevant statute or regulations should be made to give the Tribunal the same power to grant legal aid as the Criminal Courts exercise, *i.e.*, the Tribunal would have to be satisfied that *prima facie* the witness's financial position qualified him for legal aid and that it was reasonable in all the circumstances that he should be represented.

(j) The Act should be amended so as to extend the present immunity conferred on a witness so that neither his evidence nor statement to the Treasury Solicitor, nor documents he is required to produce shall be used against him in subsequent civil or criminal proceedings except where he is charged with giving false evidence before the Tribunal, or conspiring with or procuring others to do so.

(k) The Tribunal should decide, in its discretion, whether an opening statement should be made by counsel appearing for it; and counsel for any witness should have the opportunity of making a short speech following the opening speech by counsel for the Tribunal.

(l) Criminal records of persons involved should be made available to the Tribunal, who will decide in their discretion whether such evidence may be used in cross-examination.

#### V. SHOULD THERE BE STATUTORY RULES OF PROCEDURE

(14) The disadvantage of having such statutory rules of procedure would be that they would necessarily be detailed and rigid. This would enable anyone who wished to obstruct

or delay the proceedings of the Tribunal to take advantage of any supposed technical breach of the rules for this purpose. Any alleged failure to comply with the rules might be brought up for review by prerogative writ to the High Court and the inquiry thereby delayed or frustrated. Rather than have a rigid set of rules, it is sufficient to lay down the general principles to be followed as laid down in this report. Tribunals of Inquiry can safely be relied upon to follow these principles in the future, and thus the interest of everyone will be safeguarded without the Tribunals being hampered in their inquiries.

#### VI. SETTING UP OF TRIBUNAL

(15) The power to set up a Tribunal under the Act of 1921 can be exercised only on a resolution of both Houses of Parliament that it is expedient that a Tribunal be established for inquiry into a "definite matter". This power to set up a Tribunal should not be extended. The suggestion that the power should be vested in some high officer of State cannot be agreed to. Because of the inquisitorial nature of the proceedings and the consequent pain which they may cause to individuals, Tribunals should be set up as sparingly as possible. Any temptation there may be to stifle awkward questions in either House by stating that a Tribunal of Inquiry will be appointed to look into the matter should be resisted. The fact that a resolution of both Houses of Parliament is required before a Tribunal can be set up affords some safeguard against this procedure being too readily invoked. Thus the matter is ventilated and the Government has to justify before Parliament its decision to set up a Tribunal under the Act. For these reasons it is recommended that the present procedure for setting up Tribunals under the Act be retained.

## VII. COMPOSITION, STATUS AND IMMUNITY OF THE TRIBUNAL

(16) The Act should be amended so as to provide that the Chairman of a Tribunal must be a person holding high judicial office; no requirement should be laid down as to the status or qualifications of the remaining members, but the possibility of a non-legal appointment should be considered. Members of a Tribunal should not be named or debated in the passage of the resolution through Parliament. It would be invidious for the names of the proposed members of the Tribunal to be bandied about in Parliament and their suitability for appointment debated. The selection of individuals as past experience has shown can safely be left to the Government of the day. The Act should be amended to provide immunity for solicitors and counsel and others for what they may say before a Tribunal of Inquiry.

## VIII. TERMS OF REFERENCE

(17) In view of the inquisitorial nature of the proceedings of the Tribunal, the terms of reference require careful consideration and should be drawn as precisely as possible. The Tribunal should take an early opportunity of explaining in public its interpretation of its terms of reference and the extent to which the inquiry is likely to be pursued.

(18) As the agitation for an enquiry is very often the result of nothing more than general allegation rumours, it is necessary to keep the tribunals within reasonable bounds. Tribunal should not be set up to investigate a nebulous mass of vague and unspecified rumours; equally, they should not be fettered by terms of reference which are too narrowly drawn.

## IX. THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST A PRELIMINARY HEARING

(19) A preliminary hearing of evidence in private, whether by the Tribunal or another agency would be inappropriate. The Tribunal should be afforded ample opportunity to define the allegations and discard irrelevant material before public hearings begin.

## X. BY WHOM THE TRIBUNAL SHALL BE REPRESENTED

(20) The Treasury Solicitor should continue to be appointed as the solicitor acting for the Tribunal. In Scotland, it would be preferable for the Solicitor for the Scottish Department or the Procurator Fiscal to act for the Tribunal rather than a private firm of solicitors.

(21) For reasons of checking bias and maintaining public confidence it would be much better that the present practice should be discontinued and that in future neither the Attorney-General nor the Solicitor-General should represent a Tribunal set up under the Act of 1921. The Tribunal should select its own counsel to be instructed by the Treasury Solicitor. There is, however, no reason why a Law Officer, if he considered it right to do so, should not represent any minister or Government Department concerned in such proceedings. For the reasons indicated above it would be preferable for Tribunals in Scotland not to be represented by an independent counsel of the highest standing nominated by the Tribunal.

## XI. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRIBUNAL

### (a) *Preliminary Meeting of the Tribunal in Public*

(22) It has been suggested that there should be an informal method of procedure before the Tribunal in

public and that there should be discussion round the table rather than the usual method of examination and cross examination. There is a real danger in departing from well-tried and proven methods of arriving at the truth. However, whilst examination and cross-examination should be retained every effort should be made by the Tribunal and counsel appearing on its behalf to put witnesses at their ease. This can doubtlessly be done.

(23) At the preliminary meeting the Tribunal should read its terms of reference in public and give its interpretation of these terms of reference and the extent of the intended lines of inquiry.

(24) It is essential that sufficient time is given between the preliminary meeting and the hearing of evidence to enable the Treasury Solicitor to make any necessary further investigations and to give the persons involved adequate time to prepare their cases.

(25) During the period between the preliminary meeting and the hearing of the evidence, if it has not been done already, the Treasury Solicitor should provide all witnesses with copies of their statements and all the witnesses and persons interested with a precis or a list of the allegations which they will be required to answer. The Tribunal should direct the Treasury Solicitor to provide witnesses and interested persons with a document containing the substance of any evidence which affects them.

*(b) Hearing of Evidence by the Tribunal*

(26) At the close of the examination in chief, the witness should, if necessary, be cross-examined by a member of the team of counsel instructed on behalf of the Tribunal. The Tribunal should then give leave

in its discretion to other counsel representing interested persons to cross-examine the witness before the witness is finally re-examined by his own counsel. Members of the Tribunal will question the witness at any stage of his examination should they wish to do so.

(27) There should be one counsel in the team of counsels, acting on behalf of the Tribunal, who is appointed to examine and re-examine any witness who is not legally represented.

XII. PUBLICITY

(28) (a) To prevent crisis of public confidence which results from spreading of rumours in the anxious masses. The proceedings should be conducted generally in public and reported day by day in the Press.

(b) The Press should exercise extreme care in reporting proceedings without unduly highlighting sensational aspects of the evidence.

(c) Discretion of Tribunals to sit in private should be interpreted to extend beyond the hearing of evidence which would constitute a security risk; but nevertheless to be exercised with reluctance and only in most exceptional circumstances.

XIII. POWER TO COMPEL EVIDENCE :  
COMMittal FOR CONTEMPT

(28) It is necessary that some power should exist to be exercised only in the last resort for the purpose of compelling persons to give evidence and preventing them from defying the Tribunal. Tribunal should, however, insist on revelation of sources of information only where of vital importance, and should explain fully to witnesses concerned why the information is vital to the inquiry.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*CORRUPTION: CONTROL OF MALADMINISTRATION*; By JOHN B. MONTEIRO, Bombay, Manaktalas, 1966, p. 303, Rs. 25.

This is a comprehensive treatise dealing with corruption in administration, the various forms it takes and methods of fighting it. It is divided into four parts. The first part is devoted largely to a sympathetic examination of the findings and recommendations of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption.

While generally welcoming them, the author finds fault with the recommendations that Ministers should sue for defamations against allegations in the Press, while such allegations made by ten members in the Legislature should be referred to a Committee chosen from a National Panel. I am afraid that this criticism is rather hasty. If a National Committee is to be appointed to deal with every allegation in the Press against one or other of the hundreds of Ministers in this country, the number of such investigations will become so large that the procedure will break down. It is always possible and desirable for a Minister to ignore minor allegations of impropriety and take action only when his public position is affected. On the other hand, a formal written allegation by ten Members of Parliament or State Legislature is sufficiently important to justify an elaborate enquiry and if suitable penalties are prescribed for frivolous and baseless allegations, it may be expected that such cases will be comparatively few with a reasonable chance of being approved.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is Part II where the author describes the Congressional Investigations in U.S.A., the Conseil D'Etat in France, Independent Tribunals in U.K. and the Procurator in Soviet Union. While all these methods deserve to be carefully considered, the author himself agrees that none of them will fully meet the needs of the Indian situation.

Therefore he turns with eagerness to the system of Ombudsman as at present existing in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and New Zealand and in the concluding Part makes out a strong case for adopting that institution for India. He says, "The case for an Ombudsman in India is chiefly based on the contention that we do not have a comprehensive, rational and definite agency to tackle corruption and maladministration." Though it is true that corruption and maladministration are closely related. In the countries where the Ombudsman functions, corruption is comparatively limited and the main work of the Ombudsman is to investigate complaints of maladministration. It is, therefore, possible to have one Ombudsman with a small number of assistants, as enquiries against maladministration will not be so many or the process so difficult. But an Ombudsman in India with his prime work being fighting corruption in all ranks of our administration from Ministers to Police constables, the entire structure will

have to be different. Without an elaborate Vigilance Organization in all parts of administration and a competent and well manned Investigating Agency at its disposal, the Ombudsman will be impotent. As a matter of fact the recommendations of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption did make the Central Vigilance Commissioner an Ombudsman so far as the Central Government officials were concerned. Unfortunately those parts of the recommendations which enabled him to look after complaints of maladministration were not accepted by the Government of India.

It is quite true that the Ombudsman in some other countries has

jurisdiction over Ministers. The Administrative Reforms Commission has practically accepted the plea of the author but has set up one Ombudsman for Ministers and Secretaries and one Ombudsman each for the other permanent officials of the Union and each State. Presumably, the author will agree with me that this bifurcation will not make it easy to make a comprehensive and well-directed attack against corruption based on the same principles and operating through the same agencies.

It is a well written book which deserves a place in all public libraries.

K. SANTHANAM

*THAILAND : THE MODERNIZATION OF A BUREAUCRATIC POLITY*; By FRED W. RIGGS, Honolulu, East-West Center Press, 1966, p. 470, \$10.00

Thailand, as the author says in his introduction, is a "fascinating and lovely country". The effects of a cheerful and relaxed nature, of a smiling and serene acceptance of life, are clearly visible to any visitor. The Thais, who came south from China a thousand years ago, have made a wonderful synthesis of Chinese habits, of Hindu Culture, and of the religion which Buddha taught. Court ceremonies, including the King's Coronation, are conducted by Brahmin Priests ; a major national celebration is of the "Songhran" the Water Festival, when Phra In (Lord Indra) descends to earth; the Garuda, the mount of Vishnu, is the State emblem. Buddhism has made Thailand a country of gentleness and humanity, where one finds the good manners so regrettably absent in many countries today. Physiognomy and language are derived from Chinese origins; so is the reluctance "to lose face" and the universal fondness for gambling.

The book under review is written

with a knowledge of this background, as shown by a few passing references. For purposes of his present thesis the author is not particularly interested in this, except to the limited purpose of trying to explain how the great kings Mongkut and Chulalongkorn gradually changed the "public image of the monarch from that of a Divine King, apotheosized by the magical and supernatural rites of the Brahmin priests, to that of the leading human defender and patron of the Buddhist church".

Twelve years ago, when I wished to study certain aspects of modern Thailand, I discovered the great paucity of books in English on the subject. There were a few eminently readable and instructive books like those of Le May, Quaritch Wales, and London. But these described an era long past. There were also one or two highly entertaining but thoroughly misleading books like "Anna and the King of Siam". Within the last ten years several

scholarly books have appeared, mostly by American authors. Many of them,—like those of Siffin, Vella and Wilson, are specialized studies—as is the book under review—on administration of politics. There has also been an occasional book of general interest like Insor's "Thailand" (giving a brief and very readable description of the political, social and economic background) and Moffat's excellent biography of King Mongkut.

Rice sustains the economy of Thailand. Seven out of ten of the working population are engaged in the production of rice. It was therefore probably an intelligent (though somewhat unusual) approach for the author to concentrate on problems related to rice when he wanted to write a book on "the modernization of a bureaucratic polity". His chief concern, as he himself has pointed out, "was with the administration and political aspects of crops, both governmental and private, which were concerned with various programmes and problems related to rice". He had sensibly noted that since every one was interested in rice in Thailand, the subject had amazing ramifications.

The author starts off with a comparison between Siam and Burma—how several factors, including the wisdom of a line of remarkable kings, helped Siam in its attempt to modernize its institutions sufficiently to prevent the conquest of the country by the French or the British; something which the Burmese failed to do. He goes on to describe what he calls "the functionalisation of the Bureaucracy"—the transformation of the system of administration into a more modern pattern. There is an analysis of the attempts to set up constitutional governments from 1932, of the cliques and factions and changes in the Thai Cabinet, with the final success of the Army group.

He comes to the interesting conclusion that in Thailand "the great majority of those who reached the political pinnacle of cabinet rank emerged from careers within the bureaucracy, military and civil.

This book exhibits an earnest study of the subject, sustaining the reputation of American scholars for thoroughness in a specialized field, a reputation which only the Germans seem to have had till the first world war. There is a good deal of statistics and a number of very complicated charts which are, to the uninitiated, like the classical mysteries of Eleusis. This is definitely a book for the student and the scholar and not for the average reader. The language, with an abundance of esoteric words and phrases so fashionable in American "case studies", makes it difficult reading and in places almost unintelligible. Words and phrases like "normative", "operationalisation", "value loading", "empirically identifiable referent", are spread through the pages. What would the average reader make of the following?

"In short, Thailand provides almost a classical case of a situation in which the external—pressures which have induced modernisation—including a substantial movement of Westernisation—have quite unconsciously produced an imbalanced pattern of development, one in which the urge of differentiation of structures within the bureaucracy has proceeded more rapidly than the compensatory growth of co-ordinating institutions outside the bureaucracy which could assure a high level of performance by this new functionally specialised units."

For the student who can penetrate through the jungle of words this is a fair summary of the book.

P. ACHUTHA MENON

*RESEARCH ON THE BUREAUCRACY OF PAKISTAN*; By RALPH BRAIBANTI, Durham, Duke University Press, 1966, p. 569, \$12.50.

In few fields of knowledge does the researcher have to contend with the type of obstacles that confront him while seeking to unravel the intricacies of the working of bureaucracy. His basic limitation is the shortage of published materials. It has all too frequently been pointed out that bureaucrats are by nature and training inclined more to action than to reflection and as a result are not likely to transmute the practice of their art into precepts for the guidance of others. In particular they rarely see the merit of committing to writing their views on the working of bureaucracy. Such writing as they do indulge intends to be descriptive rather than analytical and therefore of somewhat limited value to the student of administration.

Apart from this handicap, research into bureaucracy all too often involves making available to the researcher materials which because of their association with contemporary or nearly contemporary events cannot be divulged without causing embarrassment. This is particularly so in the early stages of a country's development when political sensitivity is high.

If the researcher has to await the lapse of enough time to make the revelation of these materials innocuous, his research will fall into the realm of history rather than into the realm of the operation of the machinery of government. Research in bureaucracy justifies itself primarily by the applicability of its results and its findings to the live problems that face the administrator. To the extent that it is successfully able to do this it can serve the administrator usefully; to the extent that it fails to do so it mainly serves the purpose of the

historian. Bureaucracy thus presents an interesting dichotomy. It can benefit directly from the results of the application of research in the same way as science does and yet it finds research unwelcome in a way which is quite alien to science.

The researcher is looked upon with mistrust not only because of the fact that he might tread on corns that are still tender but also because of the feeling that administration is not a process which can easily be comprehended by some one who has not participated in it. There are too many intangibles and a feeling for these intangibles can only be developed by one who has dealt with them. Research by a pure academician whose knowledge of administration is based more on study and observation than on practice runs the risk of producing results whose value would lie more in the realm of theory than of practice. This produces another interesting dichotomy. Research by the scholar without experience of administration produces a deceptively simplified picture of the working of bureaucracy while research by the administrator runs the risk of suffering from lack of analytical depth and detachment.

These considerations lead one inescapably to the conclusion that the best qualifications for research are direct involvement with the process of administration coupled with the opportunity and ability for reflection and analysis. Prof. Braibanti possesses both these qualifications and his book bears the stamp of a genuine understanding of the working of bureaucracy. His book is sub-titled "a critique of sources, conditions and issues" and this indicates its primary purpose. It is a guide for future researchers and has

charted the seas of published material with remarkable thoroughness, exploring the avenues where research is likely to be fruitful and drawing attention to the obstacles that scholars are likely to encounter.

A great deal of labour has gone into this book. He has cast his net wide, discussing the sources to which the researcher may go for information on bureaucracy. For the early beginnings the historical sources are already well known and have been adequately documented. For the flavour of district life in pre-1947 days he has discussed the memoirs of district officers and the novels that have been written about life in the districts. For the working of the administration he has referred to the gazeteers, settlement reports and administrative enquiry committees. For the post-1947 period he has examined the various Reports on administrative reform, Annual Reports of Ministries, Rules and Manuals, gazeteers, civil lists, report of pay commissions and a host of other materials. Not only have all the sources been listed and described but a critical comment has been made on their utility. He has covered all the major areas of possible research and deals with the history and organization of the bureaucracy, local government, administrative reform, legal research and the various commissions of enquiry under martial law. In each case he has not confined himself to a listing of the documents and their evaluation but has gone further and highlighted some of the important issues that would be of concern to a researcher. By doing this he has greatly facilitated the task of future scholars.

The major handicaps to research in bureaucracy in under-developed countries are the paucity of published material and the non-availability of the material itself. Even when the

material has been published, complete records are rarely available in one single library; nor do comprehensive bibliographies on such material exist. In commenting on this fact he says "The single most important hindrance to research efficiency is the fact that there is no single site in the whole of Pakistan at which comprehensive collections of government documents issued since 1947 together with a complete collection of publications under British rule can be found". Any one undertaking research in this field would normally have to invest a great deal of time and effort simply to locate the available material. It is this tiresome task that Prof. Braibanti has saved for those who enter this field in the future.

Before describing the materials available for research under each of the areas of administration Prof. Braibanti makes a critical evaluation of the environment of research. He comments upon the low status of scholarship as a profession in Pakistan as a limiting factor and on the phenomenon that within the bureaucracy respect for scholarship outside the bureaucratic circles has been very little. He draws attention to the fact that "a pronounced administrative or political skill unsullied by excessive intellectuality has characterized Pakistan's leadership from the beginning. Even more important is the fact that it is a source of pride rather than an occasion for regret". These comments of his bring into sharp focus the basic dilemma of the researcher into bureaucracy. There are other local factors which also act as handicaps such as the sensitivity between the two wings of Pakistan, the tendency to label scholars as hostile or friendly and to assess recommendations accordingly, the dispersal of materials in Pakistan and abroad and the low priority attached to statistical information

by administrators. It is, however, difficult to accept his contention that leadership in research must vest with groups outside the bureaucracy with maximum access to information and that universities can best perform this function. It will be many years, if ever, before universities can rise to these expectations and to wait for this to happen before undertaking serious research into bureaucracy is a luxury that cannot easily be afforded. In the past many of the finest studies of the working of administration have been made by civil servants themselves. It is arguable whether in a country where the practice of people moving from government to academic circles and back does not exist, as it does in the United States, the universities can ever fulfil a major role in the field of administrative research.

Prof. Braibanti makes a number of interesting comments during his discussion of the contents of the various reports and other materials listed by him. He draws attention to the fact that of the five nations jointly inheriting the I.C.S. tradition, Pakistan more than the others has preserved the cohesive, strong, corporate sense which was the hallmark of Haileybury. He comments on the fact that the rapid expansion of I.A.S. in India has almost entirely destroyed this characteristic. In Pakistan the cadre of the Civil Service of Pakistan was kept small and entrants into this service were limited to not more than 30 in a year. This naturally increased the elite character of that service. There is no comment on the consequences of this policy which emphasizes the elite character of the CSP and thus raises the interesting question of the role of a bureaucratic elite in a developing country where the social gap is already wide. Does the elite function as an enlightened pressure group for more rapid advancement or does it tend to

become out of touch with the groups whose development both economic and social should be its primary concern?

Allied to this characteristic of the CSP is the fact that district and divisional administration has been made more powerful and somewhat more autocratic specially since 1958. The declaration of martial law in that year arrested the political process which was reducing the autonomy of the district officer. The impact of this trend on the pattern of political and economic development in Pakistan would provide a fascinating field for the researcher of the future.

His comments of the relative merit of pre-1947 and post-1947 sources is interesting. In his discussion on the literature on the subject of district administration such as settlement reports he says, "if the same skill, precision and energy which characterises its settlement reports could now be regenerated and channelled into district economic plans a major advance in economic planning would be made." He quotes many senior officers as saying that if the various manuals prepared by earlier administrators were carefully followed by officials no reform in district administration would be needed. While this is perhaps a somewhat nostalgic view to take of the past it does seem to imply that efforts at reform produced these days tend to lack thoroughness and clarity.

Another interesting comment emerges from his discussion on the question of rural development. He mentions the tension that exists between orthodox bureaucratic organizations and community development organizations each regarding the other as an impediment to their work. He says "the irony is that this antipathy did not always exist; the

impetus for rural construction emanated from orthodox administration and in the work of such Deputy Commissioners as F. L. Brayne, Darling and C. F. Strickland in the Punjab, the two attitudes converged".

Braibanti also deals with the subject of legal research in his book. He identifies the legal community as the most powerful elite group outside government and the source of the most persistent challenge to government policy during and after Martial law. The judiciary has remained powerful and respected and has been one of the most stabilizing institutions in the development of Pakistan. And yet legal research is fraught with obstacles, the most formidable of which is the danger of contempt of court proceedings in case scholastic comment is unduly critical. The researcher is, therefore, given the useful warning that in the field of legal research "the utmost tact, precision of language and discretion are essential" and in this connection he discusses at some length the celebrated Snelson case in which Sir Edward Snelson, Secre-

tary of the Ministry of Law, while talking informally to government officials during a training programme commented on certain decisions of the High Courts. Sir Edward Snelson was found guilty of contempt of court not so much because of what he had said, which had been said by the Supreme Court itself on various occasions, but on the grounds that the language of his talk tended to lower the status of the courts.

Braibanti's book reveals considerable depth of understanding of Pakistani Bureaucracy. His long association with it has given him a feeling for its merits and its sensitivities which will be invaluable to a new-comer, in the field. And yet it has to be made clear that published materials can only be a starting point for research in bureaucracy and ultimately the success of the researcher is determined not so much by the availability of such materials but by the freedom and extent of his access to the centres of decision making in the organization.

R. P. KHOSLA

*THE CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN : BUREAUCRACY IN A NEW NATION*; By HENRY RANK GOODNOW, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1964, p. 328, \$6.75.

This is a study of the top bureaucracy of the new state of Pakistan, the main part having been written for a doctoral dissertation for the Columbia University in 1959. Being the Public Administration Member of a four-man Team sent from the University of Pennsylvania in 1954 to establish an Institute of Public and Business Administration in Karachi, the author could look into some unpublished material, like the Rowland Egger Report of 1953, Bernard L. Gladieux's "Reorientation of Pakistan for Natural Development", Andre Bertrand's UNESCO Memorandum on "....

Public Administration at the Higher Level etc. of the Civil Service of Pakistan" and several other unpublished articles and papers.

The opening Chapter contains general observations on the relationship between organization and political power in the advanced nations and proceeds to make a brief analysis of political forces and changes in bureaucracy in developing nations. On attaining Independence and after going through a "honeymoon" period of all political parties uniting to celebrate freedom aided by an existing hierarchy of colonial

administration, the new nations have to contend soon with centrifugal forces tending to bring about disruption. This happens particularly when the charismatic leader leaves the scene. Covert opposition begins and the struggle for power moves into the hands of a leftist group or a Civil and Military bureaucracy. The history, growth and working of the bureaucratic elite "Civil Service of Pakistan" is taken up in the succeeding 10 Chapters to examine the reasons for their predominant power position.

On partition from India in 1947, the leaders of Pakistan naturally turned to those Muslims who had served in the higher services in India. They, in turn, installed the system they knew best and "which would best protect their interests". The administrative order in India and many of the British social, recreational and cultural characteristics were copied. The number of officers in the C.S.P. was about 300 in a population of 93 millions in the mid-fifties (about 410 and 100 million respectively in 1963). This small group, as the author observes, has an ally in the President of Pakistan, as he is dependent on the co-operation of the Civil and Military services. Owing to the low prestige of the elected representatives, the relative power of the C.S.P. was always high. By its control of the administrative machinery, the C.S.P. is able to influence the various other civil services but in any crisis it would have to defer to the military services which have a clear monopoly of the use of force. The latter, on the other hand, are dependent on the civil services for the administration and development of Pakistan. Among the technical services, the provincial civil services and the other executives, there is a feeling of grievance against the C.S.P.'s strong position.

The Federal Public Service Com-

mission of Pakistan and the Public Service Commissions of the Provinces continued to perform the same functions as in India under the Government of India Act of 1935. The Establishment Division of the Central Secretariat was the personnel department of the Central Government issuing all decisions pertaining to the administration of the C.S.P. and other superior services. Until 1958, the Prime Minister's orders had to be obtained for all appointments to the C.S.P. The Federal Public Service Commission held a competitive examination for the C.S.P. and the appointments were made on merit, subject to a quota system for the two Provinces of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The author gives detailed particulars of the mode of recruitment and selection by examination and interview and explains the quota system also. About 20 young men were selected each year for the C.S.P. From 1951 onwards the new recruits were sent to Lahore to the Civil Service Academy for 9 months of training as probationers. This was followed by the six months of practical training in the Districts in East Pakistan and a year's course of further work at Oxford or Cambridge in Economics, British Law, History of Pakistan and India, Public and Local Administration and other social studies. Under an Agreement with the University of Southern California and the International Co-operation Administration of U.S.A., from 1957 two groups of C.S.P. officers per year were sent for 3 years on a five months' "Executive Development Programme" to the University of Southern California. Some members of the higher services also received training from time to time in the Institute of Public and Business Administration, which was established in Karachi with the assistance of the University of Pennsylvania. Later, this Institute

of Public and Business Administration, which had been established in 1955, was reorganized, the Business Administration part remaining in the University of Karachi and the Graduate Degree programme in Public Administration moving to the University of the Punjab in Lahore. In-services and Research activities were distributed in three new National Institutes of Public Administration at Lahore, Dacca and Karachi; and a C.S.P. officer was placed in charge of each. Since 1960, the University of Southern California has provided advisory services for these institutions.

Dr. Goodnow describes in some detail the career opportunities, rating and promotion procedures and salaries and privileges of the members of the Service. He has made some acute observations regarding personnel problems like transfers, selection by seniority, promotions of provincial officers to the C.S.P., and disciplinary control. He feels also that, like the former British rulers, the C.S.P. are insulated from the sentiments of the mass of the population and are understandably unwilling to surrender their higher standard of living.

Many of the author's observations on the appraisal of the C.S.P. could well be applicable to the Indian bureaucratic scene, particularly the obstacles to effective performance. He thinks that it is incongruous to expect a few hundred civil servants "to expedite miraculously the economic and social development of a nation of nearly 100 million citizens, most of whom are illiterate, desperately poor, ill-nourished and isolated". Religion, in Pakistan, is a handicap, as the higher civil servants have to be "cautious of any charge that their actions have been un-Islamic. As a group, the members of the C.S.P.

have a secular view-point, which tends to isolate them from the mass of the populace with its conservative religious outlook". For the first eleven years after Independence, the weakness of the Legislative Branch of the Government was accentuated by the splintering and multiplication of political parties. There was no strong and united political group striving to disclose the mistakes of the party in power. The absence of effective local government is also one of the obstacles to optimal administration. Constructive criticism is not available outside Government. Such criticism as does exist is seldom based on a thorough analysis of facts, because the Government effectively discourages any non-official from making a detailed study of its operations. A C.S.P. officer will answer the Research student's superficial questions, but if he goes into details the attitude of the civil servant becomes evasive and the student sees no promise of further opportunity to pursue the subject. "This emphasis on secrecy is one of the many carry-overs of the British days, when students, politicians and newspapermen were regarded as potential trouble-makers. The civil servant has to be cautious in the face of the Official Secrets Act and the Security Rules."

The distorted role of the Secretariat with its clerical hierarchy, as described in the Appleby Report (1953) in India is quoted by the author for Pakistan also. There is no proper middle management group in the Central Secretariat. "The top two or three echelons are made up of generalists, usually C.S.P. officers. Immediately below the Deputy or Under Secretary the clerical echelon begins. The Assistant Secretary, the Superintendent, the Assistant-in-charge and the Clerks have all been recruited through a clerical examination and have spent

their entire lives working through the files or related paper work.... There is no class of public employees in the Central Secretariat corresponding to the "Executive" class in Great Britain, nor is there any group similar to that selected in the United States through the Junior Management Assistant Examination. The vast majority of clerical employees know that they have virtually no chance of working through the barriers.

Perhaps, the single weakest element of the training and early experience of the C.S.P. officer is its emphasis on law and procedural manuals written decades ago and on precedents. The negative side is over-emphasized at the expenses of stress on initiative and expeditious management.

Dr. Goodnow is of the view that the C.S.P. is facing a dilemma similar to that of the British in India. National development by strengthening the country's educational, commercial and political institutions will result in a challenge to the C.S.P.'s own monopoly of administrative power. In any case, the C.S.P. has also to depend on a multitude of technicians, specialists and elected representatives who will be empowered to make decisions, as a small number of generalists, however able, will not be able to cope with the increasing responsibilities. The isolated position of the C.S.P. will also prevent effective communication with Pakistan's rural millions. The author holds also that, as an institution, the C.S.P. has failed to develop dynamic leadership within itself. "Competitive striving has been eliminated and excessive reliance on seniority acts as a further obstacle to the development of a type of leadership which might remould the C.S.P. from within." The 400-odd officers are certainly not

incompetent, but the task is overwhelming and the tradition is that of an elite group of foreign administrators forced by circumstances to emphasize precedent and control. Part of the answer lies possibly in the decentralization of power, according to Dr. Goodnow.

During President Ayub's regime began a purge to eliminate corruption and inefficiency in the public service. More than 2,000 federal and provincial officers were removed or otherwise punished. Twelve were C.S.P. officers compulsorily retired, but their offences were not made known to the public. The old constitutional guarantees were removed by a Presidential Order in March, 1959, while all the other privileges were continued. Civil servants had earlier never seriously tried to cleanse their own ranks. The President spoke often of the need for lateral recruitment, the creation or expansion of certain scientific services and selection for senior posts purely by merit rather than seniority. Yet, Pakistan's 1962 Constitution, retaining firm control over the Government in President Ayub's hands, indicates "that the bureaucratic power structure provides the best basis for predicting future developments".

In the final Chapter, the author argues that the only logical alternative to either one-party or bureaucratic rule is "a plural society with multiple foci of power and influence". At the same time, he realizes that, in many of the new nations, it may be virtually impossible to find dedicated persons with money to invest and generate the foci of power. A fundamental goal for the new nations is a balanced institutional growth. The institutions must be strong enough to perform their primary function but not so strong as to dominate or intimidate other desirable institutions. With this

background as a Professor of Public Administration, the author finally assures the reader that bureaucrats are not a strange power-hungry breed trying to rule over their fellows but normal individuals with more-than-average education, who, like other groups, will not attain pre-

*PARLIAMENT AND ADMINISTRATION : THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE 1945-65* ; By NEVIL JOHNSON, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1966, p. 187, Rs. 35.

It has been asserted by certain critics of the British Parliament that it has ceased to be a "thought organisation", that it is no longer an effective legislative body, that its influence is waning, that it has become a "rubber stamp" or "voting machine" and that it needs extensive procedural reforms. It is true that in the formulation of policy and in law-making the initiative has passed to the cabinet and members are reduced to the position of criticizing or defending these measures and ultimately to approving them. But the role of the member in a welfare state is a much larger one. The people whom the member represents are rarely dissatisfied with policy or the purposes of law as such. It is with the execution and implementation of policy (and the laws, by the administration, that the common man is concerned. It is this impact of administration in its regulatory and service functions that give rise to his grievances and his dissatisfaction. In this context it becomes the duty of a member of Parliament not only to acquaint himself thoroughly with how administration is organized for the tasks entrusted to it but also how well, or ill it fulfils the purposes for which it has been set up. Mr. Nevil Johnson's book provides ample evidence that in ensuring economy and efficiency in the sphere of public administration he has a major role to play—if only he brings the necessary interest, industry and enthusiasm to the tasks of the three

ponderance of power and influence in a plural society.

The book is a good treatise on the Civil Service of Pakistan up to the year 1964.

V. S. HEJMADI

financial committees of Parliament, namely, the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Committee on Nationalized Industries.

Mr. Johnson's book is principally concerned with a study of the Estimates Committee during the two decades between 1945-65. He has singled out the Estimates Committee "as one of the best means of showing how much we can in fact find out about British Parliament and as illustrating the character of Parliamentary scrutiny of administration". The committee has since 1945 proved itself to be "one of the most successful means of enabling a number of Members of Parliament to come to grips with some of the problems affecting the structure and operation of our administrative systems". Students of Public administration would agree with Mr. Johnson's observation.

The first chapter narrates how the Committee is organized for the conduct of its business and highlights the more significant procedural developments of recent years. Some of these developments are not so well known even to students of public administration and are well worth a study. Some of Mr. Johnson's observations in this chapter are keen and apt. "Service on the committee is time consuming and brings no political rewards. Some of the Conservatives who joined over the

past twelve years or so soon found the membership was a burden which interfered with committees outside Parliament or with pursuits of Ministerial ambitions. Such people have retired after a short time on the committee." This is very true indeed. Speaking of the Estimates Committee reports and comparing them with reports of the Public Accounts Committee, Mr. Johnson feels that the reports of P.A.C. are exact in content but narrow in scope. The reports of the Estimates Committee, in contrast, range widely, have a more exploratory style, and are less exact in their conclusions.

This is because "it has to define for itself the issues which are important and has of necessity to take a broad view of the kind of questions which are relevant to administrative efficiency and sound organization and management". He rightly points out that the Chairman of the Sub-Committee has a vital role to play as "the success of an enquiry depends very much on his grasp of the subject and his skill in managing members and witnesses and his ability to preserve some coherence in the proceedings".

Chapter II, as the author himself states is a register of the output of the Committee since 1945. That chapter is followed by three case studies carefully selected to illustrate the type and range of scrutiny. They range from scrutiny of practices and rules, to organization and policies of Ministers.

The most interesting parts of the book are however chapter IV to VI which deal with the achievements and influence of the Committee, limitations of the Committee, and lastly what Mr. Johnson calls the Explanatory Dialogues.

After summing up the achievement of the Committee, Mr. Johnson

observes "Far from searching for this or that economy or applying precise yardsticks to the measurement of efficiency, the Committee has spent much of its time simply finding out whether departments or other public agencies are sensibly organized for the purposes in hand, whether the procedures they use seem to be intelligent and comprehensible, and whether, the distribution of functions and the overall administrative organization are effective for carrying out government policies". Mr. Johnson rightly observes "From the administrator's angle an appearance before the Estimates Committee is often an opportunity for restrained self criticism". One may add it has also a chastening influence on what Mr. Johnson calls the official "Mandarin".

Speaking of the limitations of the Committee and the suggestions for expert assistance Mr. Johnson observes of its secretariat "The best people to service the Committee are the generalists they now have. They are adaptable, do not mind turning from one field of activity to another, and are well able to talk to members in language they will understand".

In the last chapter entitled the Explanatory Dialogue, Mr. Jonhson indicates what light the student of government can derive from these reports. Apart from furnishing material for descriptive study of public administration, or indicating to one how government is organized and how it operates, Mr. Johnson feels it gives him an insight into how formulation of policies take place. Mr. Johnson further feels that by reflecting on what the reports reveal or recommended "we can come nearer to a just appreciation of one of the cardinal problems of political study, the nature of authority and the character of public power".

Students of Public Administration owe Mr. Johnson a debt of gratitude for what is easily the best appraisal of the Estimates Committee that has been published till today.

N. N. MALLYA

*POLITICS AND THE AIRLINES;* By DAVID CORBETT, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1965, p. 350, 35s.

The administration of the airlines of any country is a fascinating subject of study at any time, but what adds interest to the book under review is its pioneering nature in the field of comparative administration. The airlines of four Commonwealth countries, namely, those of Australia, Britain, Canada and India, and of USA have been studied. Several experiences commonly shared as also differences among them have been brought out in this study and there is a lot to learn from them for those interested in the subject.

In the course of discussion, Prof. Corbett covers not only the administrative problems of the airlines but of other public enterprises also. For this reason, the common problems of other public enterprises also get reflected in the backlight. The conclusions drawn, therefore, assume dimensions far exceeding the confines of the administrative problems of the airlines industry alone.

#### *International Airlines*

Irrespective of whether the international airlines belong to the nationalized sector or not, they share much in common. Being flag carriers, they are highly prestigious, and being subject to internationally laid down rates and codes of business disciplines and providing good examples of enterprises working under various types of partnership arrangements among themselves in respect of carrier responsibilities, they are truly international in character. Everywhere their success de-

pends on how quickly they can obtain the latest and the best aircrafts, that is, aircrafts which can give the best speed, utmost safety and other passenger conveniences. International airlines are highly competitive and unless international airlines can afford the high cost of quick economic obsolescence either through governmental subsidies or on their own, they cannot remain in business unless they are run purely for reasons of national prestige. The International airlines industry are examples of success. Their success has nothing to do with the locus of ownership.

The conclusion drawn from the operation of publicity operated airlines however is that there is no virtue in introducing private sector competition for reasons both of high obsolescence costs which few private sector enterprises can bear and government convenience in bargaining with foreign countries for traffic rights. The other general conclusions are equally applicable to problems concerning the administration of the domestic airlines. They concern continuity in management and operation in the context of reasonable autonomy, specially in respect of the selection and purchase of aircrafts, policies regarding investment and hiring and firing of personnel, etc. Citing the success examples of the Quantas whose Chairman Sir Budsen Fysh continued in his post for more than 40 years at a stretch since 1920 when the Quantas was first nationalized and the BEA whose Chairman also did not change in less than five to

seven years' interval and contrasting these cases with that of the relative failure story of BOAC, whose Chairman changed five times in ten years. Prof. Corbett has come to the conclusion that continuity in management over a reasonably long period is essential. Similarly he has forcefully argued the case for autonomy in respect of operation problems, specially in the selection of aircrafts. While it may be difficult to adopt the extraordinary example set by Sir Fysh, the point regarding continuity in management is well made.

#### *Domestic Airlines*

The domestic airlines, even where they operate in competition with two or more competitors, are neither subject to the same disciplines of international behaviour as the international airlines nor equally pressed by the urgencies of quick economic obsolescence. Where competition exists, the regulatory mechanism of the government takes care of reconciling the interests of the competitors and the consumers. Where there is no competition, as in India, appropriate codes of behaviour and discipline are provided by government and the management of the enterprise. There are shortcomings in both. For example the regulatory mechanism may favour one against the other as did happen in Australia and in Britain where recently concessions were granted to the private airlines on limited routes in competition with the BEA. Much depends upon the sympathies of the party in power and its ideological inclinations. Similarly, the public enterprise monoliths may be unresponsive to public complaints and convenience and indifferent in respect of operational performance.

In countries where State monopolies exist, administration may be

efficient or inefficient depending on various circumstances. The remedy in such cases is not necessarily the introduction of, what Prof. Corbett calls, metaphytic competition.

Prof. Corbett thinks that the system, if introduced, would do good to all—the management, the Parliament and the general public and the consumers. The central point is that where there is no measurement in the absence of competition, there will be one and the consumers instead of being dictated to will be wooed. There is an element of truth in this argument, no doubt, but opinions may differ regarding the remedy suggested. No one can object to the observation of Prof. Corbett that "since Parliamentary oratory and newspaper reports of Parliamentary debates are always more exciting when they allege infamy than when they attempt to praise". Public knowledge remains uninformed, managements get unnecessary brickbats and the Parliament itself remains ignorant of matters of vital interest. Similarly there will be general agreement with his suggestion that the introduction of some quantifiable measure of performance will improve matters. But when he goes beyond this and suggests the introduction of the private sector as the best suited means, opinions may differ.

The trouble with Prof. Corbett is that he places too much faith in regulatory institutions established by government. From his own account of the manner in which these institutions have functioned in Australia, Canada and Britain, it is apparent that the system encourages harmful types of political lobbying, interest oriented argumentation through the medium of a none-too-well disposed of press corruption and legal disputes. In any case,

his remedy does not apply to under-developed countries like ours for, apart from other reasons, such a course will result in costly diversion of scarce resources which we can ill-afford. Moreover, it is not clear why objectives, which Prof. Corbett has in view, cannot be achieved in other ways, *viz.*, devising a suitable rate of return policy, laying down clear norms of performance in respect of consumer satisfaction and better use of the institution of the Select Committee of Parliament as the British and we have under different names. In fact in respect of the dissemination of information regarding the correct picture of performance, the latter institution is the most appropriate medium. With improvements in the manner of their functioning based on experiences, it can be reasonably hoped that a way out will be found to put the requirements of Parliamentary accountability and autonomy in a workable balance.

Prof. Corbett's general conclusion in this respect is that in no country a happy balance between these two objectives has been achieved and that each country is only struggling with the problem in its own way. Although this may be a matter of some relief to those who like to know that others are faring no better, it takes us nowhere. The trouble is that much is outside the scope of institutional arrangements howsoever successfully devised. A lot depends upon the type of understanding that exists between the concerned levels of authorities, the personality equation between the Minister and the Chairman of the enterprise, the type of political support given to management, the absence or presence of stated objectives, the type of organizations established and the ease or otherwise with which Ministers can carry their work in respect of matters in which

they, instead, of issuing directives, whisper their wishes to the managements of the enterprise concerned and management in turn faithfully obey for fear of non-accommodation on later occasions when they are in difficulty or stand up boldly and say "no" to proposals which, in their honest opinion, are harmful for the enterprise.

An interesting feature of the airlines industry which is the subject matter of this study is that in all the Commonwealth countries it is organized in the form of Public Corporation, and yet in respect of the measure of autonomy, there are important country differences. In fact within the same country differences are observed from time to time depending upon the colour of the party in power and other factors.

Efficient operation is vitally concerned with the issues of autonomy and economic evaluation. While the author has regrettably ruled out the former from the scope of his study, he has discussed the latter only too generally. In respect of financial autonomy, however, the point is made that since 1945 the tendency in all countries is to bring managements of public enterprises more and more under the supervision of the Treasury. Even in the extreme case of the Quantas where its Chairman Sir Fysh had the unique advantage of continuing for 40 years or more, there is a close watch, rather too close, by the Treasury. In Britain, Treasury is not represented on the Board but the purpose is fulfilled by other means. In India, the institution of the Financial Advisers is a proof of treasury interest in enterprises. One would have liked to know more about this issue but unfortunately not much light has been thrown on this.

Throughout the book, Prof. Corbett has tried to bring to light not

only experiences commonly shared between the countries studied but also those not shared. Various reasons account for it viz., differences in history, constitution, institutional set-up and the state of economic maturity. Australia, Canada, India and the USA may, for example, be federations and Great Britain a Unitary State but it would be wrong to draw the inference that there are more things in common between Australia, Canada, India and the USA than with Great Britain. Similarly, it would be wrong to say that since Australia, Great Britain, Canada and India are Commonwealth countries having mixed economies and working under a system of Parliamentary Cabinet type of government, they share experiences in common in all respects and are different from the USA in every respect.

#### *Socio-economic Values and Motives*

In terms of socio-political values, the USA and Canada share very little in common with Australia and Britain. The USA is a uniquely sheltered home of the philosophy of competition and Canada is not far different either. Both the USA and Canada protect public interest by regulation rather than by direct ownership.

In Australia and Britain, although decisions taken mostly follow pragmatic considerations, the issue regarding nationalization was bitterly fought. In India, no elections have been fought on the issue of nationalization as happened in Britain and Australia. Ideological claims put forward by the Congress Party in India are merely by way of trying to get an additional by-product advantage from a policy which was already predicated in the context of planned growth. India has escaped the dynamics of political discussions

through the regular political process. Partly this is due to long rule extending over twenty years under a single party. Curiously enough, there is a close similarity in this respect with the case in Canada in respect of which country Prof. Corbett has remarked that 'when a single party holds office for twenty-two years as the Liberals did in Canada, people cease to think of the Cabinet as their servants.'

#### *Public Enterprises at the Cross Roads*

Of late, the issue of public vs private enterprises has lost its relevance. Prof. Corbett has put to himself some questions in this respect towards the close of his Study. The questions are : where, in what strength are beliefs in public ownership to be found in those country's politics? Who are the opponents? What are the issues concerning public enterprises over which the opposite side differs ? Is ownership a central one ?

In Answer, Prof. Corbett says that the traditional heat in controversy is nowhere to be seen. Every where the left has actually shifted or is fast shifting towards the centre and the right has either already moved or is moving towards the left. Thus both the left and the right are so close to each other that differentiation between them on the basis of their sympathies or antipathies towards public enterprises has become difficult. The general tendency of the labour parties in both Australia and Britain is that they do not any more stand by their original faith in public ownership. In the battle for and against public enterprise there are thus no more opponents and supporters. Whatever controversies even now exist are more a matter of political style to keep putting up a show of adherence

to respective faiths than anything else.

Having answered these questions thus Prof. Corbett poses yet another question on the correct answer of which depends the future of public enterprises. We, in this country, have also to answer this question for ourselves. The question is : With the left's faith in public ownership declining, are we to expect a gradual return to privately-owned economies, a continuation of the present ratios within the mixed economies or what ?

If the left of the centre policy announced by our Prime Minister

recently be faithfully pursued, India, of all other countries, should be able to provide some sort of an answer because it is only in this country that a mixed economy operates in the context of a central plan. The "if" is however a big "if".

Prof. Corbett has done a singular service by writing the book and there is no doubt that the book will prove useful both for the practitioners of administration and the students of comparative administration.

DR. P. PRASAD

*ADMINISTRATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; The Theory of Prismatic Society*, By FRED W. RIGGS, Boston, Houghton Mifflin ,1964, p. 477

Many scholars in the West are studying administration in developing countries, and attempting to evolve a theory of Public Administration, which is universal in character, and not bound or limited to a particular country. As Riggs says: "the logic of comparative analysis has now driven us, step by step, toward theory, toward the self-conscious attempt to formulate propositions and hypotheses about politico-administrative behaviour which can be tested by the wealth of data from different societies which has begun to accumulate" (p. 403). Through various articles and his earlier book "The Ecology of Public Administration" (Asia Publishing House, 1961), Riggs had made an important contribution to the study of administration in developing countries.

The book under review also contains his many articles published in various journals during the period of the last ten years. Riggs believes in empirical analysis, and an ecological approach to the study of ad-

ministrative behaviour. He is concerned with theory as contrasted with case and country studies (though he has made penetrating studies of the societies of Siam, Philippines, Thailand etc.). He builds models for the study of developing societies. A model refers to any "structure of symbols and operating rules" which we think has a counterpart in the real world. According to Riggs "If the model is well chosen, it helps us understand the phenomenon to which it is applied, if poorly chosen, it leads to misunderstanding. Hence the degree to which our studies of public administration in transitional societies can lead to confusion or clarity may depend, in large measure, upon the appropriateness of the models we employ". (p.5)

After criticizing the adequacy of existing models, he puts forward the "Prismatic model" and the "Sala model" for the study of administration in developing countries and their bureaucracies. His position throughout the book is that transi-

tional societies, developing countries, are to a great extent prismatic. (He clearly says that to call a society prismatic is not equivalent to calling it transitional or underdeveloped). Specifically, according to Riggs Contemporary China, India, Egypt, Nigeria, Columbia—are "countries which could be classified as somewhat prismatic, although in different degree" (p.32). The distinguishing characteristic of transitional societies is a mixture of old and new practices, of modern ideas superimposed upon traditional ones. Heterogeneity is a distinctive quality of any prismatic system. In particular, the more prismatic a society, the more intermixed its "Administrative" structures are with its social, economic, political and cultural aspects" (p. 99). Hence an adequate understanding of the administrative sub-system as such can only be obtained by penetrating other non-administrative sub-systems which are not only intertwined with the administrative but, indeed, merely form different aspect of a single larger, more comprehensive "complex" or "syndrome". "...we cannot hope to understand administration in transitional societies, where the interdependence of structures is prismatic in character, without taking into account the impact of formally non-administrative upon the administrative institutions". (p. 426)

To study administration in such societies, Riggs builds his Prismatic model. He takes help from Physics and the analysis of light and builds up "diffracted" and "fused" models. According to him some societies resemble the fused model and others the diffracted model; and explaining his prismatic model, he says: "using the original context from which our metaphor comes, let us imagine a prism through which fused white light passes to emerge diffracted upon a screen, as a rainbow spectrum.

Can we imagine a situation within the prism where the diffraction process starts but remains incomplete? The separate colours, though differentiated, are captive, imprised. Let us, for a lack of better word, refer to such a stage as Prismatic". (p. 27). The 'prismatic' concept is useful for studying intermediate situations; and the prismatic model "...as an abstraction, offers a set of interrelated concepts and propositions which, hopefully, will explain some of the reasons, indeed the necessity, for patterns of administrative behaviour which perplex and frustrate both indigenous leaders and foreign experts." (p. 99). After evolving the model, the author devotes his attention to the analysis, interpretation and explanation of the administrative systems of the developing countries in particular he devotes his attention to prismatic personnel administration, fiscal policy, administrative communication and organizational structure.

Riggs is concerned with the weight of bureaucratic power in developing countries. "In terms of the prismatic model, however, it seems clear that bureaucrats often do exercise considerable power and that they have specifically bureaucratic expediency interests. Since administrators are necessary if the complex rules of an industrialized society are to be implemented, a crucial problem posed for every developing polity is how to bring its bureaucrats under sufficiently effective control guarantee their reliability as instruments of public policy." (p. 262)

Prismatic bureaucrats are called "Sala officials" or sala men (derived from the Spanish word Sala which is often used for a government office in Latin-American countries). The characteristics of the Sala Model are:

- (1) Corruption becomes institutionalised in the Sala (p. 270)
- (2) In the prismatic model although selection is based, formalistically, on examinations, the characteristic result is nepotism (p. 273)
- (3) Given a choice between loyalty and competence in a subordinate, the Sala official chooses loyalty.
- (4) Appointing officers are more interested in the impact of appointments on their own power position than on the administrative consequences. (p. 273)

The opinions expressed by Riggs about the role and relationship of political parties, the bureaucracy and the legislature do not stand true in the case of India. (pp. 226-237). The following observation is typical of his statement on this very important problem. He states:

"Legislatures dominated by the official 'party' become nothing more than an official seal to legitimate the will of the bureaucratic elite. We cannot expect such a body to formulate rules and impose them upon the administrative machine. Instead, it becomes a "legislative drafting service" which helps put the finishing touches on 'laws' originating within the bureaucracy itself" (p. 232). Prof. W.H. Morris Jone's study of Indian Parliament contains enough material to refute the opinions of Riggs about the relationship of Parties, Legislature and Bureaucracy in India.

The book suffers from two defects. First, lack of continuity of arguments and logic is inherent in a book which is a collection of

articles written over a period of ten years. Second, terms have been borrowed from Physics, Anthropology, Psychology and Economics. Riggs is a great believer in the inter-disciplinary or pan-disciplinary approach to the analysis of prismatic systems. "The administrative phenomena....are so closely enmeshed in--indeed, a part of non-administrative behaviour is that he (a student) must combine insights into political, economic, social and psychological aspects of society in order to comprehend what he sees. We need, in other words, not just inter-disciplinary cooperation, but a pan-disciplinary approach." (p. 52). In the guise of a pan-disciplinary approach, Riggs borrows terms (even coined unnecessary terms) which make simple things complex. This, however, does not rob the book of its importance. The inter-disciplinary approach for the study of complex social phenomena is accepted by a large number of modern social scientists. Riggs has rightly stressed the importance of a comparative study of administration. But a pertinent question is how far his model is applicable to what he has referred to as the prismatic societies of contemporary China, India, Egypt, etc. Dissimilarities among these various societies are more basic and fundamental than the similarity of 'the mixture of old and new practices' and 'the superimposition of modern ideas upon traditional ones.' Developing countries came into contact with French, Dutch and Anglo-Saxon cultures. The French, Dutch and British tried to mould their colonies in different regions of Asia and Africa according to their own cultures and political heritage. The result is that we find various 'types' of developing countries. Hence, one single model seems to be inadequate for the study of even the so called 'prismatic' societies.

Rigg's attempt to provide a theoretical framework for making a study of administration in developing countries is certainly an important

contribution. However, many of his hypotheses need to be tested, specially with reference to Indian conditions.

C. P. BHAMBHRI

*FOREIGN ENTERPRISE IN INDIA : LAWS AND POLICIES;* By MATTHEW J. KUST, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1964, p. 498, \$10.00.

"Foreign Enterprise in India—Law & Policies" is a study addressed mainly to foreign entrepreneurs. Its aim is to describe and analyse Government laws and policies relating to foreign participation in India's economic development and to clarify factors that impede or favour such participation.

Beginning his study with an historical background and a brief description of the planning process, Mr. Kust analyses all those policies relating to business and trade which affect the interests of the foreign businessman : The nature of large-scale business organization in India, taxation, licensing, regulation and control of industries, and the legal framework relating to protection of property and business rights. More than half of this large volume is devoted to these subjects.

Mr. Kust's methods of analysis is oriented to the needs of "Foreign Enterprise". The "legal environment" is the mirror through which, foreign capital sees and appreciates the Indian environment. Hence, laws relating to the Government policies on economic development are described in great detail. The significance of the enactments and their implications are brought out through documented annotations from the

several official texts, and ministerial pronouncements. In this extensive and analytical description a businessman can identify for himself the forces that impede or favour his participation in Indian Economic Development. The result of this kind of analysis is a large volume of about 500 pages, divided into 15 chapters, followed by exhaustive notes and a comprehensive index.

Although the book is cast in the context of "Nehru's India", the value of Mr. Kust's analysis, as of now, is undiminished. His references to and the observations on the Indian legal system, the competence of the Indian Administrative System, the role of the public enterprise manager, the future of private enterprise, the basis of industrial regulation, the disadvantages of cent percent foreign ownership, the flexible legal framework of the Indian Company Law are of relevance even today. Their significance is unaltered.

Mr. Kust's study is a gently persuasive presentation of Indian policies to that highly sensitive and much sought after group, the "Foreign Enterprises". Do they respond ?

S. SUBBARAMAIAH

*THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL OVERHEAD CAPITAL IN INDIA 1950-60*; By J.M. HEALEY, 1965, Bombay, Indian Branch, Oxford University Press, p. 180.

The study is confined to three major components of social overhead capital, viz., transport, power and irrigation. The first three chapters of the book are devoted to a discussion of some general issues relating to the size, distribution and financing of public overhead investment in India. A comparison between the trends in public investment in India in the pre-war and post-war period shows the increasing importance of public investment as a lever for economic development. An analysis of the government investment and government savings shows that government saving forms a rapidly declining proportion of gross public investment between 1951 and 1959. Partly this is accounted for by the increasing cost of civil administration and partly by the failure of the surplus earnings of public undertakings to emerge as a viable source of public savings with the expansion of investment in public sector. A detailed study of the financial policy of the public utility undertakings in electricity, irrigation and transport supports this conclusion (Chapter III).

The next four chapters are devoted to a study of some aspects of development of transport in India during the last decade. Attention is mainly focussed on the railways notwithstanding the fact, as the author has himself shown that during the period of 1951-59, gross as well as net investment in road transport was higher than that in the railways. The reason may presumably be lying in the inadequacy of material on road transport.

The discussion of the railways begins with a resume of the demand and availability of freight carriage

facilities during the last decade. The reasons for the severe strains on the railways in regard to goods traffic during 1954-56 are analysed. The principal factor on the demand side was a sharp rise in the average haul of freight brought about in turn, mainly, by a rise in the average haulage distance of coal, iron and steel products and foodgrains. On the supply side, the main constraints were the decline in investment in the railways and fall in locomotive capacity during the period in question (Chapter IV). A more detailed analysis of the supply factors shows that the investment policy of the railways reflected : (i) a mis-allocation of investment in new assets between passenger and freight traffic; and (ii) an unwarranted emphasis on replacement of capital assets at a rather critical juncture of economic development (Chapter V). A statistical investigation of the factors on the demand side reveals that on the whole it was possible for the planning authorities to predict the demand for freight traffic during the last decade with a fair degree of precision. Possibly they did make fairly realistic estimates in this regard, but the production targets on the basis of which these estimates made were not realized (Chapter VI).

In regard to road transport, attention is mainly focussed on three points. It is shown that in spite of relatively low priority given to road transport in the public sector investments, aggregate investment in road transport during 1951-59 was higher than that in the railways. An examination of the vehicle operation costs on different types of surfaces shows that the allocation of public investment between

defferent metallised road surfaces during 1951-59 was economically justified. The need for better maintenance of unmetalled road surfaces is stressed and to that end a greater measure of co-ordination between State Public works Departments, autonomous local bodies and the community development administration is recommended (Chapter VII).

The last three chapters of the book deal with some aspects of development of irrigation and the employment of everating potentialities of public sector investments with special reference to investment in irrigation and multi-purpose river valley projects. The reasons for the tendency of the actual costs to exceed the estimated costs are investigated in detail. It appears that inadequate geological and technical investigation of projects in the early stages contributes more towards it than changes in input-prices (Chapter VII).

An examination of the public investment programmes from the viewpoint of their employment-generating capacity reveals that the proportion of expenditure on labour in the aggregate public investment recorded a decline between the first and the second Plans. While this was inevitable consequent upon the greater emphasis on capital intensive investments in the Second Plan, a somewhat larger allocation of funds for labour-intensive projects could have significantly increased the utilization of returns from the

capital intensive projects (Chapter IX). Further, the opportunities for using labour-intensive techniques in the execution of projects were not fully explored. The available information on costs of different techniques in executing irrigation and multi-purpose river valley projects suggest that simpler more labour-using methods need not turn out to be more costly than the relatively complicated methods involving use of complex machines (Chapter X).

The book provides a penetrating analysis of some of the somewhat neglected aspects of the public sector investments during the last decade. The last two chapters of the book should be of special interest to policy makers. In the context of the scope of the work (as defined in the Introduction of the book), the treatment, however, appears to be somewhat lopsided in that too much of space has been devoted to transport while, the development of power has not received adequate attention. Further, it would have been better if the author had tried to weave his analysis around a central theme. The absence of an overall focus, however, has one advantage in that it enables each chapter to be read independently of the other.

The author deserves to be congratulated for his neat style and lucid exposition.

G. P. KESHAVA

## BOOK NOTES

*CORE PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*; By Shashi Ranjan Tewari, Lucknow, Asiatic Printing Press, 1967, p. 99, Rs. 5.50

This is by no means an ordinary publication though its size and the fact that the author is his own publisher may indicate so. This is a collection of four brilliant essays written by the author Sri Shashi Ranjan Tewari on: (1) Review of Some Administrative Concepts in Vogue in the Indian Administration; (2) Problems of Democratic Participation in the Panchayati Raj of U.P.; (3) A Theoretical Framework for Financial Administration; and (4) Conditions of the Service of the Civil Servants (Executive) and the Grievance Procedures in India. The first essay on administrative concepts is his master-piece. The author has shown a very unconventional approach on this issue. To quote him "In India, it may be traced that the departmental bureaucrats since the days of Lord Curzon, identify their authority with the power granted to the positions which they hold either as Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary or the Director. Naturally to them, authority stems from their superior Status to which they impart their rich experience, wisdom and influence. Having put too much premium on their individual wisdom rather than on the co-operative rational action calling forth both vertical as well as horizontal co-operation of the workers in the organization, they tend to assume too much authority on their positions to reconcile with needed democratic response." He has suggested that "Concept of Authority" should be deemed to

convey the needs of recognition and acceptance by the employees. It should recognize human values and inspire respect and confidence. It is therefore of urgent consideration that the rules and regulations of the Department accommodate this new concept in a formal form". Similarly, regarding concept of responsibility he observes that "Concept of Responsibility should include emphasis on the role of the Executive Officers in helping the employees to understand the importance of responsibility as a personal virtue as well as an organizational necessity. A responsible person may only become a responsible functionary. The acceptance of this idea should hold good for all employees at all levels. It is, therefore, necessary to incorporate these morals in the conduct and conditions of services prescribed for the employees". About "Idea of Control" he observes "However deft and detailed may be the mechanism of making the employees at different levels report and register the progress of their work, unless the habit of responsible voluntary communication is devised, it will not be possible to reinforce meaningful control in a human organization. For example, only approach to "performance budgeting" may answer all the difficulties of control in the flow of expenditure in Plan programmes".

The second essay on Problems of Democratic Participation in the Panachayati Raj of U.P. cannot

however, he said to be as good as the first one. It is largely narrative, in which the focus is on a very narrow topic, *viz.*, financial functions. The author has not any original ideas to contribute. The third essay is again a very useful contribution. So much has been written in India on the applied side of financial administration—but little has been written so far as the theoretical framework is concerned. If one may say so, the author has brought to bear a pure public administration approach to the financial administration as against the public finance one—which most of the writers adopt. But the author could have easily avoided burdening the essay with a large number of definitions. Such a treatment in any case ill-fits a reflective writing, which he attempts to do. So far as the views on this subject are concerned, the author suggests that "very broadly, there may be two groups of executives.... One generally termed as administrators, competent to understand and initiate the processes of financial administration and the other, the economists who are generally required to assist the top executives with the appraisal of economic possibilities and trends. The former are deemed to be conversant with budgeting, accounting, auditing and inspection of these processes and control while the latter are required to equip themselves with the theoretical economics which has to be applied in the perspective of certain given policy."

On problems of co-ordination to financial administration he says, "An attempt should be made to seek a consultative approach to such coordinative measures where advice and expertise of the Ministry of Finance should hold good rather than a motion may be driven home to the administrative ministries that the Ministry of Finance plays a

mandatory role. It is better to invoke Cabinet Democracy in such administrative exigencies."

The last essay on condition of service is rather sketchy. At one place he observes "An anatomy of government organization has to precede the analysis of the functions undertaken by the officials. The organization of the Government of India is monocratic. It is in organization staffed with a galaxy of senior officers who are deemed to be responsible for elevating most of the decisions in formal legal term to the apex of the organization. The result is that the process of decision-making tend to be shortened and limited to nominal informative notes. As a matter of fact, administrative decision-making should be located in the proximity of field offices. Instead of the above, decision-making in our country is reinforced by diluted form of distant communication dominating the working of the top executives whose ability may be unquestioned but whose sources of information reflect drawing room preparations. In addition to that, they breathe an air of ministerial affirmation, hardly realizing that the political policy has to be after all judged within the perspective of its administrability. It is nevertheless, preposterous to ignore the fact that the officers are in the best position to understand the hints of the Ministers whose views on a new policy are incoherent at the inception." The first part of the above observation seems to be based on inadequate understanding of the role of the Secretariat. The essay has, however, usefully brought out the problems created by the variation in the interpretation of rules pertaining to the conditions of service by different courts. All in all, the book is worth reading and musing by all students of public administration in India.

*1965 REPORT ON THE WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POPULAR PARTICIPATION AND MOTIVATION FOR DEVELOPMENT*, Department of Economics and Social Affairs, the United Nations, New York, 1966, p. 90.

The Economic and Social Council, of the U.N. in a resolution decided that an analytic Report on the World Social Situation should be issued biennially, beginning in 1963, covering, in alternate editions, social conditions and social programmes, on the one hand, and urgent comprehensive social problems, on the other. The present report, the second in the new series, is concerned with practical methods of promoting social change and introducing new practices both of production and consumption at the local level for the purpose of economic and social development.

Part I of the report begins with a brief review of recent social trends, noting in particular the obstacle to social change and development during the first half of the Development Decade and factors that may help explain reluctance to adopt change or to participate in development efforts at the local level. Subsequent chapters of this section deal with such aspects as strategies in the introduction of social change and development at the local level, channels and methods of information and communication, the role of education, traditional values and institutions and new organizational requirements, the role of local government and local leadership, the administrative system and local planning as instruments of change. Part II takes a sectoral approach and discusses incentives in industry and agriculture.

A few conclusions and recommendations of this useful and pioneering U.N. efforts would merit mention. These are:

1. Much development policy and planning today is an exercise

carried out in the national capital, with little connexion with the local population in either the planning or the implementation. A large potential for popular co-operation and action in development remains unrealized.

2. Governments may find it useful, taking account of the issues discussed in this report, to undertake their own appraisal of the obstacles that impede local and national efforts at development, with particular attention to the adequacy of existing institutions and organizational arrangements and the possibilities of increasing popular participation.
3. Much more could also be done to develop local leadership and make it a partner in social change. A complementary approach therefore to the use of student services would be a programme designed to identify and train suitable individuals, of either sex, in each local community to act as animators and leaders of social change, while at the same time efforts would be made to establish an institutional basis for developing representative local leadership.
4. Action would seem desirable in a number of countries in the form of managerial training for officials of the administration concerned with planning and development in the different sectors and at the different levels of government. The purpose of such

training would be to establish a common core of knowledge and attitude.

- The administrators' attitudes assume crucial importance in programmes whose success depends upon popular participation. Established patterns of authority and official behaviour do not change overnight but awareness of the problem can do something

to change the attitudes of officials, while special training schemes can be used to reinforce change in the desired direction. It would be valuable to include in the general training of development staff—from front-line workers to senior administrators—some understanding of the personal and institutional factors affecting the participation of people in change.

*POLICY CIRCULARS : CO-OPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL MARKETING AND PROCESSING*, National Co-operative Development Corporation, New Delhi, 1966, p. viii+478.

*POLICY CIRCULARS : CO-OPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SUPPLIES AND STORAGE*, National Co-operative Development Corporation, New Delhi, 1966, p. vi+164.

The Agricultural Administration Committee, which submitted its report in October 1958, recommended that the time had come when the organization of supply of fertilizers, improved seeds, insecticides and agricultural implements should be separated from the extension and technical functions of the agriculture department and transferred to co-operative organizations in the States. The National Development Council Resolution of November, 1958 on co-operative policy also laid considerable stress on co-operatives undertaking supply of agricultural production requisites.

At the national level with regard to co-operative development in the agricultural sector including co-operative credit, marketing and processing of agricultural produce the responsibility of laying down policy and programme has been entrusted to Department of Cooperation (Central Government), National Co-operative Development Corporation and other central agencies who have been communicating from time to time in this regard with the various

State Governments/Registrars of Co-operative Societies and others concerned.

Such policies and procedures have been, from time to time, communicated to the State Governments/Registrars of Co-operative Societies through circular letters emanating from the Union Department of Co-operation and the National Co-operative Development Corporation (and its predecessor—the National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board).

In the present two columns the NCDC has compiled various such circulars of importance for the ready reference and guidance of all those who are concerned with formulation of policies and implementation of programmes at various levels. The first volume contains circulars on subjects such as :

- (i) Co-operative Agricultural Marketing (Covering Structure and Finance of such societies, marketing practices

and personnel, diversification of function of marketing societies, Credit and marketing, Inter-State Export trade, etc.);

- (ii) Co-operative Agricultural Processing (Planning, promotion and organization, financing of block capital requirements, etc.—excluding co-operative sugar factories);
- (iii) Co-operative Marketing and Processing of Specific Crops such as foodgrains, cotton, fruits and vegetables, plantation crops, Jute etc.;
- (iv) Co-operative Sugar Factories (Organization and Management, Licensing, Financing etc. of such factories).

The other Volume has been devoted to policy circulars on

*DECISION MAKERS IN A GRAMDAN VILLAGE*; By Dr. Raghurai Gupta, 1966, pp. 88.

*REPORT ON FAMILY PLANNING, COMMUNICATION ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT—PILOT PHASE*, 1966, p. 296.

*A REPORT ON BORING ORGANISATION* (*cyclostyled*), 1967, p. 25.

*SOME RESEARCH EXPERIMENT IN PUBLIC HEALTH ENGINEERING*; By S.P. Arora (*cyclostyled*), 1966, p. 115.

*REPORT ON SOIL CONSERVATION THROUGH PEOPLE'S EFFORTS*, By Ramsurat Singh, (*cyclostyled*), 1967, p. 37.

*A CURRENT APPRAISAL OF APPLIED NUTRITION PROGRAMME IN U.P.*, 1966. (*cyclostyled*). p. 32. (Published by Planning Research and Action Institute, Lucknow.)

The Planning Research and Action Institute, Lucknow, deserves to be congratulated for bringing out the aforesaid useful studies. It was set up in 1954 as an agency of the U.P. Government for trial to new ideas in social and economic

Co-operative Agricultural Supplies and Storage. These circulars have been grouped under the following two heads :

(i) Agricultural Supplies through Co-operatives (such as Chemical fertilizers, Improved seeds, Agricultural implements, Pesticides and insecticides, iron, steel and cement, and Consumer articles);

(ii) Co-operative Storage (such as godowns and cold storage.)

From the public administration point of view, these two volumes are a storehouse of information on the implementation of agricultural policies and administration. By publishing this circular the N.C.D.C. has done a service to educate not only co-operative societies but public at large on the administrative process in this field.

field Pilot Projects, the present series is documentations of both process and results of the carefully and deliberately organized Action Research Programmes.

The Study "Decision-makers in a Gramdan Village analysis, how

socio economic changes take place and what goes on behind the facade of a formal decision. The study reveals that the community at large wields little influence on the nature of decisions. To a large extent it does nothing more than endorse what has already been decided by the elite. Behind the "consensus" and formal democratic procedures there is practically no real participation on the part of the individuals.

The elite exercises its control over the community as a whole through an "understructure". While the leaders from the higher caste-cum-class group take the actual decisions, the "understructure" leaders representing lower castes and classes merely play the role of mobilizing support of their followers in favour of these decisions at the behest of their acknowledged patrons in the higher caste-cum-class groups.

This study also shows the enormous opportunities available to "outsiders" to initiate change. Their effectiveness depends upon their independence of the existing institutions and their reputation as "ascetics" and idealists. When this independence and idealism is combined with functional and technological expertise, the villagers' admiration borders on awe, and the influence of these outsiders gains ascendancy over that of the local decision-makers.

The second study aims at a measurement of the impact of the family planning programmes in certain selected villages in U.P. It attempts to visualize:

- (i) Involvement and role of village leadership in Family Planning,
- (ii) Identification of acceptors and non-acceptors and

criteria of acceptance of methods, and

*(iii) Organization and conduction of vasectomy camps.*

The study has made a number of systems regarding development of leadership for family planning programmes in U.P. villages, making the Family Planning Committees more useful. Training of leaders, provision of services and supplies needed for the programme—which will definitely be found useful by those engaged in the execution of Family Planning Programmes.

The Third study aims at finding out why the performance of boring mechanics was not comparable to the target fixed by the Government.

The fourth study deals with problems of environmental sanitation, particularly:

*(i) Rural drains, (ii) Study of use of P.R.A.I. type community latrines, (iii) Improved Smokeless Chulhas (Rural), and (iv) Investigation into chulhas for Urban homes.*

The fifth study is a report on a pilot development project for soil conservation which has started in Etawah in 1948 in response to an urgent need of the area. The study points out that soil conservation programmes should be conceived essentially as a peoples' programme. While advantage may be taken of the provisions of the soil conservation act of the importance of voluntary participation through a properly planned programme of soil conservation, education can not be ignored.

The last study deals with an appraisal of the Applied Nutrition Programme which has four main aspects, viz., (i) Training of officials

and non-officials in principles of nutrition, (ii) Public education to provide better knowledge of nutrition through publicity, camps and demonstrations, (iii) Increased production of nutritionally valuable

foods and crops, and (iv) Increased consumption of protective foods and improved food preparation and preservation of the same. The last two studies, it must be said are somewhat sketchy.

*JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY STUDIES*, Quarterly, New Delhi, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Annual Rs. 15.

The publication of this quarterly Journal by the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi, will be whole-heartedly welcomed by all those who are interested in the study of Indian Constitutional and Parliamentary developments. According to its sponsors, "The Journal is intended to serve as an independent forum of discussion on problems and prospects of parliamentary democracy and legislature institutions and to foster broad-based civic education and awareness in the country. It is our aim to make the Institute's Journal a vehicle of advanced and specialized study of comparative constitutional and parliamentary procedures". The

object of the Journal as that of the Institute sponsoring it is to disseminate democratic values and foster popular understanding of free institutions at different levels.

Besides articles and book reviews, the Journal promises to carry two regular features, viz., notes on constitutional and parliamentary developments and case comments. Many current topics of constitutional and parliamentary import have been dealt with effectively under the head "Notes" in the first issue which will undoubtedly prove to be of great value to students and researchers. The printing and get-up of the Journal are good.

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**SPECIAL NUMBER**  
**ON**  
**ADMINISTRATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION**

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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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## Editorial Note

We have ordinarily some difficulty in selecting a suitable subject for the special issue of the Journal we bring out every year. This time the subject was pre-determined by the circumstances. Two successive years of drought, unprecedented in the present century in its combination of extensive spread with severity, have had traumatic effect on the Indian mind. The crucial importance of agriculture to the economic progress of a country where nearly half the national income is generated in the agricultural sector and about 70 per cent of the working force earns its livelihood from that industry, was always recognised, even if the recognition did not have, on our policies, plans and programmes, the appropriate degree of influence. We now see rapid modernisation and development of agriculture as an essential condition of any sort of civilised existence for our people. We trust that in bringing out this special issue with contributions on the various aspects of food production from persons of exceptional competence in their respective fields, we are meeting a widely-felt and urgent need for knowledge, understanding and perspective on the practical issues to be faced now and in the coming years.

We have given to this issue a restricted title. The contributions, however, inevitably cover a wider field even though the focus remains on administration. It is impossible to consider the problems of administration of food production without reference to the strategy to be followed. Organisation and management are part of administration in the wider sense, so also the inter-relationship and coordination of

different programmes. We have suffered in the past by looking at different problems of food production in relative isolation. Occasionally, we have even put our faith in a nostrum. It has, therefore, been our endeavour to bring together in this issue articles on a wide range of major problems connected with food production.

Coordination of policies and programmes presents exceptional difficulties in a federal or quasi-federal constitutional system. The difficulties are greatly increased when there is a combination of the cabinet form of government with such a system. Both at the Centre and in the States several Ministries and Departments are concerned with food production in one way or another, and the Ministries and Departments do not automatically move in step in India or elsewhere. And then there is the problem of coordination between the Centre and the States. With all the will to cooperate and adjust, delays in such a situation cannot always be avoided. But if the will is there, and the requisite skill, the impediments to coordination and speedy action can be removed. The will is certainly there now, and a particularly hopeful fact today is the virtual unanimity of opinion which exists in the matter of production of food whatever differences between the Centre and the States, and between one State and another, there might be about its procurement and distribution.

In the districts—and that is where food is produced—some doubts and differences about administration linger on. The political and administrative mind in India has for years been somewhat schizophrenic on certain issues. Should the District Collector be made fully responsible for the administration of the food production programme, or should the responsibility be divided among the heads of the technical departments in the district, that is the irrigation engineers, agricultural scientists, etc., with the Collector providing, if at all, only a modicum of coordination? There has been a great deal of debate and discussion. The issue has often been posed as one of the virtues of the generalist administrator against those of the technical expert. Not all the States have come to the same conclusion or made an identical arrangement.

There is a view that neither the District Collector nor the district heads of technical departments should have the responsibility for

carrying out the food production programme, but that the responsibility should vest in the elected panchayati bodies. This is not merely a theoretical view but one that has been acted upon in some States.

The idea of administrative uniformity has an almost obsessive power on many Indian minds. This is particularly unfortunate, for it is exceedingly difficult to achieve uniformity in administrative matters in a country of the size and diversity of India, and the practical result of pursuit of uniformity is often delay in taking decisions or unsatisfactory compromise. It would be far more conducive to progress if diversity in these matters were accepted as a normal state of affairs and experimentation were even positively encouraged.

There is, all round, an extraordinary feeling of hope and buoyancy about agricultural progress and many of those most qualified to judge think that a break-through has started and that the coming years are likely to witness advances which even a year ago were considered outside the realm of practical possibilities. A great deal of skill, boldness and resilience would be necessary in administration and organisation if these expectations are to be realised.

October 18, 1967.

*Editor*



## THE STRATEGY OF FOOD PRODUCTION

*B. Sivaraman*

THE intellectuals of the world are talking today of the food famine in the early eighties of the century, if the present trend of population growth and the inability of the developing countries to feed themselves continues. The problem has been stated many times over. As a developing country, we are in the list of possible catastrophe in the early eighties. It is against this background that we have to discuss the strategy of food production. This strategy has to be Indian, though it can certainly be based on experience gained in other countries.

Food has many connotations. The intellectual talks of the balanced food requirement for proper growth of a human being. He distinguishes between the manual worker and the brain worker and talks about calorific requirements and the balance between carbohydrates, proteins, vitamins, micro-nutrients, etc. To him food is an intellectual exercise. He talks glibly of the protein value of rat's meat and wonders why the poor Indian would rather starve than survive by eating the equally starving bovines which, according to him, are a drag on the economy of the country. Food for the well-to-do is what is *au fait* with the times and what are the right things to eat. These are the innovators who break through tradition. The middle class of a developing country, who can afford variations in the basic diet because of marginal affluence, are generally overwhelmed by conditions of status, and their food reflects the status requirements of the age. Food for the majority, which is underprivileged in a developing country, means what they can afford out of the traditional food. It is worth repeating here what the Advisers of the President of the United States have recently advised the President in their Report on World Food Problem about this:

"The obstacles by traditional culture, social structure, religious beliefs, and the long established habits and customs of many developing countries are rarely considered in truly realistic terms."

Food in a country in an age is tradition bound and status bound. This is particularly true of India today. The wants in the eighties

require that all possible avenues of food in the larger sense are exploited. Unless the consumer is prepared for a change in his diet, it is also obvious that mere production of food without relation to preferences will not solve the problem of food. A change cannot come unless there is a sustained move from the powers that be, in the right direction.

In today's economy, agricultural produce comprises the bulk of food in India—cereals and pulses, vegetables and fruits. The Plan formulators consider that the *per capita* requirement of cereals in 1970-71 should be of the order of 15.2 ozs. per diem and in 1975-76 16 ozs. per diem. The target for pulses is 2.8 ozs. per adult per diem in 1970-71 and 3 ozs. in 1975-76. Vegetables, which include potatoes and fruits, are only of marginal value in the diet, as far forward as 1975-76. These forecasts of requirements are based on the known preferences of the population for certain types of diet and their expected demand, on the basis of income elasticity for this type of food. Food products of animal husbandry like milk, fats and meat will form a minor fraction of the food consumed in 1975-76. The diet will be protein deficient and far from a balanced diet. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, in his address at Kerala in 1966, has drawn attention to the constituents of the Indian diet *vis-a-vis* the diets of other countries in carbohydrate content and protein content. The table reproduced on the next page from his address is significant.

One significant feature in these statistics is the role tubers play in many foreign countries in making up the carbohydrate content of food. Potatoes form a significant part of the diet in many countries. Our cereal consumption is out of proportion to what developed countries consume. We want to increase it further. There is a vast protein deficiency either in vegetable protein or animal protein in our diet.

The cost of production of various types of food is of great significance in meeting the food hunger of the masses. Food may be available in plenty, but unless the masses have the wherewithal to purchase the food in sufficient quantity, the hunger remains. The Advisers of the President of the United States, in their Report on the World Food Problem, have drawn attention to the linked problems in the following words :

"It costs money to produce food, however, and someone must pay the bill. Therefore, no matter what the physiological need may be, the production of food is controlled by effective market demand ... aggregate income must grow at a rate which permits consumers to purchase the projected food requirements."

Per Capita Availability of Food in India and Other Countries  
(in gram per person per day at retail level)\*

| <i>Item</i>                            | <i>India</i> | <i>Under-developed countries†</i> | <i>Developed countries‡</i> | <i>World</i> |
|----------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| (1)                                    | (2)          | (3)                               | (4)                         | (5)          |
| Cereals .. .. .. .. 375                | 393          | 328                               | 370                         |              |
| Starchy roots .. .. .. .. 30           | 229          | 316                               | 227                         |              |
| Sugar .. .. .. .. 45                   | 26           | 88                                | 47                          |              |
| Pulses and nuts .. .. .. .. 65         | 50           | 16                                | 42                          |              |
| Fruits and vegetables .. .. .. .. 80   | 191          | 362                               | 227                         |              |
| Meat .. .. .. .. 4                     | 37           | 152                               | 67                          |              |
| Fish .. .. .. .. 7                     | 28           | 34                                | 27                          |              |
| Eggs .. .. .. .. 1                     | 5            | 33                                | 12                          |              |
| Milk and milk products .. .. .. .. 140 | 64           | 573                               | 228                         |              |
| Fats and oils .. .. .. .. 11           | 12           | 47                                | 22                          |              |
| Calories .. .. .. .. 1,970             | 2,190        | 3,060                             | 2,420                       |              |
| Animal protein .. .. .. .. 6           | 10           | 44                                | 20                          |              |
| Total protein .. .. .. .. 51           | 60           | 90                                | 68                          |              |
| Fats .. .. .. .. 27                    | 36           | 106                               | 56                          |              |
| Overall index of animal food .. 30     | 47           | 233                               | 100                         |              |
| Overall index of total food .. 54      | 70           | 179                               | 100                         |              |

\*Retail level means the foodgrains and other foods available for consumption and excludes that part of production which is not available for consumption due to seed, feed and wastage.

†Includes Far East, Near East, Africa and Latin America excluding River-Plate countries.

‡Includes Europe, North America, Oceania, and the River-Plate countries.

The Indian strategy of food production has to be planned against the background of all these conflicting requirements. Broadly, we may sum up the problem as follows:

- (1) Food in an age is tradition bound and status bound.
- (2) Food to be available to the masses has to be at the right cost, which the economy of the masses can bear.
- (3) The present diet of the Indian is unbalanced and excessive in cereals and very much deficient in proteins, micro-nutrients and vitamins.

The short-term strategy of food production has to take note of the capacity of the country to produce the traditional requirements of food at a fair cost which is acceptable to the consumer. The long-term strategy has to examine the change in the production pattern that is required for a more balanced and economic food packet which can improve the health of the people. The long-term strategy is also to consider how far tradition and status can be overcome towards better economy and better health and what are the forces to be tackled and what are the experiences of ourselves and others in this problem.

#### PAST EXPERIENCE OF PRODUCTION

Many people have doubted the capacity of India to produce its food requirements. The Third Plan period from 1961-1966 was a sad experience to the protagonists self-sufficiency. From a production of 82 million tonnes in 1960-61, the production of cereals and pulses rose to 89 million tonnes in 1964-65, but fell drastically to 72 million tonnes in 1965-66. Though the actual production of 89 million tonnes in 1964-65 was close to the targetted production necessary for self-sufficiency in the country that year, strangely in 1965, we had to import 7.5 million tonnes of foodgrains from outside. The drought of 1965-66 was a drought of the century. The year 1966-67 though a little better than 1965-66, was again the season of the worst ever drought in Bihar, eastern U.P. and parts of Madhya Pradesh. The winter rains kept off. These raised really grave doubts about our capacity to survive. But this experience has also given us an insight into the basic problems of agriculture in the country.

Good agriculture depends on the involvement of a large number of peasants, both proprietors and tenants all over the country, the majority of whom own less than 3 acres of land. In spite of all the propaganda about better cultivation in the Third Plan, the per acre production was at such low levels in many parts of the country that the majority of the

small holders were inefficient producers. They lacked the capacity to invest in inputs for better agriculture. Fertilizers, on which a good part of the programme depended, were at such a high price level that till recently, 3.8 kgs of rice were required to buy 1 kg of nitrogen and the return was 11 kgs of rice per kg of nitrogen. The vagaries of the climate in many parts of the country made it uneconomic and also risky for the small cultivator to improve production by investing in better inputs. The large farmer, who had surplus for better inputs, found labour rates going up whereas his produce fetched only marginally higher prices in the market. The input output ratio was not very favourable for him to take large risks. Thereby though the extension machinery of Government propagated the theory of better inputs, results were not consonant with the efforts made. This brought out forcefully the need for improving the input output ratio to induce the farmer to invest in better agriculture.

The input output ratio can be adjusted either by raising the prices to be paid for the "Food" or by producing more per unit of investment. A high price for food will reduce consumption and lead to a debilitated nation. Prices have to be kept at a level where the general economy enables the weaker sections of the community to get a reasonably nutritive diet. The long-term strategy, therefore, lies in trying for larger production, per acre, per unit of investment. It is also necessary to point out that the price level in the last two years gave a good push to production. The farmer must get an incentive price. The balance, no doubt, will be the problem.

Meanwhile, the research scientists of the country were getting slowly an amount of experience which had the nucleus for the breakthrough. The first double-cross maize hybrids, like Ganga-1, Ganga-101, Ranjit and Deccan, were released for commercial cultivation in the country as far back as 1961. The National Seeds Corporation, formed in 1963, took up as one of its first duties, the production of sufficient double-cross hybrid seeds of maize. The initial experience in putting through the hybrids was heart breaking. The economics of seed production was not in favour of the farmer and the production had to be on States' farms. The farmer was still not willing to pay a high price for the hybrid seed. There was also consumer resistance to the variety. But it was established that these seeds gave a very favourable input output ratio to the farmer and the per acre yield came to more than double the best experience so far of the farmer in this crop. Similar high-yielding hybrids of *Jowar* (CSH-I) was issued in 1964 and *Bajra* (HB-1) in 1965. The National Seeds Corporation planned for a modest programme of seed production in 1966-67. In September,

1964, a few kilograms of seed of the paddy variety Taichung Native-I was brought from the Philippines by Dr. G.V. Chalam, who accompanied the Minister for Food & Agriculture on his tour to the International Rice Research Institute. The seeds were sown in the summer of 1965 at three different places in the country, and the response appeared to be so significant that a seed programme of 168 acres was organized for the Kharif of 1965 by importing some more seed from the Philippines through the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation. In Mysore, in the South Kanara region, the exotic variety of paddy Taichung 65, which is a *japonica* variety, was found to give good yields in the Kharif of 1965. A similar experience with Tainan-3, another *japonica* strain, was gained in Kerala. Dr. Borlaug of the Rockefeller Foundation's Wheat Research Programme in Mexico, who was the pioneer in dwarf Mexican wheat production had sent a number of samples of new dwarf varieties in Mexico to the I.C.A.R. Early in 1965, it was learnt that in the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and the Punjab Agricultural University, a significant increase in wheat yields at high-fertility levels was achieved through the use of Sonora 64 and Lerma Rojo, two dwarf wheat varieties introduced from Mexico. On the strength of these figures, arrangements were made to import 250 tons of this seed from Mexico for a large-scale production in the Rabi season of 1965. Experiments done on improved strains of *Ragi* in the Coimbatore College of Agriculture indicated that certain varieties of *Ragi*, like Co. 7 showed uniform increase in yield on increased application of nitrogen nutrient even up to 100 lbs. of nitrogen. All this experience gave the first inkling that the problem of input output ratio was nearing a solution.

The two droughts brought out four facts. The first was that the irrigation sources considered to be safe for agriculture were found to be wanting in times of greatest distress whereas ground-water resources, wherever available in the form of wells, filter points and tubewells, did yeoman's service. Secondly, the per acre output of cereals and pulses from the entire irrigated acreage was not consonant with the potential of good husbandry. In 1964-65, which was a good year for production, the irrigated area of 59 million acres produced only 29 million tonnes of foodgrains and the balance 60 million tonnes of foodgrains that year was from the rain-fed and dry areas of the country. The average production, per acre, from irrigated area was only about 500 kgs. On the other hand, wherever the farmer utilized his water resources carefully and followed good agronomic practices, the yields in the areas covered by ground-water resources were very significant. In fact, in some areas, the output in the irrigated areas, where water was deficient in 1965-66, gave better yields than in a good year of water availability.

Control of water was found to be a significant part of good agronomy. Thereby, the potential of private ground-water resources suddenly became significant. The third revelation was the utility of short-term high-yielding paddy strains *vis-a-vis* the normal long-term paddy grown in many parts of the Central and North India under the impression that the longer the period the greater the yield. For years, the agricultural administrators have been trying to get it across that, with a rainfall pattern of 3-4 months only in the year, growing a paddy crop of 180 days duration is a big risk. During the droughts the short-term crops did uniformly well as against the long-term, because the drought was in the latter part of the rainy season. Fourthly, all the high-yielding varieties tried out in the fields in 1965-66 in paddy, jowar, bajra or maize, uniformly showed a capacity to drought resistance that the ordinary varieties did not possess.

All these four factors, along with the high prices for foodgrains that prevailed because of short stocks, brought an immediate response from the farmer. His investment in private ground-water resources has been stepped up by leaps and bounds. His investment in fertilizers rose steeply. He has accepted the advice of the agricultural administrator to go in for a short-term high-yielding paddy for his Kharif crop and raise a good second crop wherever water facilities allow for this. He has realized the value of soil and water management and good agronomy, and last but not the least, he has opted whole-heartedly for the high-yielding varieties programme when many scientists and agricultural economists were still sitting on the fence.

#### POTENTIAL FOR PRODUCTION

What is the potential for cereal production in this country on the basis of the existing experience? The high-yielding varieties of cereals are able to give an average yield over large acreage of not less than 1.5 tonnes per acre for wheat, 1.25 tonnes per acre for rice and jowar; 1.33 tonnes per acre for hybrid maize and 0.75 tonnes per acre for bajra. Ordinary intensive cultivation at present can give 0.8 tonnes per acre for rice and wheat and 0.6 tonnes per acre for millets. These are very modest figures. An estimate of the production of foodgrains in 1970-71 from irrigated areas is given in a table on the next page.

By 1970-71, it is expected that 100 million acres gross will be under irrigation out of which 80 million acres will grow foodgrains. On a broad assessment, it is estimated that out of the ultimate potential of net sown area of 350 million acres in this country, only 135 million acres net can be provided with irrigation facilities. By utilizing short-term

Estimates of Production of Foodgrains in 1970-71 from Irrigated Areas

| Foodgrains              | H. V. P.    |      |       | DOUBLE CROPPING |      |      | OTHER IRRIGATED AREA |      |      |
|-------------------------|-------------|------|-------|-----------------|------|------|----------------------|------|------|
|                         | (1)         | (2)  | (3)   | (4)             | (5)  | (6)  | (7)                  | (8)  | (9)  |
|                         |             |      |       |                 |      |      |                      |      |      |
| Rice                    | ..          | 12·5 | 1·25  | 15·63           | 20·0 | 0·8  | 16·0                 | 10·0 | 0·6  |
| Wheat                   | ..          | 8·0  | 1·50  | 12·00           | 2·0  | 0·8  | 1·6                  | 2·0  | 0·5  |
| Jowar                   | ..          | 4·0  | 1·25  | 5·00            | —    | —    | —                    | —    | —    |
| Bajra                   | ..          | 4·0  | 0·75  | 3·00            | 8·0  | 0·6  | 4·8                  | 5·5  | 0·4  |
| Maize                   | ..          | 4·0  | 1·33  | 5·32            | —    | —    | —                    | —    | —    |
| Others                  | ..          | —    | —     | —               | —    | —    | —                    | —    | —    |
| <b>TOTAL FOODGRAINS</b> | <b>32·5</b> | —    | 40·95 | 30·0            | —    | 22·4 | 17·5                 | 0·5  | 9·20 |

| ABSTRACT                        |           |           |           |           |           |           |              |           |           |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| H. V. P. . . . .                | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | 40·95        | ..        | ..        |
| Multiple cropping . . . . .     | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | 22·40        | ..        | ..        |
| Other irrigated areas . . . . . | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | ..        | 9·20         | ..        | ..        |
| <b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>          | <b>..</b> | <b>..</b> | <b>..</b> | <b>..</b> | <b>..</b> | <b>..</b> | <b>72·55</b> | <b>..</b> | <b>..</b> |

high-yielding varieties and ensuring a proper crop rotation, it should be possible to bring at least 65 million acres out of the irrigated area into a second crop production. Thereby, 200 million acres of irrigated cultivation can be achieved in this country, by systematic improvement of irrigation and adding ground-water exploitation. It is reasonable to expect that at least 150 million acres out of this can be reserved for foodgrains. In 1970-71, the projected figures are 80 million acres net, under irrigation, with 100 million acres gross. The rain-fed and dry areas in 1970-71 would be of the order of 260 million acres (net) whereas the ultimate will be 215 million acres. In 1970-71, because of limitation of fertilizers and the need for time for all farmers to adopt new measures, only 40 per cent will be under high-yielding varieties and about 40 per cent under ordinary intensive cultivation and 20 per cent under present practices. Even then, an average of 0.9 tons of foodgrains per acre can be achieved and for the ultimate potential we should take note of the adoption of high-yielding varieties generally and better agronomic practices under intensive agriculture. An average production of 1.25 tonnes per acre is not an over ambitious expectation with present scientific knowledge. It should, therefore, be possible to produce 187.5 million tonnes of foodgrains from the 150 million acres of irrigated cultivation ultimately foreseen at present.

It is necessary to digress here a little and point out that high-yielding varieties require a chemical fertilizer dosage of as much as 200 lbs. plant nutrient and intensive cultivation as much as 100 lbs. per acre. A 150-million acre programme comprising of half intensive and half high-yielding varieties programme will require plant nutrients of the order of 10 million tonnes. Our plans provide for an availability of 4.1 million tonnes nutrient in 1970-71, out of which three-fourths will be used for the intensive and high-yielding varieties programme. With an aggressive indigenous production programme for fertilizers, the target in 2000 A.D. is not beyond our capacity.

At present, 220 million acres of unirrigated area on which dry and rain-fed cultivation is done, produces roughly 48 million tonnes of foodgrains. It is a well-known fact that dry and rain-fed cultivation in the country is based on the food preferences of the population rather than on the capacity of the land to produce that crop. For example, paddy is grown on such marginal lands that the average production can be between 4 and 6 maunds, per acre on a seed rate of as much as 1½ maunds, per acre. It is also our experience that, if a crop suitable to the land and the climatic conditions is grown, a good yield can be obtained. Bajra grows with 10-15 inches of rainfall. Jowar can survive and do well with 25-30 inches

of rainfall. Suitable conservation measures and terracing along with mulching practices can maintain soil moisture as an insurance against drought periods during the rainy season. Broadly, areas with low rainfall and the hilly areas are more suited for millet production than rice or wheat production. The new hybrid millets, being also drought resistant, have shown excellent performance in these dry and rain-fed areas. A package approach of soil conservation, terracing, moisture maintenance and the right type of millet crop for the area can certainly push up the yields of the dry and rain-fed areas very substantially. When we talk of the ultimate production potential, we can certainly say that the knowledge we have got today can, if properly applied, produce double of 49 million tonnes in the dry and rain-fed areas.

Cereals are consumed mainly for carbohydrate content. In many countries, we notice that potato consumption substantially reduces cereal consumption. Meat, fish, poultry, eggs, milk and milk products go towards a balanced diet and reduces dependence on carbohydrates alone for the calorific value in the food. Experience in the two drought years, *viz.*, 1965-66 and 1966-67 shows that the people will take to larger consumption of potatoes if there is a scarcity of cereals. It is also our experience that once a new item is added to the food even by compulsion, gradually it gets accepted. Our experience of wheat consumption in the southern region of the country will prove this fact. With intensive cultivation on land where irrigation facilities are available, a 10-ton yield of potatoes is an ordinary feature. If we refer to the statistics given at p. 434, by large-scale introduction of potatoes in the diet, we can reduce pressure on cereal consumption. Fewer acres of irrigated land will be necessary to produce the same tonnage of potatoes as cereals. This increases the capacity of the country to supply sufficient carbohydrates to the population.

With the scientific knowledge now available and with the optimum utilization of the water resources and optimum exploitation of the dry and rain-fed areas, we can reach a production of 280 million tonnes of foodgrains, including cereals and pulses. The present estimate of foodgrains requirements according to the present patterns of consumption and income elasticity is 120 million tonnes in 1970-71 and 150 million tonnes in 1975-76. If the consumption pattern achieved in 1975-76 holds good for the long-term perspective and if the population control measures have a reasonable impact, the production of 280 million tonnes can suffice far beyond the year 2000 A.D. But we have also to recognize that the foodgrains packet will have a substantial part of millets and new pulses, the consumption of which will have to be developed in the meantime.

### PROTEIN DEFICIENCY

The Indian diet is highly deficient in protein content. Most of the protein that is available today is in the form of vegetable protein, mainly pulses. Animal protein, *viz.*, meat, poultry, eggs, fish, milk and milk products form only a very minor portion of the average diet. If it is possible to increase food production in the protein sector, the diet of the Indian will be more balanced and the pressure on cereal production for human food will go down.

The main form of vegetable protein, which is absorbed in the form of pulses, is one of the items of production which has yet to find a breakthrough. Pulses are mostly grown in the country as a catch crop or a rainy season crop in marginal lands with low rainfall and the average production per acre is very small. With the introduction of the high-yielding cereal varieties and the second crop programme, there is a danger that pulse production may go down. Though there are some signs of high-yielding varieties, it is very doubtful whether pulses can compete with the high-yielding cereals for land allocation. Some of the cereals also contain protein. Bajra is a good example. But, the main problem in vegetable protein from cereals is the lack of particular amino-acids, like lysine, which prevents the human system from absorbing the protein value. Science has recently achieved a breakthrough in breeding, by which some of the important amino-acids can be bred into maize. Experiments in wheat are proceeding. It is not unlikely that the scientist will find an answer to the problem of absorbable proteins in cereals. At the same time, we cannot minimize the problem of finding vegetable proteins as an alternative to the existing pulses.

The pulses requirement for human consumption in 1970-71 and 1975-76 can be extrapolated as follows :

|         | Million tonnes |
|---------|----------------|
| 1970-71 | 16.2           |
| 1975-76 | 20.0           |

The production of pulses during the last five years are given below showing the fluctuations in production depending on the seasons:

|          | Million tonnes |
|----------|----------------|
| 1961-62  | 11.8           |
| 1962-63* | 11.4           |
| 1963-64* | 10.1           |

\*Partially revised estimates.

|          |      |
|----------|------|
| 1964-65* | 12.4 |
| 1965-66† | 10.0 |

\* Partially revised estimates.

† Final estimates.

It is also our experience that average per acre yield of pulses, like cow-peas, field peas and soyabean can be raised to levels which cannot be achieved by the present pulses in use, like a moong, urd and arhar. If the consumer can be persuaded to change over to pulses which can be grown on a larger per acre scale, a part of the problem can be solved. Recent research has shown that deoiled groundnut powder and deoiled kernal of cotton seed are both highly nutritive sources of protein. Experiments in cooking have shown that groundnut powder can substantially replace gram dal powder in edible preparations. This is a source which can substantially meet the demand for vegetable protein, if the consumer acceptability can be built up.

A change-over to animal protein is inevitable with rising national incomes and *per capita* incomes. This is what the general trend in the world shows. At the same time, one unit of absorbable animal protein requires four times the vegetable protein in the nature of feed. The animal is an inefficient transformer of nutrition into protein. On the other hand, the animal can consume feeds which the human being will not eat and thereby there may not be a substantial conflict ; but we have to admit that this fall has not yet been examined in any depth in this country. Poultry, piggery and sheep rearing for mutton, all appear to have good potential in the country. Consumer acceptability for poultry and eggs is developing very rapidly contrary to initial expectation. Strangely, during the last few years, demand for pig meat is also rising. Consumer resistance, owing to social customs, seems to be disappearing fast. In the 1980's we can certainly expect greater utilization of poultry and piggery, subject, may be, only to production capacity. Milk and milk products are readily acceptable, but the production, in the present stage of cattle development in the country, is one of the most difficult. Owing to a long period of development of dual purpose cattle, the milk yielder has not found its place in the breeding programme on its own merits. Breeding schemes have just started on scientific basis for selective milk breeding. This is a slow process and we may not expect spectacular results in the next two decades. Sheep breeding for mutton will certainly be popular and the demand is already evident, but the most probable item of animal protein in the next two decades should be fish.

Though intensive production of fish in the inland waters has been propagated and developed in the last 15 years, the main source of fish,

namely, our coastal waters has not been exploited, even marginally. A lot of work has been done to understand the magnitudes of the problem. Harbour facilities and shore facilities are essential. Efficient trawlers should be able to go out into the sea and remain there for a few days and fish continuously. New types of boats and new techniques and new mechanical competencies are necessary. Now that the magnitudes of the problem are understood, it is expected that in the next two decades fishing in the seas around India can add substantially to the protein diet of the people. At the same time we may not minimize the problems of consumer preference. The main fish-eating population of eastern India prefer inland water fish. Sea fish, which have a good price outside the country, are not appreciated by the consumer. At the sametime, in many markets of the South, sea fish and dried sea fish are accepted by the consumer. It is a matter of price. If effort is taken to market sea fish in the interior markets at reasonable prices, it should be possible to build up within the next two decades a demand for this on a large scale.

#### MICRO-NUTRIENTS AND VITAMINS

Vegetables and fruits are a necessary part of a balanced diet to give the necessary vitamins and micro-nutrients. Thanks to the efforts of the Community Development Organization, vegetable cultivation has spread to the corners of the country. Horticulture has had a boost with a rising demand. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research is organizing co-ordinated research in horticulture in the most important of our fruits. Much more can be organized and done if areas suitable for horticulture concentrated in this field. For example, the northern hill areas can grow fruits, like apples and pears in plenty. If the country can organize a fair distribution of cereals and pulses to them, so that they need not divert good horticultural land to growing their requirements of cereals and pulses, the spread of horticulture will be rapid. Results will obviously take time.

#### HIGHLIGHTS OF THE STRATEGY

In the short term, it will not be realistic to expect too much of a change in the diet pattern in the entire country to warrant playing about with crop patterns which are traditional, or laying stress on new foods. In 1970-71, we require 120 million tonnes of foodgrains, of which 16.2 million tonnes should be in pulses. In 1975-76, we require 150 million tonnes of foodgrains, of which 20 million tonnes should be pulses. The statistics given in previous part of the paper shows that a 120-million tonne production in 1970-71 is quite possible if we utilize the existing

knowledge and keep up the enthusiasm of the farmer. The only uncertain factor will be the pulses production. Unless a break-through in high-yielding varieties of pulses comes up in the near future, it will have to be new varieties of pulses, like cow-peas, field-peas and soya-beans which have to come to the rescue of those depending upon vegetable protein for their protein requirements. Groundnut flour will also have to be exploited sufficiently quickly. If this change in acceptability can be brought about, it will help in the further production of vegetable protein up to 2000 A.D. without any difficulty.

Between 1970-71 and 1975-76 an increase in the gross irrigated acreage of about 25 million acres should look after the increased requirement of 30 million tonnes of foodgrains. Expectations are that high-yielding varieties will be grown on a much larger percentage of irrigated area than in 1970-71 and the balance area would be used for intensive cultivation and not haphazard cultivation. The short-term strategy should, therefore, concentrate on pushing through the packages of practices for scientific agriculture, based on water use, high-yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Some amount of adjustment in the types of pulses consumed will be useful.

Let us have a look at the long-term requirements. We have to add about 75 million acres gross to the irrigated area, between 1975-76 and 2000 A.D. There are five quinquenniums and an average increase of 15 million acres gross per quinquennium is certainly not beyond the country's capacity. Summing up the various suggestions made in the previous parts of this paper, we have to aim at :

- (1) increasing millet consumption in the cereal diet of the country;
- (2) increasing consumption of tubers in the diet so that carbohydrate requirements can be met from less acres of production;
- (3) getting the population to accept newer varieties of pulses and alternatives, like groundnut powder and cotton seed protein;
- (4) increasing production of animal protein particularly in poultry and eggs, piggery and sheep ; and
- (5) exploiting the seas resources in fish.

Whenever one talks of change of diet, there is an intellectual resistance on the ground that food habits are sacrosanct. World experience shows that it is not necessarily so. After World War II in Japan consumption of four-footed animals has increased though there was a sentimental and semi-religious objection to eating four-footed animals. The change has been spectacular. In our own country, between 1959

and today, consumption of eggs and poultry has been accepted in many urban and rural areas where there was a social taboo to eating poultry or eggs. West Bengal and the Southern States of this country which are rice-eating areas, have absorbed quite an amount of wheat in their diet out of sheer necessity.

Status is the greatest stumbling block to planned diet. Rice and wheat are considered status symbols. Fresh water fish, particularly of the Carp varieties is considered to be the thing in the fish eating States. Sea fish except for some urban areas used to Western habit, is generally treated as the poor man's fish. This is in this field where a lot of psychological warfare will have to be attempted. We can learn from past experience. In Mysore, even today, *Ragi* is accepted as the richman's food. This was due to the simple fact that Krishnaraj Wadiar, who was for thirty years ruler of Mysore, made it a point to eat *Ragi* at every meal. The leadership has to come from the top. Can we expect this leadership ?

The world will not end in 2000 A.D. Nor is science going to be at a standstill. In the next three decades more high-yielding varieties of cereals and pulses may be developed. New proteins may be added to the food packet. Consumer adaptability to new types of food may be brought about. All this will only stretch the point of "no return" to the middle of the twenty-first century. Unless a new generation of supermen develop who can take sustenance out of rocks the strategy of food production will be of no avail without a strong and effective strategy of population control. So, whilst the Agricultural Administrators devise ways and means of augmenting the supplies in the larder, the nations of the world and India, in particular, must find a population balance long before 2000 A.D. If man fails, nature will take over. Nature's solutions may be catastrophic.



## RESPECTIVE ROLES OF THE CENTRAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS IN FOOD PRODUCTION

*A. Prakash*

TWO successive, unprecedented droughts have brought home to us the gravity of the food situation in India. The problem, however, has been there all along. Although, as a result of the Five Year Plans initiated after Independence a considerable increase in agricultural production, principally in foodgrains and other cereals, has been achieved, the rate of population growth has been much higher. In the race, food production has not yet caught up with the growth of population—even on the minimal rate of consumption.

The problem is not a short-term one, nor is it peculiar to India alone. Other developing countries in Asia are also facing a difficult situation. The problem has long term implications and potential repercussions and has to be tackled in the global context, inextricably bound up as it is with population growth. In India, as indeed in many other developing countries, there is under-nutrition (too few calories), and mal-nutrition (particularly lack of protein among the people). In terms of nutrition, therefore, millions of people are getting less than what the quantity of foodgrains distributed would seem to indicate. It has been estimated that at the present rate of population growth, we would require 108 per cent more calories by 1985. Even if 30 per cent reduction in fertility during this period is assumed, the increased nutritional requirement will be 88 per cent. Thus, during the next two decades, under the best of circumstances, food needs will at least double themselves. The situation might well worsen after 1985 unless vigorous steps are taken from now onwards to reverse the food population trend. The Science Advisory Committee of the President of the United States in a recent report on the world food problem has come to the following conclusions :

"The main goal for improving the world food supply must be that of increasing crop yields in the developing countries, especially in Asia. Many developing countries must establish agricultural development as a national goal with relevant research, education and extension programme to adapt the principles of plant and animal production to local conditions."

To meet the challenge posed by increasing population and relatively less food production both a long-term and a short-term strategy will have to be evolved. India being a Federation, this can be done only through the joint effort of the Central Government and the State Governments. In this task, the two have to be co-partners and share responsibility. Take, for instance, the programme of High-Yielding Varieties of paddy, wheat, bajra, jowar, maize, etc. The programme has been formulated as a result of joint discussions and consultations at both Ministerial and Official levels. Targets have been fixed, areas earmarked, requirements of various inputs like fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, machinery, etc., determined. Agreed training programmes of farmers and key extension personnel were evolved and have been and are being implemented according to a pre-determined schedule. The implementation of this programme both in Rabi 1966-67 and Kharif 1967 has conclusively shown how programmes in the field of agricultural production should be formulated and implemented and it has also clearly brought out the roles of the Central and State Governments.

#### BROAD CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Clearly, both the Centre and States have their due roles to play in promoting food production. In order, however, to get a clearer perspective of these roles, it may be worthwhile having a look at the important relevant provisions of the Constitution bearing on Centre-State relationship.

Agriculture features in List II (State List) of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India under Item 14. The Entry is "Agriculture, including Agricultural Education and Research, protection against pests and prevention of plant diseases". The Constitution, however, also casts a number of responsibilities on the Centre which have a direct or indirect bearing on Agriculture. For example, the Union Government has been involved in the supply and distribution of inputs partly because of its functions regarding imports (Entry 41 of List I), partly because of control on industries (Entry 52 of List I), partly because of its interest in trade and commerce (Entry 42 of List I); agricultural credit comes in indirectly because of Banking and Reserve Bank which are in the Union List. In recent years, substantial aid has been forthcoming from various bilateral and multi-lateral sources. Negotiations for agreements on these have been conducted by the Union Government on the basis of programmes of agricultural production drawn up jointly by the Union and State Governments concerned. Such programmes have initiated new types of agricultural development.

Development of Agriculture in the river valleys could also be a Union responsibility if backed by parliamentary legislation. There are certain items in the Concurrent List (List III) which also give powers to the Central Government in important fields, e.g., not only for 'trade and commerce' in, but also production, supply and distribution of, food-stuffs including edible oil-seeds and oils, cattle fodder, raw cotton and raw jute. This Entry 33 has to be read along with the *Essential Commodities Act* whereby the Union Government has been authorized to issue orders for bringing under cultivation any waste or arable land for food crops or for otherwise maintaining and increasing the cultivation of food crops. Economic and social planning are also shared by the Central Government and the State Governments (Entry 20 of List III). This read with the above would seem to justify participation by the Union Government not only in the Five Year Plans of agricultural development but also in Annual Programmes of Action and Schedules of Operations. As for Agricultural Research mentioned as a State responsibility (Entry 140 of List II), the Union Government is responsible for regulating Institutions in Scientific and Technical Education declared to be institutions of national importance, and also Union Agencies and Institutions for professional, vocational training, promotion of special study or research (Entries 64 and 65 of List I). Coordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions is also the responsibility of the Union Government (Entry 66). The underlying intention of these provisions is to emphasize the importance of the impact of research and education upon the development of agriculture in the States. Agriculture and research in the new context cannot be put in watertight compartments. It should be recognized that new agricultural production programmes are being and will have to be undertaken by the States as and when research opens out new areas of development. Similarly, need for professional education of agricultural personnel attaining higher and higher standards of knowledge and proficiency as well as training of farmers in improved methods and new technology is a continuous process. This is a sphere in which the Central Government can render much useful help and guidance.

Several other provisions of the Constitution of India, if considered in the context of Essential Commodities Act, would seem to emphasize Central Government's legitimate role in Agriculture. Article 48 is a Directive Principle of State Policy which calls upon the State (*i.e.* both Central and States) to endeavour to organize agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines. Article 47 refers to the State responsibility to raise the level of nutrition. Directive Principles do not, of course, over-ride the basic provisions of the Constitution but

they do provide the background for the policies and programmes of Government to the extent that they do not militate against the legislative authority explained in the Seventh Schedule.

It may also be of interest to take note of the constitutional provisions and historical development in the field of agriculture in countries like U.S.A., Canada and Australia. In U.S.A. and Australia, Agriculture is within the field of the exclusive powers reserved to the States. In Canada, it is a concurrent subject ; the Federal Law prevailing over the Provincial Law, in case of conflict. India has largely followed the Constitutions of United States and Australia. The agricultural activities of the Federal Government in U.S.A., apart from regulation and production, market controls, price support and social security, embrace extensive research into agricultural problems, both scientific and economic, extension and information through country agents of whom there are over 5,000, soil conservation, rural electrification and farm credit. The Federal Department of Agriculture is one of the largest Departments of the Federal Government and is closely connected with the farming interests in the country. In Canada, where Agriculture is a concurrent subject, the Federal Policy has, historically speaking, largely centred round land development, regulatory measures like pests and disease control, quarantine, grades and standards of supply of agricultural produce and marketing controls. But today these activities include extensive information service, agricultural price support, experimental farms, marketing, production, rehabilitation, etc.

The Centre-State relationship in the field of agriculture as they are developing in India appear to follow the pattern of those obtaining in the above-mentioned countries with federal constitution. Evolution and flexibility rather than rigidity are the keynote of this development.

#### PLAN SCHEMES AND ALLOCATION OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Under the system of Plan allocations for agricultural development considerable resources flow to the States, under Article 382 of the Constitution. It is, however, not surprising that, because of the overall limitation of resources, there is generally a gap between the claims of the States and the resources (both grants and loans) made available by the Centre under the Annual Plans. The *modus operandus* of financing schemes of development has been evolved on the basis of practical experience and is continuously under review. Schemes are classified "Central", "Centrally Sponsored" and "Pattern" and "Non-Pattern" Schemes of the States. Central Schemes are wholly financed and implemented by the Centre. Centrally sponsored Schemes are

financed wholly or partly by the Centre and implemented by the States. State Schemes are implemented by the States and financed by them with or without Central assistance.

Of late, there has been a pressure for abolishing or narrowing down the category of Centrally sponsored schemes and for giving block grants to the States to enable them to operate as best as they can within the framework of the Plan. The general principle behind the existing classifications and patterns of assistance is the need for reconciling distribution of resources on an equitable basis with the need for quality and increased production ; the larger emphasis being naturally on the latter aspect.

It is possible to have a simplified pattern of Central assistance for the State Schemes in view of the fact that, after all, the actual payment is made on a cumulative basis. This would, however, result in the priorities of the programmes being determined solely by the State Governments. The danger is that such non-pattern assistance might result in imbalance in agricultural production from the country's point of view. To remove this, it would be inevitable to have Centrally-sponsored schemes which are comparable to what is known as "Project Aid" in the field of International Aid. Project Aid is now considered to be the more desirable form of assistance to a country inasmuch as it ensures systematic planning, formulation of time schedules of work and determination of areas of responsibility, so crucial to development today. It need hardly be said that the operation of the Central and Centrally Sponsored Schemes, because of the association of the Centre, enables a comparative study of the progress of the programme in varying situations being made. The impact of some of these programmes is of great importance to the overall strategy of agricultural development. Experience has proved that new programmes in agriculture have to be initiated as a result of high level research at the Central Institutes and sometimes in consultation with International bodies. For this, naturally, the Centre has to take the initiative and carry the risks involved taking into account the availability of supplies, particularly those of imported inputs. Because of the federal structure of our policy it is desirable that Memoranda of Agreements of the kind that are entered into between the Federal Government of United States and the State Governments are also negotiated between the Centre and the States in this country. In these Memoranda, clear-cut schedules of operations could be laid down and responsibilities of the various Agencies concerned with the productive effort spelt out. It would be no exaggeration to say that we are already moving in that direction. There are, of course, certain procedural and other defects in the present

system of financial allocations and sanctioning of schemes. Already, in the light of experience, many changes have been effected during the last 10 or 12 years. To evolve a satisfactory method of financial assistance it would be necessary to ensure observance of plan priorities, due regard to area needs, and quick execution of development programmes. Problems like uncertainty of availability of funds for the entire Plan period because of annual plan allocations (sometimes a departure from the Five Year Plan), delay in issue of sanctions, lack of effective supervision and implementation of the Centrally Sponsored Schemes still continue. These and other problems can only be solved with the joint efforts of the States and Centre.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAMMES

Quite apart from the constitutional provisions specifying the responsibilities of the Centre and the States, there is a historical background to the growth of relations between the two, based on the general administrative structure and its functioning and the process of planned economic and social development initiated after Independence. As is well-known, the Community Development Movement launched with the full and active support of the State Government in 1951 aimed at a gradual transformation of the economic and social life of the rural people. This object was to be achieved through the National Extension Agency working down to the village level and with the active support of popular voluntary and statutory organizations of the people. In the wake of community development came Panchayati Raj with its representative bodies at the village, block and district levels. Panchayati Raj, as a system of "Rural Local Administration", is now operative practically over the entire country. All along the line it has the Extension Agency to aid it in the formulation and implementation of the various programmes. This is not the proper forum to make any value judgments on the working of Panchayati Raj or the inadequacies or inability of the successive Five Year Plans to ensure achievement of higher targets of agricultural production than has actually been the case. The fact poignantly brought home to us during the last three years or so is that we have yet to organize ourselves fully to face the challenge of the coming years.

Since the primary responsibility for implementing agricultural production programmes contained in the Plan rests with the States, it was felt necessary in 1963 to examine afresh in the context of emphasis on agricultural production, the working of the administrative and extension machinery concerned with the programme and to devise ways

and means of bringing about effective coordination between the various State departments as well as within the entire administrative and organizational structure from the level of Development Commissioner down to the V.L.W. A Working Group was accordingly appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, the then Union Minister of Agriculture in August 1963.

The Working Group made detailed and specific recommendations for improving the machinery for coordination, supervision and implementation at different levels. It took pains to specify responsibilities and functions of the executive and extension agencies at different levels and lay down methods of coordinated functioning. As the recommendations made by the Group have had a far-reaching effect on the processes of coordination, supervision, implementation as well as involvement of the farmers (through Panchayati Raj institutions and otherwise) in the agricultural production programmes, it may be worthwhile recounting the principal ones.

The Working Group suggested the setting up of two Coordination Committees at the State level, one at the Secretariat level presided over by the Chief Secretary and the other at the Cabinet level presided over by the Chief Minister, the latter having the powers of the Cabinet in certain cases. Departments and Agencies concerned with agricultural production and Panchayati Raj should be combined into one integrated Department of Agriculture and Rural Development. Thus agriculture including minor irrigation, community development, animal husbandry, fisheries, panchayati raj, cooperation and allied departments should come under one umbrella. The Secretary of the integrated Department should also be designated and function as Commissioner for Agricultural Production and Rural Development and should coordinate the work of Heads of Departments concerned with agricultural production. No separate Development Commissioner was considered necessary.

At the regional level, the Divisional Commissioners should continue to perform supervisory role. At the district level, there should be an Agricultural Production Committee with the District Collector as Chairman. If there is a Zila Parishad, the Committee may be a committee of the Parishad with the Collector as Chairman. There should also be a District Agricultural Production Officer to assist the Collector in co-ordinating the functions of all the departments concerned with agricultural production, and function under the over-all direction of the Agricultural Production Committee. State Heads of Departments should continue to deal direct with the district officers as at present,

but in matters relating to the work of the Agricultural Production Committee, they should communicate through the Collector. At the Block level, there should be an Agricultural Production Committee of the Panchayat Samiti and the B.D.O. should function as its Member-Secretary. The President or Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti should be the Chairman. The Extension Officers should be borne on the cadre of the respective technical departments. Disciplinary control over Extension Officers should vest with the respective Departments concerned and not the B.D.O., who will, however, initiate entries in their character rolls. Disciplinary control over the B.D.O. should vest in the Secretary, District Agricultural Production Committee. The Panchayat Extension Officer or S.E.O. should be entrusted with responsibilities in regard to all programmes other than agricultural production for which B.D.O. alone would be responsible. Development staff working at the district and lower levels should not normally be transferred for at least three years. The village worker should devote his entire time to organize extension and supplies for agriculture production programmes and to help panchayats and cooperatives to draw up and execute village production plans. The Village Level Worker should function under the administrative control of Extension Officer (Agriculture). There should be a Village Agricultural Production Committee consisting of the representatives of the village panchayat, village cooperative society, progressive farmers and voluntary organization. This Committee should be organically lined with the Agricultural Production Committee at the block level.

It will be seen that the recommendations made emphasize the need for an integrated approach to agricultural production. This integrated or community development approach is distinct from the earlier segmentary approach dealing with each item or sector in isolation, without involving other departments and the local people and their institutions. This integrated approach also entails a unified administrative set-up and emphasizes the need for controlling the basic factors of production as well as extension and cooperative services through one organizational set-up.

Most of the recommendations of the Working Group have been accepted by the State Governments. It would be no exaggeration to say that, today, the necessary administrative and technical machinery, with a fair degree of built-in safeguards, for implementing the agricultural production programmes exists in most States. There are no doubt certain inadequacies and shortcomings in numbers or technical competence but these can be and are being rectified through specially arranged programmes of recruitment, training, etc. The problems

of coordination at the Block, District and State levels have not yet been fully solved. For example, West Bengal has both the Agricultural Production Commissioner and Development Commissioner with divided authority over subjects which the Ram Subhag Singh Committee wanted the former to deal with.

Panchayati Raj institutions have, by and large, unfortunately proved more politics-dominated than genuine development agencies in the rural areas which they were intended to be. Far from mobilizing popular support and enthusiasm among the farmers for the new programmes, they waste their valuable time on narrow, personal and political squabbles. So imperative and urgent is the need to increase agricultural production that implementation cannot wait until after these institutions have been fully reformed and properly orientated. A direct approach to farmers with the cooperation of Panchayati Raj institutions, where such cooperation is forthcoming and without it, if necessary, has yielded much better results. The individual farmer is not interested in the politics of the Panchayats ; he is more concerned with the problem of getting better yields and the wherewithals for it. Such organized groups of farmers interested in production are now coming up in the countryside and may, in course of time, exert sufficient pressure on the Panchayati Raj institutions so that the latter will either function so as to serve the interests of the rural population or disintegrate. Absence of strong voluntary organizations and interest groups in the rural areas is partly responsible for the present indifference and indiscipline of Panchayati Raj institutions. To the extent the situation corrects itself it will be a help to our programmes of production.

#### RESPECTIVE ROLES OF CENTRAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS

##### *The Role of State Governments*

Ever since the days of Dyarchy, agriculture has been a "transferred" or State subject. The basic responsibility for promoting agricultural production is, therefore, that of the State Governments. The Constitution of India is also quite clear on the subject. State Budgets usually provide sizable amounts for agricultural development. And they have the necessary administrative and technical machinery for implementing the programmes in the field. The Extension Agency created under the Community Development Movement, the revenue hierarchy and, for the last few years, the Panchayati Raj institutions at the village, block and district levels, constitute between themselves a massive machinery for implementation. Only its different parts and limbs have to be kept in proper trim and the requisite coordinated

functioning of the various wings, with full cooperation and involvement of the people, has to be ensured. As stated earlier, implementation of the recommendations of the Ram Subhag Singh Group by most of the State Governments has resulted in somewhat streamlining and, where necessary, strengthening of this machinery.

State Governments are a party to the Five Year Plans, having participated in its formulation through the various stages of Plan preparation and having put the final seal on each Five Year Plan through the National Development Council. While States thus accept responsibility for implementing a large number of programmes, they are also assured of suitable financial, technical and other Central assistance required to achieve the targets laid down in the Plan. Inherent in this system of planning and the mode of financial allocations to States is, among other things, acceptance of the national policy on and targets of agricultural production. Also implicit is the concept of optimum development of areas according to natural and climatic conditions, availability of local resources and other relevant factors.

It is not incumbent upon, or even desirable for each State to endeavour to become self-sufficient in foodgrains and cereals at the cost of its more natural or integrated development. In this connection the importance of cash crops, which are foreign exchange earners, has to be fully borne in mind. It will, for example, be imprudent to insist upon certain States like Kerala and Gujarat to be self-sufficient in foodgrains and cereals *at any cost*. Self-sufficiency in food is no doubt the national goal and has to be achieved with the combined and concerted efforts of all the States. That does not, however, mean that a particular State cannot be deficit in foodgrains. The idea is that States deficit in foodgrains should be looked after by those surplus, just as the requirements of the surplus States for, say, oilseeds, cotton, etc. can be met by some of the deficit States. In the short run, this may result in temporary regional imbalances but these would correct themselves in the long run provided the general level of production consistently goes up.

Not only must the States follow an agreed plan or programme of production but also they should do their duty in the matter of procurement of foodgrains. There is reason to believe that States like West Bengal could have done much better in procuring foodgrains this year more especially because of the very difficult food situation not only in the country but also in that State itself. A greater sense of urgency, responsibility and initiative will have to be displayed by the States in resolving not only their own problems but also those of others. A

policy of give-and-take, mutual cooperation and partnership in action alone would answer the need of the hour.

There has been a certain amount of disinclination on the part of State Governments to go ahead with the implementation of land reforms. This has hampered agricultural production. New ideas of agricultural credit have also not yet fully found acceptance in some States. Sometimes the figures of production and other data are not correctly reported or not reported at all. Experience shows that instead of attempting an overall or general solutions of problems, it is better to aim at clear division of functions and responsibilities in specific schemes. In other words, the approach should be scheme or project oriented. In agreed Plan programmes it should be possible to lay down programmes of action as well as to identify tasks and sub-tasks, to lay down a time-table and earmark responsibilities at various levels right from the Union Department of Agriculture down to the village worker.

### *The Role of the Centre*

The constitutional position in regard to the role and responsibility of the Centre in the field of agricultural production has been examined earlier. Although, basically, agriculture is a State subject, the Centre in our Federal set-up has necessarily to play the role of a coordinator, superior technical advisor, supplier of scarce inputs vital for increased production, evaluator of programmes, organizer of co-ordinated and higher research, higher-technical education and countrywide programmes of training of key personnel and millions of farmers. Last but not the least, it has to provide the necessary financial support to Annual Programmes and act as a financier of last resort. Under the Constitution, international treaties and agreements bearing on agriculture are the direct responsibility of the Centre, which it will have to continue to discharge as long as we are dependent on foreign aid both in food stuffs and for increasing food production. It is also required to organize agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines as also to raise the level of nutrition. Price support, market controls, special area development like river valleys are also some of the specific responsibilities of the Centre. The Centre has power to issue orders for bringing under cultivation any waste or arable lands for food crops or for otherwise maintaining and increasing the cultivation of food crops. Thus, the responsibilities of the Centre are many and its role vital in promoting agricultural production in the context of national goals and the Five Year Plans.

The leadership and coordinational role of the Centre flow not so much from constitutional provisions as from actual performance. In

practical terms, the effort to push up agricultural production in the country is a cooperative venture between the Centre and the States. It was in this spirit of partnership that in January-February 1967 Central Teams consisting of Senior Technical and Administrative Officers were sent out to the States to work out an agreed Annual Plan consistent with the broad strategy of the Fourth Plan, State priorities and availability of resources and inputs. This exercise resulted in the formulation of targets, schedules of operations and a clear-cut action programme. The States welcomed this approach. In April 1967, another round of visits to the States was arranged to check progress of action in terms of the agreed *calendar of operations*, to find out difficulties and bottlenecks with a view to solving them on the spot, if possible and generally to assure the States that the Union Department of Agriculture would assist them in every possible manner to achieve the targets. Country-wide training programmes for key extension personnel, for progressive, participating farmers have been and are being organized to educate them in the new techniques, improved methods of cultivation, use of pesticides, etc. The success of this collaboration and joint action is borne out by what has already been achieved under the High-Yielding Varieties Programme. If all goes well, the Kharif crop this year will be another proof of the success of their concerted effort. Thanks to assured supplies of necessary inputs, the stage is also set for the success of the Rabi 1967-68 programme.

With a vast programme of production such as we have undertaken in the country, and with new varieties of seeds, new systems of irrigation, use of pesticides and fertilizers, etc., in different climates and zones, it is necessary to evaluate performance continuously. This is a role which the Centre is eminently fitted to play. Similarly, Research, in particular Coordinated Research whose horizons are constantly widening, has to be arranged and encouraged by the Centre. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has already done much useful work and is now re-organizing itself for a massive effort on research in various fields of agriculture, where necessary, in collaboration with the State Governments and Agriculture Universities and Colleges. The ultimate beneficiary of this research is the cultivator and, therefore, the States and the country.

It is obviously necessary to ensure certain minimum standards of performance by the agriculture-cum-administrative hierarchy in the States. In this context the constitution of the Indian Agriculture Service and the Indian Forest Service with the agreement of the State should be considered as welcome steps. In due course we may, therefore, look for better all-India standards of performance and greater local coordination in the implementation of projects and schemes.

It has been suggested that due to the federal character of our Constitution it may be worthwhile for the Centre and the States to enter into some kind of formal agreements (Memoranda of Understanding) for the execution of particular projects in which the responsibility and duties of both are clearly laid down along with a schedule of operations and a time-table of work. As mentioned earlier, it is something on these lines that has already been attempted through the visits of Central Teams to the States. Of course, there is no harm in entering into these formal agreements, should this course be felt to be absolutely necessary. So far the need does not appear to have arisen.

#### CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made above to show that the roles of the Centre and States in the matter of food production are complementary, though distinct. Within the overall context of the Five Year Plan, once the Annual Plan and the specific projects and programmes to be taken up under it are determined and responsibilities on various agencies and the programme schedules to be followed are clearly spelt out, what needs to be ensured is implementation in the field and removal of bottlenecks and difficulties arising from time to time. In these and related processes the role of the Centre is broadly one of coordination, advice and assistance and that of the States of implementation in accordance with the agreed schedules of operations. The technical and administrative hierarchy and the Panchayati Raj institutions which between them have to implement the programme in the field are under the control and at the disposal of State Governments. Hence implementation of production programmes (with, of course, such assistance like supply of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, etc., as the Centre may be required to give) is squarely the responsibility of the State Governments. The problem is not one of affording greater freedom of action to State Governments but rather one of a more flexible attitude on the part of State Governments to enable the Central Government to help them expeditiously with various aids and assistance that it alone can provide. In short, not only because of constitutional provisions in regard to the respective responsibilities of the Centre and the States in agricultural production and the requirements of the Plan including the modes of financial assistance to the States but also because of the need for long-term, balanced growth and development in the agricultural field, the Centre and the States must jointly share the responsibility of increasing food production and fully cooperate with each other in meeting the challenge of the present and the future.

## **FOOD PRODUCTION POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES SINCE INDEPENDENCE : A HISTORICAL REVIEW**

*Ram Saran & H. L. Chawla*

**F**OOD production is a function of physical factors like soil, topography, rainfall, temperature, humidity and other climatic conditions on the one hand and of technology, organization, motivations of people working on land, institutions, planning and administration on the other. The term technology in this context covers a wide field of application of past knowledge and experience as also the results of modern scientific research and experimentation. It encompasses a large number of factors, such as irrigation, soil conservation, use of fertilizers, and compost, improved seeds, agricultural machinery and improved implements, use of electricity or other mechanical power for various agricultural operations. The role of administration, organization, institutions and motivational factors is in the final analysis to be reflected in the progress of technology. The purpose of planning and programming is to achieve greater efficiency through coordination based on an overall view of the development process. As such, when we talk of foodgrains production programmes we have to see the broad approach as well as the policy formulation and implementation process that have been followed for influencing the production. We propose to review this process principally for the period since Independence with a brief background in which these efforts have been made.

### **PRE-INDEPENDENCE BACKGROUND OF FOOD PROBLEM**

Food shortages have been endemic in India. The available records for the last one and a quarter century indicate the occurrence of droughts and famines of varying severity in several parts of India. More particularly, between 1860 and 1870 and again between 1890 and 1900 such occurrences were found to be quite severe and frequent. In the present century a number of areas suffered from drought and famine conditions in the first quarter. Again, in 1943 there was a severe famine in Bengal consequent on the cessation of supplies from Burma.

The Government of India started giving attention to agriculture for about 1870. Major efforts bearing on agricultural production

included development of canal irrigation systems, undertaking of agricultural research on selected commodities at central research institutes and in the States and attempts to develop cooperative organization to promote self-help and mutual help among cultivators in the supply of credit and marketing of produce. The reports of Famine Enquiry Commissions set up from time to time and the monumental report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1928 contained valuable guide-lines for agricultural development in this country. The programmes actually taken up and implemented, however, were not large enough to make a significant mark on the traditional subsistence agricultural economy of India. The net area irrigated by major and medium irrigation works in the Indian Union (present India) in 1947 was about 20 million acres. Agricultural development was the responsibility of the State Governments, and the Central Government had little direct interest in it. It may be added here that prior to World War II in a normal year, India was marginally surplus after taking into account the availability of surplus rice from Burma (which was separated from India in early 1937), and pressing need for increased food production was felt only at the occurrence of famines or food scarcity conditions.

During the Second World War, Government of India undertook a Grow More Food (GMF) Campaign which provided for (a) switch-over from cash crops, mainly from short staple cotton to food crops, (b) intensive cultivation of cultivated lands through irrigation, better seeds and manures and better farming practices, and (c) extensive cultivation by bringing under plough current fallows, culturable waste lands, etc. Loans and subsidies were given by Government of India to the State Governments for implementing these programmes.

In 1946, it was decided to continue GMF Campaign for another five years and a target of additional production was fixed at about 4 million tonnes and contributions of programmes of minor irrigation, land development, distribution of fertilizers, manures, seeds, were fixed.

#### SITUATION AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE

As the country achieved Independence which synchronized with Partition, the food supplies for Indian Union (present India) were adversely affected to the tune of about 8 lakh tonnes. "While the Indian Union received 82 per cent of the total population of undivided India, it got 75 per cent of the total cereal production, 65 per cent of the total wheat production and 68 per cent of the total rice production."\* About

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\* Page 5, Grow More Food Enquiry Committee Report, 1952.

31 per cent of the total irrigated area in undivided India went to the share of Pakistan; and as a result while 44 per cent of total agricultural lands in Pakistan were irrigated, in India the percentages was 19.

#### POLICY, EFFORTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS FROM 1947 TO 1950

The Foodgrains Policy Committee appointed by the Government of India in September, 1947, was required, *inter alia*, to suggest measures for increasing domestic production. The important recommendations made by the Committee may be broadly grouped as under :

- (i) greater attention to minor irrigation works, development of local manurial resources and distribution of improved seeds;
- (ii) plans for production of fertilizers;
- (iii) survey of ground water resources with a view to undertaking tubewell construction; and
- (iv) setting up of a Central organization for undertaking reclamation and development of large blocks of culturable waste land.

The Committee suggested a target of about 10 million tonnes of increased production of foodgrains, out of which about 3 million tonnes were to be achieved by the reclamation of nearly 10 million acres of land. In 1948, on the advice of Lord Boyd Orr who was invited by the Government of India to review the working of GMF Campaign and to make suggestions, the Government of India appointed a Commissioner of Food Production at the Centre and the States also appointed corresponding officers. It was decided to achieve the objective of self-sufficiency in foodgrains.

In 1949, the rupee was devalued and soon after difficulties developed in getting cotton and jute from Pakistan for the textile mills in India. The programmes for food production had to be reviewed and an integrated production programme was devised. It was envisaged to divert areas from foodgrains to cotton and jute to the extent of about 15 lakh acres during 1950-51 and another 22 lakh acres in 1951-52. Schemes for fisheries, subsidiary food and crop competitions were also added to foodgrains production programme. In the Central Ministry of Agriculture, an administrative apparatus was created for facilitating supplies essential for food production. Financial help was also given

to States so as to enable them to meet the cost of additional staff employed and other measures for food production schemes.

According to the Review by the GMF Enquiry Committee, the targets for additional foodgrains production through the GMF schemes were achieved to the extent of about 80 to 90 per cent during 1947-48 to 1949-50 and to the extent of about 65 per cent in 1950-51. According to the same source more than 50 per cent of the achievement in 1949-50 and nearly 65 per cent of that in 1950-51 in terms of estimated additional foodgrains production under the GMF campaign was due to irrigation works. The second important programme related to land improvement which included reclamation of waste lands to the extent of about half a million acres by the Central Tractor Organization and about half a million acres through the State Tractor Organization and certain lands reclaimed by private individuals. The schemes for supplies of manures, seeds and fertilizers were of small magnitudes. In 1950-51 for example, the quantity of ammonium sulphate distributed was 99,000 tonnes (*i.e.* about 20,000 tonnes of nitrogen), of super phosphate less than 1,000 tonnes and other chemical fertilizers 17,500 tonnes. The total quantity of seeds distributed was 59,000 tonnes, of oilcakes 1.1 lakh tonnes and of town compost about 1 million tonnes.

#### BEGINNING OF THE PLAN ERA

The general economic setting of the country in 1947 was that the extent of development of basic industries was almost negligible, the transport system was inadequate and over-strained, the levels of general education were very low, the technical (including engineering, agricultural and veterinary) education facilities were extremely limited, and levels of investment, savings and productivity, more particularly in agriculture, were very low. Broadly speaking, the overall picture was one of economic stagnation, inadequacy of economic and social overheads and prevalence of controls, restrictions and shortages. The economic situation called for a massive attack on the problem of India's poverty.

The Government of India had been giving thought to the problems of reconstruction of the economy in the post-war period and certain development programmes had been worked out. The experience of the Soviet Union in economic development through planning and the desire of the country, after achievement of Independence, to work for economic and social progress led to the constitution of Planning Commission by a Resolution of the Government in April, 1950. The Commission drew up by July 1951 the draft of the First Five Year

Plan for the period 1951-52 to 1955-56, which after modifications was finalized by December, 1952. The First Plan was "concerned more with effecting the post-war and post-partition re-adjustments required by the economy rather than dealing with the entirety of the country's long-term economic problem".<sup>1</sup> It indicated a broad perspective in respect of levels of income, investment and output for the next twenty years or so and in relation to that objective, laid down programmes for various sectors. The outlays proposed in the First Plan for the Agricultural and other sectors are given in Annexure I (p. 480). While speaking about priorities in the First Plan, the Planning Commission stated "for the immediate five-year period, agriculture, including irrigation and power, must in our view have a top-most priority... we are convinced that without a substantial increase in the production of food and of raw materials needed for industry, it would be impossible to sustain a higher tempo of industrial development".<sup>2</sup>

Out of the total public sector outlay envisaged under the First Plan, 31 per cent was for agriculture, community development and irrigation.

As for the programmes for foodgrains production under the First Plan, on the physical side, the basic approach of the GMF Campaign was followed but the scale of efforts envisaged was greatly stepped up. From 1947-48 to 1950-51 the Government had incurred an expenditure of about Rs. 40 crores on GMF schemes. As against this, the outlay proposed for schemes relating to minor irrigation, supplies of inputs to the farmers, land reclamation and development, agricultural research and education, etc., which came under the head "Agricultural Production" in the First Plan was Rs. 197 crores for the period 1951-52 to 1955-56. The pattern of Central help to States was modified. Under the GMF Campaign, the Central Government used to give subsidy to the States to the extent of 50 per cent of the total expenditure ( $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent in case of Assam and Orissa) in respect of private minor irrigation schemes and non-remunerative expenditure on public minor irrigation and land improvement schemes and for seeds, manures and staff. Under the First Plan, in case of public minor irrigation schemes, 50 per cent Central subsidy was to be given on remunerative\* schemes while no subsidy but 100 per cent loan was to be given for remunerative schemes. For private wells, Central

<sup>1</sup> Chapter on India by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in "Asian Economic Development" edited by Carnley Onslow.

<sup>2</sup> First Five Year Plan Report, Para 46, page 44.

\* Those schemes which were capable of yielding return of 4 per cent on capital of twenty years were considered remunerative schemes.

subsidy was admissible to the extent of 25 per cent of the cost (up to 50 per cent for backward areas). Fifty per cent Central subsidy was also admissible on the net loss incurred by States on land development schemes and 50 per cent for plant protection schemes. No subsidy was to be given for staff, nitrogenous fertilizers, private tubewells, rural compost and green manuring schemes.

A remarkable new feature of food production programmes in the First Plan was the importance attached to organization, institutions and motivations bearing on agricultural (including foodgrains) production. The Plan stressed the need for "a comprehensive and many-sided effort to transform the peasants' outlook and environments".<sup>3</sup> "The development of human and material resources of the rural community"<sup>4</sup> was stated to be an important objective. It was laid down that "community development is the method and rural extension the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages".<sup>5</sup> The Plan provision for community development and rural extension was Rs. 90 crores, i.e., about half the amount earmarked for various programmes including minor irrigation supply schemes, agricultural research, education, marketing, etc. The main lines of activity to be undertaken in a community project included agriculture and related matters, irrigation, communications, education, health, supplementary employment, housing, training and social welfare. In relation to agriculture sector, the programmes envisaged were "reclamation of available virgin and waste land; provision of commercial fertilizers and improved seeds; the promotion of fruit and vegetable cultivation, of improved agricultural techniques and land utilization; supply of technical information, improved agricultural implements, improved marketing and credit facilities; provision of soil surveys and prevention of soil erosion, encouragement of the use of natural and compost manures and improvement of livestock...". It was also laid down that "one of the important functions of the agricultural extension worker will be to encourage the growth of a healthy cooperative movement".<sup>6</sup> Land policy was elaborated in the First Plan in great detail. "The future of land ownership and cultivation", mentioned the First Plan, "constitute perhaps the most fundamental issue in national development". The adequacy of land policy was to be judged in the measure in which "it reduces disparity in wealth and income, eliminates exploitation, provides security for tenant and worker and finally promises equality

<sup>3</sup> First Five Year Plan, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

of status and opportunity to different sections of the rural population".<sup>7</sup> The principal programmes included: abolition of intermediaries' rights, limitations on future acquisition of land and on resumption for personal cultivation, providing security of tenure for tenant cultivators and fixation of reasonable rents. Distribution of available lands among landless workers and encouragement to cooperative farming societies were also envisaged. The need for strengthening the cooperative credit, marketing and other societies and regulation of markets was also emphasized.

For foodgrains production, the target fixed in the First Plan was an increase of 7.7 million tonnes including about 4.1 million tonnes of rice, 2 million tonnes of wheat, 1 million tonnes of gram and pulses and the balance in terms of other cereals. This involved an increase of 14 per cent over the base level production for 1949-50. An increase of 42 per cent in cotton production and 63 per cent in jute production was also envisaged. The major irrigation works were expected to benefit an area of 8.5 million acres, minor irrigation programmes 11.2 million acres and land reclamation programmes 3.7 million acres. For nitrogenous fertilizers the target fixed for 1955-56 was about 1.25 lakh tonnes of nitrogen.

From 1949-50 to 1955-56 a great deal of legislation was enacted by States bearing on abolition of intermediaries, tenancy reforms and relief of agricultural indebtedness. A process of break-up of the past rural structure characterized by landlord-moneylender-trader nexus was initiated. As for the operational structure in agriculture, in spite of the use of bulldozers and tractors for land reclamation, undertaking of major irrigation and power development projects and development of tubewells in selected areas, it cannot be stated that there was much change in the agricultural technology. By and large, at the operational level, additional production was being achieved through traditional methods including the cultivation of larger area, expansion of major and minor irrigation facilities, larger use of manures, improved seeds, etc.

#### SECOND PLAN

After about one decade of strain, India experienced easy supply situation for agricultural commodities in the second half of the First Plan. With a rise of 20 per cent over the base level, the First Plan target of foodgrains production was exceeded. On the eve of the

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<sup>7</sup> First Five Year Plan, p. 184.

Second Plan the economic situation was considered to be "distinctly better than it was on the eve of the First Plan"; and there was "more confidence and greater readiness all round for a larger effort".<sup>8</sup> Therefore, compared to the First Plan, relatively greater emphasis was placed on development of industries and mining, social services than agriculture, but the outlay for agricultural sector was also stepped up from Rs. 357 crores to Rs. 568 crores. Within this sector, relative emphasis on Community Development and Cooperation, development of animal husbandry and dairying and fisheries was increased. This is evident from the distribution of outlays given in Annexure I.

In respect of agriculture, the Second Plan recorded that the First Plan had "already initiated the process of increasing productivity in agriculture".<sup>9</sup> It also mentioned that "the lines on which efforts have been made for increasing the productivity of land are already familiar. The provision of irrigation facilities, better seeds, fertilizers and the spread of improved techniques of cultivation will offer scope for expansion for many years to come."<sup>10</sup> In this way, on the physical plane, GMF Programme approach got a further lease of life.

The level of additional annual foodgrains production to be achieved by 1960-61 was targeted at 10.2 million tonnes of which about 4.3 million tonnes was expected to be achieved through major and minor irrigation programmes, about 2.6 million tonnes through expanded use of fertilizers and manures, 1.0 million tonnes through improved seeds and the balance of 2.3 million tonnes through land reclamation, land improvement and general improvements in agricultural practices. The overall target of additional foodgrains production was subsequently revised upward to 15.75 million tonnes.

Among the programmes bearing on technology of foodgrains production, improved seeds programme deserves special mention. It was decided to set-up Government Seed Multiplication Farms at the rate of one seed farm of the size of about 25 acres per C.D. Block. The expected advantage was that in each Block, improved foundation seed would be raised on Government farms and it would be multiplied by registered growers after which it could be distributed for sowing in the surrounding areas. During the First Plan also some farms had already been set up but the number was proposed to be raised to about 4,000 during the Second Plan. Need for a much wider use

<sup>8</sup> Second Five Year Plan, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

of improved implements and attention to their manufacture and repairs was also stressed in the Second Plan. The use of nitrogenous fertilizers was decided to be stepped up to the level of 5.1 lakh tonnes (actual achievement was, however, 2.1 lakh tonnes only).

The Second Plan placed greater stress than the First Plan on organizational, institutional and motivational factors. It proposed that the Community Development and National Extension Programme which covered nearly one-fourth of the country by 1955-56 should be extended to cover the entire country by 1960-61. The supply of credit through cooperatives was proposed to be greatly enlarged, and for this purpose various measures like Government participation in the share capital of cooperative societies, implementation of integrated scheme of credit, marketing, processing storage, etc., recommended by the All India Rural Credit Survey Committee in 1955 were incorporated in the cooperative development programme. At the Centre, a new Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation was established and most of the States also set up corresponding Departments. To provide the producer with fuller incentives for increasing production, the Second Plan reiterated the stress on abolition of intermediaries and tenancy reforms and also suggested fixation of ceilings on agricultural holdings. In addition, it suggested that agrarian cooperative should be developed in such a way that "within a period of 10 years or so a substantial proportion of agricultural lands are cultivated on cooperative lines".<sup>12</sup> The encouragement to cooperative farming societies through preference in the supply of improved seeds, fertilizers, materials for local constructions, credit from cooperative agencies and special attention in the community development and national extension areas were suggested. Enactment of land management legislation to provide for standards of efficient cultivation and management and fixation of cultivators' obligations for measures like levelling, bunding, fencing, maintenance of irrigation channels, use of improved seeds, etc., was also suggested.

Coming to the achievement, the community development programme was extended and covered 60 per cent villages by 1960-61. (Later, by early 1966 cent per cent villages in the country were covered by the programme.) In the sphere of land reforms, the programme of abolition of intermediaries made a good progress and there was also advance in regard to tenancy reforms. A number of States enacted legislation fixing ceilings on agricultural holdings though little progress was made in its implementation. There was very little of progress with regard to enactment of land management legislation.

<sup>12</sup> Second Five Year Plan, p. 228.

Soon after the start of the Second Plan the atmosphere of confidence about steady progress of foodgrains production and steady prices started changing. In 1956, foodgrains prices started rising and the trend was accentuated by a poor crop in 1957. The crop in 1958-59 was quite good and there was again a record crop in 1960-61, the last year of the Second Plan. As shown in Annexure II the target of foodgrains production was practically achieved. On the whole, the period 1956-57 to 1960-61 broadly marked a period of steady upward trend in agricultural production. However, due to the mounting pressure of demand, prices were rising and the situation called for a review of food production programmes and policies.

As such, various aspects of agricultural production came in for detailed studies. In June 1957, a Foodgrains Enquiry Committee was appointed to assess the food situation and make recommendations, *inter alia*, on prices which provide incentive to producers with due regard to the interest of the consumers. On the production side this Committee noted the delays in the progress of major irrigation projects and the utilization of irrigation potential; delays and inadequacies in the seed production and distribution programme; the difficulties created by indiscriminate import of tractors of unknown makes for land reclamation and development; problems of obtaining spare parts, lack of facilities for training, servicing, etc., and lack of follow-up cultivation of reclaimed lands. It also made some suggestions for bringing about improvements.

In 1958, the Government appointed an Agricultural Administration Committee, *inter alia*, to suggest a model agricultural organization in the States so that agricultural schemes may be carried out speedily. This Committee made a large number of recommendations for strengthening of agricultural departments, better coordination, programme planning, improvements in budgeting, sanctions, procedures and delegation of powers and arrangements for training of staff, etc.

Early in 1959, on the invitation of the Ministry of Food & Agriculture, a Team of Agricultural Experts sponsored by the Ford Foundation studied India's food production problems and targets. The Team reached the conclusion that "an immediate and drastic increase in food production is India's primary problem of the next seven years".<sup>13</sup> An important recommendation of the Team was that

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<sup>13</sup> Report on India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet it, 1959, p. 3.

those selected crops and those selected areas in each State should be chosen (for intensive cultivation) which had the greatest increase potentialities. The Team considered that such areas could "increase India's food production more rapidly than others, if given allocation of fertilizers in combination with other improved practices, such as plant protection measures, improved seeds and water for irrigation."<sup>14</sup> Other important recommendations of the Team included fixation of guaranteed minimum prices, improvement in storage and marketing facilities, enlarged supplies of high analysis fertilizers, close attention to water management and drainage facilities, provision of security of tenure to tenant cultivators and substantial increase in the supply of credit.

In 1960-61 the Programme Evaluation Organization in the Planning Commission undertook evaluation studies on the programme for the multiplication and distribution of improved seeds and on the problems of minor irrigation. The study on improved seeds comprehensively dealt with the policies and programmes for setting up of State Seed Farms, production of foundation seed, seed multiplication by registered growers, distribution arrangements at the block and village levels and use of improved seeds by cultivators. It revealed a large number of deficiencies and made various recommendations. For example, with regard to Government Seed Multiplication Farms the study indicated that there was "considerable scope for improvement in economic organization, managerial efficiency, technical supervision and enforcement of recommended measures for ensuring purity in the foundation seed produced."<sup>15</sup> A number of improvements with regard to seed multiplication and distribution arrangements were also made. The study on minor irrigation tried to analyse the impact of minor irrigation programmes on total irrigated acreage and on irrigated area under various crops. This study revealed that in many of the States 3 to 5 different authorities were entrusted with the minor irrigation schemes. In some States, coordination machinery existed at the State or District level but there was no single authority responsible for assessment of the entire irrigation potential in various areas. In the Panchayat legislation of most of the States, responsibility for maintenance and repair etc. of irrigation works was entrusted to Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis or Gaon Sabhas but the actual performance was not considered encouraging.

<sup>14</sup> Report on India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet it, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Study of the Multiplication & Distribution Programmes for Improved Seeds, Programme Evaluation Organization, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1961, p. 88.

## AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMMES UNDER THE THIRD PLAN

Since the progress in agricultural production achieved during the Second Plan was on the whole satisfactory, the Third Five Year Plan did not recommend any significant fundamental changes in the matter of technology. It laid down that the "crop yields are at present so low that given adequate irrigation, supplies of fertilizers, improved seeds and implements, education of the farmers in using better methods and reforms of land tenures and development of the agricultural economy along cooperative lines, large increases in levels of production can be achieved over relatively short periods".<sup>16</sup> In regard to price policy which has a strong influence on motivations of farmers, the Third Plan recognized the need for providing incentive to farmers for extended use of fertilizers and adoption of improved practices. It also mentioned that "a policy designed to prevent sharp fluctuation in prices and to guarantee of certain minimum level is essential in the interest of increased production.... Another objective, no less essential, is to safeguard the interest of the consumer...".<sup>17</sup>

The principal technical programmes for increasing agricultural production were similar to these in the Second Plan. The targets for these programmes are given in Annexure II. Since a considerable part of the country is likely to be dependent on rainfall for the moisture requirements of crops, the programmes of soil conservation were given comparatively much greater emphasis than in the previous two Plans. On irrigation, the emphasis was continued to be high while for fertilizers, manures and improved seeds further set-up over the previous levels were envisaged.

In order to provide incentive to agriculturists to undertake various development and input programmes, the Third Plan enlarged the scope for subsidies which were allowed from the beginning of the First Plan generally up to the end of the Second Plan. It provided for subsidy at the rate of 25 per cent for surface wells, kuhuls, renovation of irrigation tanks (50 per cent for kuhuls in hilly areas), and 2 per cent on phosphatic fertilizers, the expenditure being shared equally between the Central and State Governments. A premium of Rs. 2 per maund for improved seeds of foodgrains (other than hybrid maize for which the States could fix their own rates) was also allowed on the basis of 50:50 sharing between the Central and State Governments. In the matter of plant protection, a Central subsidy of 25 per cent of cost on the supply

<sup>16</sup> Third Five Year Plan, p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

of pesticides, dusters and sprayers was allowed. Additional subsidy could be provided by the State Governments. A similar assistance was applicable to supply of improved implements to cultivators. Twenty-five per cent Central subsidy on soil conservation and consolidation of holdings was also allowed. The rates of subsidies were more liberal for agricultural research, surveys and statistics (50 per cent) and agricultural education and training (75 per cent on non-recurring cost and 25 per cent on recurring cost). Seventy-five per cent subsidy was allowed for cost of land and seed stores for Government Seed Farms envisaged under Second Plan but still to be completed.

In regard to land reforms, the Third Plan reiterated the need to remove "impediment to increase the agricultural production" arising from agrarian structure and "to eliminate all elements of exploitation and social injustice within the agrarian system".<sup>18</sup> The Plan suggested the need for "ensuring speedy and effective implementation"<sup>19</sup> of legislation regarding ceilings on agricultural holdings.

The Third Plan period has been characterized by a virtual stagnation in food production except in 1964-65 when it touched a new record of 89 million tonnes, as compared to the previous highest level of 83 million tonnes in 1961-62. In 1965-66 the country witnessed the worst drought of the century leading to a sharp decline in production to the level of 72 million tonnes. Even beyond the Third Plan period the year 1966-67 was the second successive year of drought over large parts of the country and led to even greater consumer hardship than experienced in the previous year. Under these circumstances food production programmes have become a focus of Government and public attention.

In 1963-64 the need for close coordination between various departments whose activities impinge upon agricultural production, such as agriculture, irrigation, community development, cooperation, revenue, panchayats, etc., came up for close consideration. Proposals for administrative coordination were formulated and have been largely implemented. Inter-departmental Coordination Committees have been set up in the States and Agricultural Production Commissioners or Senior Secretaries have been made responsible by State Governments for coordination of various programmes of development, supplies of inputs and credit, etc. Close liaison among the Departments of Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation began at the Central level also and more recently these Departments have been placed under the charge of one Cabinet Minister since 1967 and their activities are being closely linked together. From 1963-64, the need

<sup>18</sup> & <sup>19</sup> Third Five Year Plan, p. 220 & p. 229.

for utilization of large irrigation potential created under the major irrigation projects has come in for increasing attention. The problems of land levelling and shaping, research on cropping patterns suitable for newly irrigated areas, popularization of wet cultivation, training of farmers and provision of facilities for credit and supply of inputs have been all considered important for these areas. Since the closing part of the Third Plan, ayacut development programmes involving the above measures are gaining importance.

The implementation of agricultural (including foodgrains) production programmes has come in for increasing scrutiny by the Central Government since about the third year of the Third Five Year Plan. A number of deficiencies were mentioned in the Mid-Plan Appraisal published by the Planning Commission. The Central Teams of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture visited various States to see the implementation of agricultural programmes at the field level and to take note of problems of agricultural development faced at the village, block, district and State levels. These Teams made a number of recommendations for larger allocations for minor irrigation works, linking up of the programmes of credit and requisites for minor irrigation development as also establishment of irrigation pumping sets or tubewells and the programmes of rural electrification, etc.

One new development in relation to food production programmes was that the Ford Foundation sponsored an Intensive Agricultural District Programme in 7 selected districts in the country. In these districts "Package Programme" approach involving simultaneous use of improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, water and other inputs was to be adopted for introducing intensive and more productive agriculture. Gradually, the number of districts under this programme during the Third Plan period was raised to 16. In Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh, intensive programme was taken up under an Indo-West German Agreement.

One development which was quietly taking place during this period was the effort of the Indian agricultural scientists, in collaboration with the scientists of the Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation, to try hybrid varieties of maize and other foodgrains under Indian conditions. The research indicated very promising results and provided a clue to the ushering in an era of biological revolution in foodgrains production.

#### FOURTH PLAN—ERA OF NEW STRATEGY

Major changes in approach to agricultural development and programmes, therefore, have taken place in the past 2 or 3 years. A New

Strategy for agricultural development has been formulated so as to bring about massive technological improvements in India's agriculture and to create a dynamic process of change with implications extending considerably into the future. It brings in agriculture the biological, chemical, economic and mechanical innovations which have already revolutionized foodgrains production in Japan, Taiwan, Mexico, U.S.A. and West European countries.

The two principal foodgrains production programmes under this New Strategy are:

- (1) Applying a Package of Practices comprising water management, high-yielding varieties of seeds, pest control and a sufficiency of fertilizer application along with good cultural practices reaching an area of 32.5 million acres in 1970-71.
- (2) Introducing short-term varieties in the major cereals of the country which are as good yielders as the long-term varieties under a suitable package of practices thereby allowing for the growing of major second crop in the irrigated areas of the country where previously only one crop was being grown under irrigated condition. This programme is expected to reach 30 million acres in 1970-71.

The various important aspects of the Strategy relate to arrangements for the production of nucleus and foundation seeds of high yielding varieties on scientific basis; its multiplication and distribution, use of large doses of fertilizers and close attention to plant protection measures; development of irrigation principally for intensive cultivation; close attention to water use and management; adequate arrangements for the production and import of inputs and organization of their timely distribution right up to the village level, provision of adequate credit for supporting investment in intensive cultivations continued stress on agricultural research so as to break new ground as also to solve various problems faced by cultivators in the adoption of new high yielding varieties; close liaison between research and extension efforts and stress on farmers' training for the dissemination of the knowledge of new techniques and new inputs.

The great biological break-through has been achieved due to agricultural research, experimentation and adaptations of high yielding varieties capable of absorbing high doses of fertilizers and giving 100 to 200 per cent higher yields than traditional varieties. The high yielding varieties like the Taichung Native I, Taichung 65, Tainan 3,

ADT-27 and IR-8 of paddy, Lerma Rojo and Sonora 64 of wheat and several hybrid varieties of jowar, bajra, and maize are being cultivated over millions of acres. For producing the nucleus and foundation seed of high yielding varieties on scientific lines, large sized farms of 500 to 2000 acres or more, are being set up and the multiplication of foundation seed is being promoted under expert technical supervision in compact areas called "seed villages". The coverage in 1966-67 was about 4.4 million acres and the target for 1967-68 is 15 million acres. The achievements of the past few years have encouraged our agricultural scientists towards opening up further new horizons. While commenting on the future potentialities of rice, Dr. Pal, Director-General of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, has observed that "floor for rice yields of the future should be what the ceiling is today under general farm conditions". A recent meeting of the research scientists working on wheat has recommended a number of new wheat varieties which give considerably higher yield as compared to the high-yielding Mexican varieties presently giving yield levels of 50 to 80 maunds per acre.

The emergence and spread of high yielding varieties is being accompanied by a fast rising demand for fertilizers. While the consumption of nitrogen (N) in Indian agriculture increased from 50,000 tonnes of N in 1951-52 to about 6 lakh tonnes of N in 1965-66, the target for 1970-71 is 24 lakh tonnes of N and the tentative target for 1975-76 is 40 lakh tonnes of N. The consumption and demand for phosphatic and potassic fertilizers are also rising fast. Since the rich luxuriant crops of high yielding varieties are more susceptible to damage by crop pests and insects, close attention through plant protection is called for and, therefore, pesticides will also have to be used in large quantities.

The new technology is also of tremendous economic significance in the context of food production programmes. Their cultivation calls for investment in quality seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, pesticides and plant protection equipment. By such investment and also because of larger production and marketable surplus the cultivators are expected to be increasingly brought into the vortex of market economy. Naturally this implies a major change from the past subsistence agriculture.

In terms of extension efforts also a new era is getting ushered in. Since 1966-67, Government has taken steps to organize, on a larger scale, the training of farmers in short, medium and long duration courses. Peripatetic teams of experts are also being sent to villages for 2 to 3 days' training in the techniques of cultivation and care of high

yielding varieties. The atmosphere for the spread of new ideas is thus greatly changed.

In terms of institutional measures for increased food production a number of new ideas and new developments are coming up. Investment being a key factor in intensive cultivation, provision of credit has assumed a great importance. The supply of short and medium term cooperative credit is being stepped up from the level of about Rs. 400 crores in 1965-66 to about Rs. 700 crores in 1970-71. The supply of long-term credit will similarly be raised from Rs. 56 crores to Rs. 350 crores over the same period. Crop loan scheme has been undertaken since 1966-67 under which credit will be advanced by the cooperatives not primarily on the security of assets available with the intending borrower but in relation to production needs of a cultivator. To begin with, this scheme has been undertaken in areas covered by high yielding varieties programme. The Reserve Bank has started assuming a much larger role in providing support to supply of institutional credit. In 1967-68, for example, it has allowed higher credit limits to cooperative institutions to support the crop loan scheme. Further, it has allowed a credit limit of Rs. 50 crores for the year for financing, distribution of fertilizers by cooperatives. The State Bank of India, which in the past, along with Life Insurance Corporation, was supporting purchases of debentures of Co-operative Land Development/Mortgage Banks, has now decided to provide a large support to cooperative marketing societies. The commercial banks are also coming forward to finance agricultural production programmes.

Price incentives are known to have a profound influence in motivating cultivators towards increased effort and increased investment for agricultural production. In Western countries this incentive has accounted for large increases in foodgrains production. Uptill the middle of the Third Plan this factor did not play an important role in relation to foodgrains production. Some peripheral action was taken in the second half of the Third Plan. Since the establishment of the Agricultural Prices Commission in January, 1965 and more particularly in the context of new technology adopted from 1966-67, price policy has started assuming its rightful place. Through its effect on motivations of cultivators an appropriate price policy should prove to be an important factor in the achievement of targeted rapid increase in food production.

For the success of the new technology a number of new institutions are necessary. Already, Agro-Industries Corporations

are being set up in the States to link up the supply and demand for bulldozers, tractors, pump-sets for irrigation, power sprayers and various other types of agricultural machinery and equipment. These Corporations would undertake even the financing and hire purchase of agricultural machinery. For the benefit of small farmers proposals for introducing service stations for providing tractor cultivation, crop spraying, etc., on prescribed rates or provision of such facilities departmentally or through large cultivators on customs basis, are also being considered. Seed Corporations are being set up in States to coordinate arrangements for the production, multiplication and distribution of seeds of high yielding varieties. Cooperative societies are being supported and strengthened so as to undertake the distribution of fertilizers, pesticides and various other agricultural requisites needed by farmers. Development of storage godowns, cold storages and marketing arrangements for agricultural commodities is also being given close attention.

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During twenty years since Independence and more particularly since 1951-52, Government efforts to raise food production in the country have been progressively intensified. Development of irrigation has consistently received a high priority. Irrigation potential for 14 million acres has been created through major irrigation works. The benefit of irrigation through minor irrigation works has been extended to 31 million acres. Additional area benefited by land reclamation and development totals nearly 8.5 million acres while soil conservation has benefited 12.5 million acre of agricultural lands. Systematic efforts for the propagation of improved seeds of foodgrains resulted in the extension of their cultivation over about 112 million acres by 1965-66. The use of nitrogenous and other chemical fertilizers which was formerly confined to plantation crops and to a very limited degree to certain commercial crops has gradually been adopted for foodgrain crops also. In terms of nitrogen the consumption of nitrogenous fertilizers has risen from 50 thousand tonnes in 1950-51 to the level of 960 thousand tonnes in 1966-67. Plant protection measures through the use of pesticides and insecticides etc., which were almost unknown before the First Plan, have been gradually catching up and in 1966-67 covered about 63 million acres of area. Through various schemes, green manuring has also been extended and it covered about 20 million acres in 1965-66. As a result of such programmes considerable increases in foodgrains production have been achieved. Taking the average production for three years 1949-50 to 1951-52, as base, the annual linear rate of growth in foodgrains production during 15 years up to 1964-65 was 3.66 per cent.

In the past three or four years, trends towards increasing use of fertilizers, diesel and electric pump-sets for irrigation, construction of private tubewells, increased use of tractors and taking up of plant protection with power sprayers, specially by progressive cultivators, have developed. A New Strategy for Agricultural Development is being implemented since 1966-67. Increasing stress on scientific agriculture and intensive use of land, water and other resources in combination with industrial inputs, is the key note of this Strategy. In five years time, up to 1970-71, the consumption of nitrogen will be raised four times and of phosphatic and potassic fertilizers six to seven times. In the sphere of minor irrigation the use of diesel and electric power will increase rapidly.

For increasing food and agricultural production, a number of supplementary measures, particularly, institutional improvements, have also been introduced. A framework of contact between Government and the cultivators has been created through the organization of community development and national extension service which presently covers the entire country. The technical competence of extension personnel has to be and is being improved. The progress made by credit cooperatives and in some States by cooperative processing and marketing societies has been considerable though much more still needs to be done. On the land reforms side, a great deal of success has been achieved in the abolition of intermediary tenures; some progress in tenancy reforms and consolidation of holdings has also been made. In the sphere of administrative coordination, a great deal of progress has been achieved though further efforts need to be continued. Price policy is playing an increasingly important role in supporting food production programmes.

In brief, India has been making a valiant struggle to raise food-grains production commensurate with the rising demand resulting from large increase in population and purchasing power. Considerable success has been achieved though it has not proved enough. The programmes of food production have been successively enlarged. New inputs from the industrial, chemical and power sectors and supply of credit to support investment on a large scale are being undertaken. It is hoped that the new intensive approach will help the country soon to turn the corner in the matter of food production. Through progressive application of scientific knowledge to agriculture we are sure to achieve rapid growth in food production which is essential for India's progress and prosperity.

**Annexure I (a)**  
*Distribution of Plan Outlay by Major Heads of Development*

| Head of Development<br>(1)             | First Five Year Plan  |                    |                         |                         |                       | Second Five Year Plan   |                         |                       |                          |                          | Third Five Year Plan   |                          |                          | (Rs. in crores)<br>(10) |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
|                                        | Plan Outlay<br>(2)    |                    | Per cent<br>(3)         | Expen-<br>diture<br>(4) | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(5) | Per<br>cent<br>(6)      | Expen-<br>diture<br>(7) | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(8) | Per<br>cent<br>(9)       | Expen-<br>diture<br>(10) | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(11) | Per<br>cent<br>(12)      | Expen-<br>diture<br>(10) |                         |
|                                        | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(2) | Per<br>cent<br>(3) | Expen-<br>diture<br>(4) | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(5)   | Per<br>cent<br>(6)    | Expen-<br>diture<br>(7) | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(8)   | Per<br>cent<br>(9)    | Expen-<br>diture<br>(10) | Plan<br>Outlay<br>(11)   | Per<br>cent<br>(12)    | Expen-<br>diture<br>(10) |                          |                         |
| 1. Agricultural Programmes             | 233                   | 10                 | 206                     | 305                     | 6                     | 276                     | 668                     | 9                     | 735                      |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 2. Cooperation                         | 7                     | Neg.               | 5                       | 47                      | 1                     | 34                      | 80                      | 1                     | 76                       |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 3. Community Development & Pan-chayats | 117                   | 5                  | 79                      | 216                     | 4                     | 219                     | 320                     | 4                     | 292                      |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 4. Major Irrigation                    | 384                   | 16                 | 434                     | 381                     | 8                     | 372                     | 650                     | 9                     | 572                      |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 5. Flood Control                       | 17                    | Neg.               | *                       | 105                     | 2                     | 48                      |                         |                       |                          |                          |                        |                          | 85                       |                         |
| 6. Power                               | 260                   | 11                 | 149                     | 427                     | 9                     | 446†                    | 1,012                   | 13                    | 1,262‡                   |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 7. Industry & Minerals                 | 179                   | 8                  | 97                      | 890                     | 19                    | 1,075                   | 1,784                   | 24                    | 1,955                    |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 8. Transport & Communications          | 557                   | 24                 | 518                     | 1,385                   | 29                    | 1,300                   | 1,486                   | 20                    | 2,116                    |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 9. Social Services & Miscels.          | 602                   | 26                 | 472                     | 1,044                   | 22                    | 830                     | 1,300                   | 17                    | 1,422                    |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| 10. Inventories                        | ..                    | ..                 | ..                      | ..                      | ..                    | ..                      | 200                     | 3                     | 116                      |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |
| Total                                  | 2,356                 | 100                | 1,960                   | 4,800                   | 100                   | 4,600                   | 7,500                   | 100                   | 8,631                    |                          |                        |                          |                          |                         |

\* Included under the head Major Irrigation.

† Including Rs. 75 crores for Rural Electrification.

‡ Including Rs. 125 crores for Rural Electrification.

**Annexure I (b)**  
*Plan Outlay on Major Heads under the Agriculture Sector*

| Head of Development        | First Five Year Plan |          |              |             |          | Second Five Year Plan |             |          |              |             | Third Five Year Plan |              |  | (Rs. in crores) |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|-------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------|----------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|--|-----------------|
|                            | Plan Outlay          | Per cent | Expen-diture | Plan Outlay | Per cent | Expen-diture          | Plan Outlay | Per cent | Expen-diture | Plan Outlay | Per cent             | Expen-diture |  |                 |
|                            |                      |          |              |             |          |                       |             |          |              |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| (1)                        | (2)                  | (3)      | (4)          | (5)         | (6)      | (7)                   | (8)         | (9)      | (10)         |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 1. Agricultural Production | 197                  | 85       | 176          | 104         | 34       | 97                    | 226         | 33       | 203          |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 2. Minor Irrigation        |                      |          |              | 66          | 21       | 95                    | 177         | 26       | 269          |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 3. Soil Conservation       | 10                   | 4        | 11           | 20          | 7        | 18                    | 73          | 11       | 78           |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 4. Forests                 |                      |          |              | 27          | 9        | 19                    | 51          | 7        | 47           |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 5. Animal Husbandry        | 22                   | 9        | 16           | 38          | 12       | 21                    | 54          | 8        | 44           |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 6. Dairying & Milk Supply  |                      |          |              | 18          | 6        | 12                    | 36          | 5        | 36           |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 7. Fisheries               | 4                    | 2        | 3            | 12          | 4        | 9                     | 29          | 4        | 24           |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| 8. Warehousing & Marketing | *                    | *        | *            | 20          | 7        | 5                     | 42          | 6        | 34           |             |                      |              |  |                 |
| Total                      | 233                  | 100      | 206          | 305         | 100      | 276                   | 688         | 100      | 735          |             |                      |              |  |                 |

\*Not separately reported as this was included under the head Cooperation.

## Annexure II

## (a) Targets and achievements for production of Foodgrains in the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans

(Million tonnes)

|             | Assumed<br>base level<br>production | Target | Percentage<br>Increase<br>over base<br>level | Achieve-<br>ment | Percentage<br>Increase<br>over base<br>level |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (1)         | (2)                                 | (3)    | (4)                                          | (5)              | (6)                                          |
| First Plan  | ..                                  | 54·87  | 62·59                                        | 14·07            | 65·85                                        |
| Second Plan | ..                                  | 66·04  | 81·79                                        | 23·84            | 80·79                                        |
| Third Plan  | ..                                  | 77·22  | 101·6                                        | 31·57            | 72·03*                                       |

\*Partially revised estimates.

Note: Figures of foodgrains production for different Plan periods are not strictly comparable due to changes in coverage and methods of estimation.

(b) Growth Rates in Foodgrains Production  
(1949-50 to 1964-65)

- (i) Linear Growth Rate :  
(1949-50 & 1951-52=100)      3·66 per cent per annum.
- (ii) Compound Growth Rate:      2·98 per cent per annum.

Source: Growth Rates in Indian Agriculture, Dte. of Economics & Statistics Publication.

Annexure II  
(c) Targets and achievements of Principal Agricultural Development Programmes during First, Second, Third and Fourth Plan Periods

| S.<br>No. | Programme<br>(2)                                               | Unit<br>(3)     | First Plan    |                         | Second Plan   |                         | Third Plan    |                          | Fourth Plan                           |  |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
|           |                                                                |                 | Target<br>(4) | Achieve-<br>ment<br>(5) | Target<br>(6) | Achieve-<br>ment<br>(7) | Target<br>(8) | Achieve-<br>ment†<br>(9) | Ten-<br>ta-<br>tive<br>Target<br>(10) |  |
| 1.        | Major and Medium Irrigation (gross addl. area benefited)       | Million acres   | 8·4           | 3·2(a)                  | 10·4(b)       | 5·4(b)                  | 12·8(c)       | (A)5·5(c)                | 8·9(d)                                |  |
| 2.        | Minor Irrigation—(gross addl. area benefited)                  | -do-            | 11·1(a)       | 9·4(a)                  | 8·9(b)        | 8·9(b)                  | 12·8(c)       | 12·9(c)                  | 17·1(d)                               |  |
| 3.        | Soil Conservation on Agricultural lands (addl. area benefited) | -do-            | N.S.          | 0·7(a)                  | 2·5(b)        | 2·5(b)                  | 11·0(c)       | 9·4(c)                   | 20·0(d)                               |  |
| 4.        | Land Reclamation and Development (addl. area benefited)        | -do-            | 3·7(a)        | 2·7(a)                  | 1·5(b)        | 1·2(b)                  | 3·6(c)        | 4·7(c)                   | 2·5(d)                                |  |
| 5.        | Improved Seeds of Foodgrains*                                  | -do-            | N.S.          | 4·7                     | N.S.          | 48·9                    | 302·0         | 112·0                    | N.S.                                  |  |
| 6.        | Consumption of Chemical Fertilizers*                           | Lakh tonnes     | 1·22          | 1·07                    | 5·1           | 2·1                     | 10·2          | 6·0                      | 24·0                                  |  |
|           | (a) Nitrogenous—in terms of N                                  | Thousand tonnes | N.S.          | 19                      | 150           | 70                      | 406           | 150                      | 1,000                                 |  |
|           | (b) Phosphatic—in terms of $P_2O_5$                            | -do-            | N.S.          | 11                      | N.S.          | 28                      | 203           | 78                       | 700                                   |  |
|           | (c) Potassic—in terms of $K_2O$                                | M. tonnes       | N.S.          | 2·2                     | 3·0           | 2·4                     | 5·1           | 3·0                      | 6·0                                   |  |
| 7.        | Urban compost*                                                 | -do-            | N.S.          | ...                     | N.S.          | 67                      | 152           | 117                      | N.S.                                  |  |
| 8.        | Rural compost*                                                 | M. acres        | ...           | ...                     | N.S.          | 11·1                    | 41·0          | 19·7                     | 64·0                                  |  |
| 9.        | Green Manuring*                                                | -do-            | ...           | ...                     | N.S.          | 16·5                    | 50·0          | 50·3                     | 136·9                                 |  |
| 10.       | Plant Protection*                                              | -do-            | ...           | ...                     | N.S.          | ...                     | ...           | ...                      | ...                                   |  |

† As in Third Plan Report of the Planning Commission.

‡ Compiled from Draft Fourth Plan/Check list of various State Governments/Union Territories.

(A) Anticipated achievement.

\* Level reached to be reached.

(a) Over 1950-51. (b) Over 1955-56. (c) Over 1960-61. (d) Over 1965-66.

Source.— Indian Agriculture in Brief—Eighth Edition, March, 1967.

## SOME ADMINISTRATIVE SHORTCOMINGS OF INTENSIVE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

*Edward A. Kieloch*

THE concept of intensifying agricultural development efforts by concentrating resources and efforts within carefully selected geographic areas, constituted a fresh, new approach to food production. This concept was the key contribution of the report "India's Food Crises and Steps to Meet It", prepared by a team of Ford Foundation specialists and Indian Government officials, in 1959. Essentially, this report and follow-up studies by the Government of India and the Foundation led to adoption within India of the so-called "Package Program". This Program is aimed squarely at increasing food production and farm income, by making available to farmers a unified set (package) of various agricultural inputs—fertilizer, high-yielding seeds, implements, etc.—and by instructing the cultivator in proper use of improved agricultural methods. Since the level of material resources and availability of technical and administrative talent is inadequate to permit intensification of developmental efforts throughout India, the districts selected for intensive efforts were limited to those which promised to yield the greatest return—in terms of production—for the required investment of money, material, and manpower. In this way, the highest return on investment of scarce resources could be realized, and the experiences gained in these districts could then be applied in efforts elsewhere, as soon as resources become available to intensify developmental efforts more broadly within India.

In late 1960 and early 1961, the original seven districts included in the IADP\* effort were selected. These were: Thanjavur (Madras), West Godavari (Andhra Pradesh), Shahabad (Bihar), Raipur (Madhya Pradesh), Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh), Ludhiana (Punjab), and Pali (Rajasthan). In the first four of these districts, the dominant food crop was rice; in the other three, wheat.

The Ford Foundation provided approximately \$11,000,000 over the initial five year period in these seven districts to help purchase

The views expressed by the author in this article are entirely his own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Ford Foundation.

\*Intensive Agricultural District Program.

equipment and transport; establish soil testing laboratories and implement workshops; finance salaries of additional Indian staff and foreign consultants; and to assist with the costs of demonstrations, training, information programs and the like. Most of the total expenditure required, of course, came from the Government of India; so that the Foundation's role was one of technical assistance, and supplemental financing while principal responsibility for the major costs and sole responsibility for policy direction and administrative sanction rested with the Government.

In these seven districts, a number of significant achievements were registered. For example:

Wheat production in Ludhiana increased roughly 100 per cent in 1964-65 above yields in the "pre-package" years.

The average rice per acre yield in West Godavari increased by approximately 20 per cent over pre-package yields.

In Thanjavur district, fields planted with a new variety of paddy (ADT-27) yielded an average of 3,800 pounds of rice per acre as compared with a yield of 2,300 pounds for more traditional varieties of seed.

And, most importantly, hundreds of thousands of farmers in these districts were exposed to the advantages of fertilizer, weedicides, pesticides, improved seed varieties and implements, and learned through their own experience that adoption of improved inputs and practices paid off in terms of yield and income.

Concurrently, the Government of India, using its own resources, established eight additional IADP districts—one district in each of eight states—to bring the number of IADP areas to fifteen. In addition, the government has patterned its new Intensive Agricultural Areas Program (IAA) after the Package Program of IADP, and plans to extend the IAA program to over 100 districts during the Fourth Five Year Plan period.

Against this background, let us now examine the programmatic and administrative requirements of intensive agricultural development. Basically, a sizeable number of diverse but interrelated factors contribute to agricultural advance. Among these are:

- (1) The processes of research and of communication of research findings to the cultivator whenever these findings can lead to higher yields, more efficient methods or higher income.

- (2) Availability and accessibility of agricultural inputs—fertilizer, implements, improved seeds, weedicides and pesticides.
- (3) A credit system which makes it possible for the farmer to purchase agricultural inputs and to underwrite improvements on this land such as land levelling, tubewells, tanks and so forth.
- (4) Adequate facilities for marketing, storing, transporting and processing produce; including farm-to-market roads; adequate price levels; and processing, distribution and storing methods which cut loss and spoilage to minimum.
- (5) Strong organizations—formal and informal; government and non-government—through which credit flows, fertilizer is delivered, tube wells are dug, roads built, progress analyzed and further development plans made.
- (6) A process of oversight and coordination which will insure that the other elements involved are in reasonable balance in terms of timing, scale and effectiveness.

In short, the elements which make for a concerted, intensive agricultural development programme are neither esoteric nor complex, but the *administrative ability* to bring them into existence and proper interaction, is still largely lacking. What is needed, basically, is a reappraisal of the administrative machinery charged with intensification, and the same willingness on the part of administrators to scrap traditional behaviour, as that evidenced by *kisans* in forsaking old methods and beliefs for new practices. Against this background, let us examine some of the experience, growing out of agricultural intensification, which points to the need for administrative overhaul.

It is a useful dictum in public administration to anticipate that if any programme is expanded, accelerated, intensified; latent inadequacies within the organization concerned may quickly become unmanageable. This largely is what happened. The IADP efforts did not basically create any new administrative problems; but these efforts did serve to give visibility to existing administrative inadequacies, which further deteriorated under the burden of expanded programme workload. In reviewing the first five years of activity in intensive agricultural programs, an Expert Committee of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture concluded that:

"...one of the important lessons that one can draw from the implementation of the IADP is that the administrative system is

not adequate for the job and has to be geared to the needs of the programme. In fact, one of the most serious obstacles that the IADP has had to face is the archaic administrative system, that obtains in the country. This system, based essentially on checks and balances, evolved in a different time and for a different purpose, has proved woefully inadequate for any operation, the aim of which is not to maintain the *status quo* but to change it. The IADP has thus been a square peg in a round hole. The main objective of the IADP is to accelerate the rate of growth by bringing about a basic change in the situation in which it operates. The main purpose of the administrative system that India has inherited is, on the other hand, to ensure security and hence allow only the minimum possible change. The IADP puts a premium on the technician who is the harbinger of change. The Indian administrative system gives primacy to the administrator whose main function is to lay down and administer the rules designed to ensure conformity. The basic idea of IADP is that it should be a tailor-made programme to suit the needs of a particular area which can be adjusted by the local authorities promptly and effectively, as and when the situation changes. The main concern of the Indian administrative system has been to lay down general patterns of conformity, to which areas must adjust rather than otherwise and leave the least possible discretion to the authorities lower down in the hierarchical structure.<sup>1</sup>

A few months after this Government Report was published, I made a brief, independent assessment of the administrative problems which beset IADP. Frankly, I had hoped that the cited language of the Report had been overdrawn for emphasis; but this was not the case. My own assessment, though in much less depth, paralleled closely the findings of the Government's Expert Committee.

The gross evidence of administrative failure within the IADP districts is unmistakable, and district by district presents a picture of missed opportunities and unrealized goals. All too often the promised fertilizer and improved seeds do not arrive in time for planting. Not infrequently, the farmers are unable to get a loan in time to purchase package inputs—simply because of inefficiencies and delays in processing loan applications. Demonstration equipment lies idle for lack of repair and soil testing falls months behind schedule. Crop spoilage occurs for lack of storage, processing of transportation

<sup>1</sup> Second Report on Intensive Agricultural District Program of Expert Committee on Assessment and Evaluation 1960-65 (Chairman: S. R. Sen), New Delhi, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, 1966, p. 433,

facilities and various kinds of technical information which should have been conveyed to the farmer were not; often with dire consequences. In sum, agricultural development is being depressed by administrative ineffectiveness, and the question now is, what can be done about it?

The first thing which can and must be done is to accept the precept that *administrative structures, systems and procedures exist to facilitate program achievement*. Unless this attitude exists, it is useless to talk about "development administration", for development administration must be programme oriented; any administrative practice, procedure or task which retards the program must be rooted out and scrapped. If there is no willingness or capability to do this, all that results is a well-intentioned charade in which we pay lip service to development but frustrate it by our actions and inactions.

In this light, let us now examine a few areas in which improvement needs to come if development at district level is to reach a point of self-sustained growth.

Perhaps the most sacrosanct position within the administrative structure of India is that of the District Collector. It is easy to guess why this is so. Nearly every important administrator in government was, at one time, a Collector, and he fondly recalls this job the first position of real importance, status and visibility held by him during his government service. As a result, while many are prepared to recognize that development programs, generally, are poorly administered at district levels, few are willing to put the blame on the person or position of the Collector. Yet where else can the fault lie? The Collector is District Administration; therefore, either the organizational concept of this position is invalid, or the people holding the position are unable to do it justice. In my opinion, the former alternative is true.

No District Collector can be expected to achieve in reality what in theory he requires to accomplish. The job is simply too big and too complex. The only reason this truth is not more self-evident is that the persons holding Collector's positions are typically among the most highly talented in India. Their capabilities are sufficiently outstanding that this conceals the essential fact that the job of District Collector—in its present configuration—is basically unmanageable. Were the persons holding Collector positions less able, it is probably that more scholars and administrators would have noticed sooner that the tasks with which the Collector is charged are too numerous, too contradictory and too time-demanding to be done well even under the best of circumstances.

The Collector is charged with responsibility for almost everything that happens within a district. He cannot focus or concentrate his attention or his energies for long on any specific program. His responsibilities for law and order and for revenue functions, together with his magisterial role effectively keep him from devoting the time and attention required for development programs—particularly when key development programs are intensified and require more concerted leadership.

The remedy for this could proceed in either of two directions. One approach could be to abolish the position of Collector (as it is now constituted) and let the senior district officers for each program and specialty report directly to the responsible departments at State level. This, in effect, is what nearly all other advanced administrative systems provide for, and the advantages of this approach are many. Among them are :

- (1) Program guidance, control and oversight flows directly from the responsible people at state level to the responsible officers in districts; thereby streamlining the problems of communication and control between state and district staff.
- (2) Technical problems will stay in technical decision channels, without funnelling through an administrative generalist who either need not be concerned with the technical matter, or is ill-equipped to make a decision with respect to it.
- (3) The top-level man for each program area in the district will be committed to that program *full-time*. He will be able to provide full-time leadership and oversight. (As matters now stand, the Collector is the top level man in *every* program area, but can spend only a fraction of his time in any one of them with the result that his impact is lessened.)

The other approach would be to keep the Collector's position basically intact; i.e., retain his role as the chief administrator of all district programmes and functions, but give him a large professional staff to help him oversee and supervise the diverse responsibilities with which he is charged.

There are, it seems to me, no other alternatives. India can choose to eliminate the Collector function, as most advanced countries have done, or she can opt to retain the function and provide the necessary

professional staff help to the Collector so that he can indeed have the capability to do what he is charged with doing. To take neither of these steps is to accept an inability to administer with optimal success any form of intensive development program; for the present organizational structure at District level simply is not equipped to carry on large scale programs. Let us examine why this is so.

As matters now stand, the Collector is the chief administrative officer, responsible for control, direction and coordination of IADP activities. Under him serves an IADP Project Officer, who is the ranking officer assigned *full-time* responsibility for IADP. This arrangement is beset with difficulties in actual practice.

The first point to be recognized is that experience has shown that the average tenure of a Collector in an IADP District is 15 months.<sup>2</sup> The first question we should ask ourselves, therefore, is *how much can a part-time program head (who typically lacks a technical background in agriculture) contribute in terms of leadership and guidance over an average period of 15 months?* Keeping this limitation in mind, much of the rest becomes clearer.

Because the Collector is a part-time program head, he often cannot exercise *timely* supervision. A law and order problem, a flood, a railroad accident may necessarily occupy his time when matters critical to the success of the IADP program need to be thrashed out. Secondly, as a generalist with an average of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  months\* of familiarity with IADP programmes, the Collector is not equipped to exercise *well-informed* supervision over the program. If the essence of program leadership is the ability to make timely and well-informed decisions, this capability is severely handicapped in IADP districts today.

This problem would not be so acute, if the Project Officer were armed with authority and responsibility for making key programme decisions or supervising the program staff. Unfortunately, this is not the case; for example, in each IADP district, approximately two hundred additional officers were added to the agricultural staff, mostly VLW's and Agricultural Extension Officers. Yet the IADP Project Officer typically has no direct control or influence over the field employees responsible for agricultural programs and activities. These employees are under the direct control of Block Development Officers, who report to the Collector, not to the Project Officer. This arrangement

\* Second Report on Intensive Agricultural District program, p. 9.

\* Average total length of service=15 months.

Average length of service at any given point in time= $15 \div 2$ .

has often led to unavailability of field staff at times when they are most needed for IADP purposes. The Project Officer, as a program leader, is therefore relatively impotent. He has been "organized" out of the ability to do his job.

Similarly, the IADP Project Officer has no organizational control over the Cooperative Extension staff, which is of key importance to the success of IADP activities. The Cooperative Extension Field staff (usually numbering approximately 100 officers) reports to the Deputy Registrar (Cooperatives) whose channels of communication and coordination with the IADP Project Officer are little used for productive ends. In theory, the Collector should ensure that the Project Officer and Deputy Registrar are complementing each other's functions effectively; in practice too many other duties and responsibilities interfere with the Collector's ability to do this systematically.

Another persistent and difficult problem faced in administering IADP activities is the delay and frustration which results from rigid fiscal and purchasing controls. This problem is certainly not unique to IADP, and it results from a financial management system which is oriented toward procedures, not action. In any event, time after time, delays, shortages on inputs, unavailability of equipment have occurred, due directly to the tortuous and time-consuming processes of sanctioning and releasing funds. Again, India's financial management system, appropriate for a static situation, has had difficulty in functioning fast enough or smoothly enough in the field to underwrite a developmental effort.

And finally, the personnel system failed to support effectively the intensive development effort. It took months—often years—to establish and fill new IADP positions. Once these positions were filled, many of the personnel in them were transferred elsewhere willy-nilly, before they had any real chance to learn about the intensive agricultural development effort; let alone contribute to it. For example, in addition to the turnover of Collectors already cited, at any given time, 60 per cent of the BDO's and 50 per cent of the Agricultural Extension Officers were with a district for an average of less than 12 months !\*

The import is quite clear. Intensive Agricultural Programs cannot move forward with speed and efficiency if the vehicle on which

\* 24 months average tour ÷ 2=12 months.

they are borne is not better suited to the purpose than the present system of district administration. Already, the eagerness of the farmers for improved seed, more fertilizer, and land improvement has outstripped the ability of the administrative machinery to provide such inputs. Experience in the IADP Districts has clearly shown that immense progress in food production is possible, and it has clearly shown that administrative incapacity is retarding progress. What is needed now is not further proof, nor recrimination nor despair. What is needed is a willingness to change organizational structures, administrative systems, policies and procedures where such changes will lead to program accomplishment. And program accomplishment is, after all, the major goal of administrative activity.

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## MOBILIZING FERTILIZER INPUTS TO INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION

*C. R. Ranganathan*

THE historic method of increasing food production in India, to cope with the growing population, has been to clear and break up new land and bring it under cultivation. The effective cultivated area has also been increased by multi-cropping made possible by expansion of major and minor irrigation. Increasing food production by the area-increasing method is no longer possible, except perhaps to a small extent here and there, as all land which is suitable for cultivation and much that is only marginally suitable has already been brought under cultivation. We already cultivate over 45 per cent of our land area. This is a higher percentage than in most countries of the world and it has been achieved by diverting land from other essential forms of land use, namely, forests and pastures.

Irrigation serves the double purpose of increasing the effective cropped area through double or multiple cropping and of yield-raising through supplementing the water supply derived from rainfall. India already has the largest irrigation system in the world, the irrigated area being about one fifth of the cultivated area. There is scope for further expansion of irrigation facilities, not so much perhaps by way of building new dams, but through minor irrigation works, such as tube wells, ordinary wells, and tanks. But it need to be remembered that irrigation can only provide water which, however, important to plant metabolism, supplies only one plant nutrient, namely, hydrogen. The provision of supplemental irrigation water is in effect a commitment to supply increased quantities of balanced fertilizers, if the water is not to be wasted.

If we have come to the end of the road as far as increasing food production by increasing the physical area under cultivation is concerned, how is our growing population to be fed? Food imports can temporarily tide us over shortages, but are clearly not a long-term answer to the problem. Each year's growth in population increases the foodgrains demand by about 2 million tons. No elaborate argument is necessary to show that a country, as large and as populous as ours is, cannot survive except on the basis of self-sufficiency in food.

The increased food requirements of the people will have to be met by annually increasing production from the present acreage of crop-land. Land transfers to and from grain and non-grain crops as well as food and non-food crops will no doubt take place according to the current relative profitability of the various crops, but such transfers are reversible and any improvement they may lead to in the quantum of foodgrain production will be at the cost of a shortfall in other types of agricultural production. Increasing foodgrain production is really a part, although the most important part, of the general problem of increasing the productivity of the soil.

The answer to this problem is variously stated to lie in modernizing agriculture, commercialising farming and scientific farming. The key factor relied on in making the transition from traditional agriculture to market-oriented farming is the use of fertilizers accompanied by a package of improved practices consisting in the use of good seed, machines—such as tractors and efficient implements—pesticides, irrigation from local or distant sources, based on technical advice. Fertilizers make it possible to raise artificially the supply of plant foods in the soil so that plants can grow better and produce higher yields. Improved seed produces crops which can take up and convert heavier dosages of plant foods without "lodging" than ordinary seed. In principle the solution of our food problem lies in increasing the productivity of our soils by augmenting the supply of plant foods through the application of balanced fertilizers and, wherever possible, supplementing the natural water supply by irrigation, on the one hand, and on the other by using progressively higher and higher yielding varieties of seeds through genetic research directed towards increasing the fertilizer responsiveness and the yield potential of our crops. From the purely technical point of view, no one can set the limits beyond which per acre yields cannot be raised; yields are being produced in various countries, including India, which would have been considered impossible twenty years ago.

While the technical possibilities of indefinitely increasing yields from a given area through scientific agriculture based on fertilizers and improved seed are good, the transition from subsistence farming to market-oriented farming requires an appreciation of the nature and implications of the change and the organization of the infrastructure and the supply, credit and advisory arrangements needed to sustain scientific farming.

Traditional agriculture is essentially a self-contained, self-sustaining type of land use. Typically it represents a closed system in which

local inputs (of biological origin) derived from the land are applied to the land to produce outputs. As the input factors, such as farm yard manure, oil cakes, etc., do not match the outputs, there is a cumulative drain of the intrinsic soil nutrients, leading to yields being stabilized at low levels. The basic characteristics of traditional farming are, firstly, its autonomy deriving from its reliance on local seeds and local manures, and, secondly, its relative security based, as it is, on tested and time-honoured practices calling for modest investments.

In contrast to traditional farming, modern yield-raising farming involves a calculated sacrifice of the autonomy of the farmer, as it depends on recurring use of fertilizer and pesticides which may have to be transported over long distances from the factories where they are manufactured. It uses special seed produced in distant seed multiplication centres. Hybrid seed has to be procured anew every year. Being progressive, scientific farming has to hold itself ready to take advantage of new developments in seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and farm management. It moves away from bullock power to tractors and electrically operated pump sets. It has to have access on a permanent basis to expert technical advice from agronomists and other scientists on the efficient use of farm chemicals, and to solve problems and take advantage of advances and innovations.

Risks of crop failure in varying degrees due to climatic aberrations and pest damage are inseparable from farming, but in traditional farming the risks themselves and the attendant monetary losses are smaller, while in modern farming the risks and losses can be much greater on account of the luxuriant growth of the crops and the high cost of the investment due to the use of fertilizers and pesticides.

When agriculture ceases to be subsistence farming and becomes market-oriented commercial farming, it takes on the character of a productive business enterprise in which the lowering of production costs, improvement of the quality of the produce, enhancement of yields and profits, ready access to credit, efficient arrangements for the supply of inputs and for the marketing of the produce become important. Scientific commercial farming is in fact a biochemical industry in which plant foods and moisture present in the soil and supplemented by fertilizers and irrigation are converted by selected massed plants into grain or fruit or fibre, the source of energy being sunlight. Unlike machine industries, agricultural production is strictly seasonal and this characteristic makes it essential that inputs like fertilizers, irrigation water and plant protection chemicals should be made available to the farmer at the right time, in adequate quantities and within easy reach.

The basic raw materials of yield-raising farming, namely, fertilizers, have to come to the farm from distant factories. Fertilizers are not just one product of standard composition. For fertilizing his crops efficiently the farmer needs to use the three major plant foods, nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium in balanced fashion according to agronomic recommendations. It is an established practice in India to apply the fertilizers in two split doses, the first dose N, P & K or N & P at or prior to the time of planting or sowing and the second dose containing straight N some weeks later at the appropriate time.

Under traditional farming conditions, the main trend of commodity movements is from the village outwards; the marketed surplus of grain and the raw materials of agro-industries (cotton, sugarcane, jute, tobacco) moves out to the towns and mandis. The materials which flow into the villages (cloth, kerosene, cheap consumer goods) account for a much smaller tonnage. Under market-oriented farming, the tonnage of commodities flowing out to the markets will naturally rise substantially. The marketed surplus of grain may rise from its present level of 30-35 per cent of the production to 50-60 per cent. There will also be a marked increase in the tonnage of materials moving into the villages as a result of the massive use of fertilizers. In 1970-71 some 15 to 20 million tons of nitrogenous, complex, phosphatic and potassic fertilizers will have to be transported by rail, road and water from the factories where they are produced or the ports where they are imported. Thus not only will the movement of agricultural commodities from the villages outwards be scaled up as a result of increased farm production, but the inflow into the villages of fertilizers, pesticides, packing materials, diesel oil, etc., will rise steeply. This reverse flow into the villages may be as much as 15-20 per cent of the tonnage of commodities moving out of the farms. The need for gearing up the transport and warehousing arrangements to cope with the increased two-way movements of materials is patent. The infrastructure (railway wagons, trucks, roads, bridges, warehouses, soils, grain drying and processing equipment) will have to be organized and strengthened, according to a phased programme.

It is beyond the scope of this article to go into the numerous impediments to the rapid transformation of a largely subsistence type of agriculture into highly productive market-oriented agriculture. A great deal of preparatory work and "tooling up" have been done during the last ten or twelve years and it may fairly be said that a very large proportion of farmers in most States are now ready and willing to use fertilizers. On this basis it is reasonable to conclude that the success of our plans to increase food production sharply to the level of

self sufficiency and maintain it at that level depends primarily on making it easy for farmers to obtain their fertilizer requirements and to use them properly. In short, it is essential to evolve and put into operation an effective and integrated distribution system, a sound credit system for both distribution and production and an easily accessible and up-to-date advisory system. In all these respects there is room for considerable improvement in the existing arrangements.

A weakness of the present distribution arrangements lies in the fact that the agencies for selling nitrogenous, phosphatic and potassic fertilizers are various and uncoordinated. Straight nitrogenous fertilizers are distributed by the Central Fertilizer Pool through the State Governments to co-operatives for sale to consumers. In nearly all the States, the co-operatives hold a monopoly in the sale of nitrogen. As a result of the marketing freedom conceded to both existing and new factories, co-operatives will no longer enjoy an ordained monopoly in nitrogen distribution, although in fact they are likely to be the main selling agency for nitrogenous fertilizers. It is also likely that the advent of competition in this field will help to increase their efficiency. Phosphatic and complex fertilizers are being sold by co-operatives in some States and by private dealers as well as co-operatives in others. Potash in straight form is sold by co-operatives and by both co-operatives and private dealers in the form of mixtures. Production credit drawn from co-operative credit societies cannot as a rule be utilized in any shops other than co-operative shops. These arrangements make it difficult for a farmer to apply balanced fertilizers to his crops.

A farmer who wants to use fertilizer should be able to procure all his fertilizer requirements from a shop which is not too far from his village. Ideally the shop should stock and sell not only his fertilizer requirements, but all his production requisites, such as seed, pesticides and implements. It should be a centre for service at which the farmer can get his tools repaired and obtain at least elementary advice on the correct use of fertilizers, pesticides, etc. In order that anything in the nature of a monopoly position leading to inefficiency is not allowed to be built up, it should be so arranged that the farmer would have the option, if he is so minded, to go to a different shop which though farther away is still within practicable reach. An analogy to this is to be found in petrol filling stations. There appears to be no reason why co-operatives should not be organized so as to take on these enlarged functions, nor why adjoining co-operative shops should not compete with one another to secure business. Nor is there any valid reason why private dealers should be prevented from competing with co-operatives. Properly run co-operatives with their ideals of small profits and service

to the farmer should have nothing to fear from competition from private dealers. Wherever there is healthy competition, the farmer is the beneficiary and it is his interests that should be primarily considered in any campaign for stepping up agricultural production.

It is essential that retail outlets should carry adequate stocks of the required fertilizers in advance of the manuring season and that they should be able to replenish these stocks as required. This involves the strengthening of the infrastructure to which reference has already been made. The need for proper organization of supply arises from the fact that while there are only two or at best three peak seasons for fertilizer sales, factories produce fertilizers round the clock throughout the year. The situation in India in this respect is more favourable than in western countries where there is only one cropping season. The answer to the problem lies in encouraging off-season stocking of fertilizers by both dealers and farmers by a system of rebates.

It is important that fertilizer mixtures of the appropriate analyses should be stocked in the retail shops. It is theoretically possible to leave it to the farmer to apply the recommended dosages either in straight form or in mixtures of his own compounding. It would undoubtedly be cheaper for him to do so. But the conditions in India do not favour the adoption of this alternative. The difficulties in the way of the farmer's procuring the requisite quantities of the separate N, P and K fertilizers are stupendous. The average farmer does not know enough of the nutrient contents and general properties of the fertilizers either to mix them properly or apply them separately. In our present situation, leaving it to the farmer to apply fertilizers in balanced form is a vain hope. The inevitable consequence of such a course would be unbalanced fertilization leading to falling yields, impairment of soil productivity and loss of faith in fertilizer use.

Next in importance to ensuring the timely availability of fertilizers in adequate quantities in a network of conveniently located outlets, is enabling the farmer to purchase his requirements by extending short-term credit to him. In addition to production credit for the farmer, distribution credit for the wholesaler and retailer will also be required. The present sources of production credit are co-operative banks and taccavi from State governments. A relatively small amount of credit is given by private dealers to farmers known to them and with whom they have trade relations. Commercial banks have hitherto played a very minor part in financing production credit, such credit as they have given being mainly to the plantation industry and to sugarcane growers. Pool fertilizers have been distributed on a consignment basis to

cooperative wholesalers and in some States to retailers and for this purpose State governments have taken advantage of the 18 months' credit allowed till recently by the Central Government under the GMF scheme. The Reserve Bank has now stepped into the picture in replacement of the Central Government as a source of finance for the co-operative banking system.

It has become clear that in the changed situation co-operative banks cannot by themselves cope with the rapidly increasing requirements of short-term agricultural credit not only in the States in which the co-operative movement is weak, but even in States where it is well established, owing to the improbability of co-operatives developing fast enough to meet the anticipated demands.

Various expedients to meet the credit gap, which is a sizeable one running into many crores of rupees, are under consideration. It is proposed to set up agricultural credit corporations in five States where the co-operatives are weak. Commercial banks are being asked to enter the agricultural credit field in a substantial way. A proposal mooted by the Ford Foundation to organize agricultural development corporations at the district level is also receiving attention.

The Fertilizer Association of India has set up a Fertilizer Credit Committee under the chairmanship of Shri B. Venkatappaiah to study the problem of fertilizer credit in relation to the requirements during the Fourth Plan period and make proposals for meeting them. This Committee has worked in association with the All-India Agricultural Credit Review Committee set up by the Reserve Bank of India and is expected to submit its report by the end of October this year.

Fertilizer-based farming for high yields cannot be successfully practised without an active, expert farm advisory service which enjoys the farmers' confidence and respect. The functions of the advisory service are two-fold : (i) promotional work; and (ii) what may be described as solving the farmer's problems or trouble-shooting.

Fertilizer promotion has two aspects: firstly, a general educational process directed to educating farmers in the underlying principles of fertilizer use, economic and other benefits, and efficient methods of using recommended plant foods and practices; and, secondly, sales promotion of particular brands of products. Sales promotion is in the interest of manufacturers and may be left to them. But educational or basic promotion of fertilizer use is so complex and so important that it requires special and continuing attention from trained extension

workers. The need for authoritative, disinterested technical guidance for the farmer arises from the following considerations:

- (a) Fertilizer is a generic term for any chemical substance containing one or more specific plant nutrients. It tends to make the fact that using just any fertilizer is not enough. Fertilizers have to be so used that N, P and K are applied in balanced proportions.
- (b) Fertilizer dosages have to be "tailored" to the nutrient requirements of the crops and the nutrient status of the soil.
- (c) Fertilizers have "side effects" and residual effects. These have to be assessed by periodic soil tests and either countered or allowed for in fresh recommendations.
- (d) Since the regular use of fertilizers causes changes in the soil reaction and the nutrient status of the soil, and since new varieties of seeds, new fertilizers and new techniques are being constantly developed, there can be no finality in fertilizer recommendations. Technical guidance has, therefore, to be provided to the farmer on a permanent basis.

It will be seen that while the decision to modernize his farming is one for the farmer to make, he cannot succeed unless the inputs on which he must rely are mobilized by the concerted action of many agencies.

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## MEASURES OF PLANT PROTECTION AND PEST CONTROL

*P.R. Mehta*

**A**RICULTURE is basically the key sector determining the general level of prosperity in Indian economy. It generates approximately 50 per cent of India's national income, which accounts for about one-half of India's foreign exchange earnings and deploys about 70 per cent of the Indian labour force. Wide fluctuations in agricultural production is a well-known feature of Indian economy. During the post-Independence period it has been markedly so in 1957-58, 1962-63 and now successively for the last two years. The heavy shortfalls in agricultural targets, particularly with regard to food grains have largely contributed to the slowing pace of economic development in our country, thereby also aggravating the inflationary pressure in the recent years. The two successive droughts of 1965-66 and 1966-67 have brought in sharp focus the pivotal role of agriculture production in the economic stability of the country. It is paradoxical that while the production of food-grains has declined by about 17 per cent only, yet their prices have risen by about 50 per cent. Experience has indicated that even marginal shortages in agricultural produce or availability in general and food grains in particular, pushes up the price in far greater proportions. It has, therefore, become imperative not only to aim at self-sufficiency in this sector but to have surplus production. Fortunately, science and technology now offer a solution to self-sufficiency in food through high-yielding varieties of cereals developed in India and elsewhere. The nation owes a debt of gratitude to our agricultural scientists in the various research institutes and to a number of international agencies for original and adaptive research in developing these high-yielding varieties of seeds. These could completely change the face of Indian farming provided the chemical inputs, fertilizers and pesticides are available and applied at right time and in correct combination.

### LOSSES FROM PESTS AND DISEASES

It was estimated about five years back that pests, diseases and weeds cause an annual loss of 15 to 20 per cent valued at Rs. 1,000 crores. This fact finds support from an independent study undertaken recently by the National Council of Applied Economic Research,

New Delhi<sup>1</sup> with which the author was associated as an Honorary Consultant. The data on losses was calculated from experiments conducted between 1950-51 to 1965-66. The yield differentials varied from State to State on crops. The overall percentage increase in yield turned out to be as high as 40 per cent, the lowest response being in wheat. If losses on account of storage pests, rodents and other causes are taken into account the average figure would exceed 15 per cent. Another interesting finding of the study was that in monetary terms, the benefit-cost ratio ranged from 2.3 to 9.5 and for isolated prophylactic treatment as high as 10 to 45.

The prevention of crop losses of such staggering magnitude is technologically feasible at costs which farmer can afford to pay and specially because the study undertaken by NCAER revealed that about 30 per cent of the cultivators interviewed were using pesticides of which 90 to 100 per cent were fully satisfied. A significant revelation of the study has been that pesticide use is more prevalent in the Southern States even though this has been generally known. If so well established is the performance of pest control measures, it stands to reason to analyse the causes why is the practice so little adopted so far.

#### POLICIES, TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN PLANT PROTECTION

Farmers have been familiar with the use of improved seed, water and manure for hundreds of years. This has been followed by the use of chemical fertilizers; the pesticides were the last to be introduced. Most modern and potent pesticides are post-Second World War discoveries and their introduction in India started from 1948 onwards. Also the use of pesticides is more sophisticated than other chemical inputs. Our crops are afflicted by over 250 different pests and diseases and it requires some degree of technical knowledge or experience to diagnose these so that the proper chemical could be selected and used at the right time. No single broad spectrum pesticide is known which will kill all pest diseases of crops. The variable pace of adoption of plant protection measures by the cultivators in the different States can be attributed to policies and administrative decisions taken therein. The development of plant protection in India, therefore, needs some consideration in retrospect.

Many Commissions and Committees have reported on the condition of agricultural economy in India. The importance of pest control measures was brought in sharp focus for the first time in the report

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<sup>1</sup> "Pesticides in Indian Agriculture"—A study undertaken by the NCAER, New Delhi.

of the Bengal Famine Commission, 1945. It was recognized that a disease was the important contributory cause of the failure of rice crop in 1945 leading to famine conditions. In pursuance of the recommendation of the Commission on the need to prevent damage to crops in the field and produce in storage, the agricultural departments of the Central and State Governments were strengthened by the addition of plant protection service organization.

Four measures of plant protection are universally recognized. These are: protection by aid of chemicals ; through regulatory measures; breeding of varieties resistant to pests and diseases; and biological control. The first is now accepted as the most practical and adaptable method. It is to be adopted on a voluntary basis by the cultivators. The second aims at some degree of compulsion for the control of epidemics of pests and diseases so that in a community effort, the recalcitrant minority is not allowed to evade his responsibility in a broad-based welfare programme. Additionally, the regulatory measures empower the government to take steps to prevent the entry of exotic pests and diseases into the country, and to prevent the spread of infectious diseases from one State to the other. The third method is well known and constitutes one of the most important activity of the agricultural departments. The last method aims at control by use of living organisms like bacteria, fungi and viruses. Since this requires much research and development work, the government assumes full responsibility for it. It has been claimed that while chemical control requires recurring investment, the use of resistant varieties and biological control offer an easy and cheap solution, specially for annual crop plants. Except for limited success in isolated cases, the latter two measures have not produced the desired results. In this article, therefore, only the chemical and regulatory measures have been considered.

For the development of pest control by aid of chemicals, in the initial stages, the Centre through its newly established organization (Directorate of Plant Protection Quarantine and Storage) assisted the States in drawing up pest control schemes, and as an incentive, met the entire expenditure on staff, equipment and pesticides under the "Grow More Food" Scheme.

The first task undertaken by the State Plant Protection organizations was to survey their respective areas to study the economic status of pests and diseases there, lay down targets of work, fix priorities and assess the requirements of pesticides and application equipment. Simultaneously, training programmes were arranged for field workers

of various categories. The teething troubles were numerous—lack of trained personnel, arranging imports of pesticides and equipment, about which much had to be learnt gradually by trial and error, and the apathy of the cultivators to readily adopt pest control measures as new improved agricultural practices. As against these, considerable basic information on pests and diseases was available. However, before the organization difficulties had been overcome, the Centre decided to withdraw financial assistance on staff and equipment. The pesticides were to be sold to cultivators at 50 per cent of the cost price and the balance to be met by the Centre and the State on equal contribution of each. The period of 3-4 years was too short to popularize a new and sophisticated technology in agriculture, specially where 50 million farming families are to be contacted and educated. The stalemate would have continued had it not been for the implementation or intensification of parallel welfare programmes, such as the establishment of National Extension Service, Community Development Projects, Agricultural Co-operative and Marketing Societies, and lately the Panchayat institutions. These together with private trade greatly helped in the intensification of plant protection work by extending the coverage under demonstration, publicity and supply points. By the end of the First Plan, pest control measures had extended to about 6 million acres.

In the Second Plan, the pattern remained the same, except for a sound administrative decision to extend the subsidy to manually-operated sprayers and dusters sold to the cultivators. The basis of financial assistance by the Centre still continued to be only for food crops. Since the same equipment and pesticide could be used for commercial crops, the Scheme had a sanction on paper only. Since various commodity committees got interested in pushing their programme of work, plant protection schemes for respective crops were in many cases approved by the Central Government. This led to considerable confusion and dissipation of resources and could have been well avoided by a well-organized unified plant protection service in each State.

The newly created plant-protection organizations were placed under the technical administrative control of the State Entomologists/Plant Pathologists. Their preoccupation gradually became extension work rather than research. This had serious repercussions because research, which is the fountain head for extension work, tended to dry up. This anomaly was corrected in the Third Plan, by separating the extension and campaign wings from research wing and placing it under full-time officers at State level. The coverage under plant protection reached 16 million acres.

The Third Plan corrected the aberration noticed in the earlier Plans; the subsidy on pesticides was extended to all crops. The growing demand for pesticides had strained the resources of the States to an extent that they could not provide the matching grant. The Central Government, however, continued to offer their share of 25 per cent of the cost. The most distressing feature of subsidized sale of pesticides has been the preoccupation of the technical staff with compiling complicated accounts of stocks and sales of pesticides and had little time to devote to legitimate work for which they were positioned, namely to impart technical guidance to farmers. The situation was much worse in many of the northern States where most of the pest-control campaigns were departmentally conducted. This explains why the pest-control work progressed much faster in the southern States. This can also be partly explained by paddy being a predominant crop which is vulnerable to many more pests and diseases than wheat. Furthermore, it is well known that fertilizer consumption is much higher in southern India and a positive association has been observed between increased use of fertilizers and pest incidence.<sup>2</sup>

The system of subsidized sale of pesticides also led to the creation of artificially low price from one source of supply without ensuring that the entire demand of the cultivators could be met through State budgets. The industry and trade, which had played a dominant role in the initial stages of introduction and popularizing pesticides, started losing interest in sales and although the "felt need" continued to rise, only a small percentage of cultivators benefitted from subsidized sales of pesticides. To prove the point, may be cited a bold experiment tried by Maharashtra State under which the sale was entrusted to private trade which was subsidized. Within one year the off-take of pesticides increased manifold.

The pest control measures were being accepted with great avidity by the cultivators but the departmental resources could not match with demand. It was not realized by the administration that while subsidies were useful as "start up" aid they were no longer necessary and should have been scrapped except in areas of truly marginal agriculture.

The shortages of pesticides started becoming noticeable by the middle of the Third Plan. A reference to it has been made in the report of the Planning Commission on Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan. It is true that the enormous growth in demand was not clearly foreseen.

<sup>2</sup> Second Report on Intensive Agriculture District Programme, 1960-65, Expert Committee on Assessment and Evaluation, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development & Co-operation (Department of Agriculture), New Delhi.

In fact, during the same period the government permitted substantial exports of pesticides of indigenous origin to U.S.S.R. and, shortly thereafter, the deficiency had to be made good by imports from the U.S.A. and other countries. The coverage under plant protection reached a figure of 40 million acres and but for shortage of chemical input, the targeted figure of 50 million acres could have been achieved.

While the official efforts have been commendable in promoting pest control measures on the standing crops, hardly any attention has been given to protect the harvested produce from losses due to storage pests at the farmer's level. The losses on this account have been known to be fairly high. An expert Committee of the Planning Commission has recently estimated that the post-harvest loss of food due to storage and handling amounts to 9.3 million tonnes or 9.33 per cent of the total production of which the loss due to bad storage alone amounts to 4.5 million tonnes or 6.88 per cent of the total production. Proper care of storage of food grains is so far confined only to godowns owned and operated by government and semi-government departments. The Indian farmer retains about 70 per cent of the grain produce for his own use and this large segment of total production receives little or no care. It has been estimated that out of 61.78 million operational holdings of cultivators 52.7 million acres are below 4 hectares. A suitable storage structure with capacities from 1 to 3 tonnes would meet the need of an average farmer. Many specifications for such structures are available on paper only. The need is to get these fabricated in large numbers and provide these in villages on subsidized basis or on rental. The industry can produce the needed quantity of fumigants. There is also an additional reason to implement this programme. The practice of mixing pesticides like DDT to grain to prevent storage losses, though uncommon, is now well known to farmers. This practice may pose a serious health hazard in future.

#### REGULATORY CONTROL

A certain amount of compulsion becomes at times necessary for the adoption of pest-control measures by a sizeable segment of the farming community due to the very nature of some pests and diseases being highly infective, which do not respect the boundary of individual holdings. All States except West Bengal have Pests and Diseases Act but the statutory provisions do not permit a quick action. Most States have been hesitant to notify epidemics of pests and diseases under the Act. Under the Act, the district authorities can take action on their own and charge the expenditure incurred on pest-control campaigns

from the occupier of land or premises as arrears of land revenue (with the abolition of land revenue in many States more recently the method of recovery may have to be readjusted). The scope of the Acts should be enlarged to include seed merchants, nurserymen, cold storages, whose produce are in trade and are likely to spread pests and diseases. The provisions of the Act also need re-examination in the light of the establishment of Panchayat and democratic decentralization.

There is one more aspect of regulatory pest control measures which, though very important, is not much known to public. It consists of the prevention of the entry of dangerous exotic pests and diseases by applying quarantine measures and methods and the prevention of their spread from one State to the other within the country. To achieve this objective sanctions exist in the Destructive Insects and Pests Act, 1914. Under the Act, the Central Government notifies the prohibition or restriction on the entry of plants and specified plant materials under the Sea-Customs Act. The power to inspect and disinfect the imported materials is vested with the State Government in whose jurisdiction the Sea and Airport lie which can be delegated to the Central Government. In regard to plant quarantine, India, as a signatory to International Plant Protection Convention of the Food and Agriculture Organization, has accepted certain obligations. Likewise, it is so under the Civil Aviation Convention for carriage of cargoes in the international trade.

The Central Government has established recently reasonably equipped Plant Quarantine Stations at all the major seaports and airports but at the minor ports the work is still handled by the concerned State Governments. Plant Quarantine being essentially a service organization, it should be kept informed of the latest approved techniques of disinfection and disinfestation of varieties of our fruits, vegetables and other agricultural commodities. Export of mango from India to many countries is banned on account of the presence of some pests. The export of banana has also met some resistance on this account. Research work, as an aid to improve our plant quarantine technique, should be strengthened.

The prevention of introduction of exotic pests and diseases is an insurance to the agricultural stability of our country. The introduction and spread of some of these in the more recent times should be a pointer in this direction. The "bunchy top" disease of banana is causing an annual loss of over Rs. 1 crore in Kerala; the "wart disease" of potato in West Bengal has caused serious economic hardship to the seed growers of Darjeeling and the movement of potato from the State to

others has been banned under Section 4A of the Destructive Insect and Pests Diseases Act, 1914 ; the presence of "onion smut" disease in Mysore State has affected the export trade of onion to many countries. The plant quarantine service in India, both for import and export, therefore, needs to be organized and equipped on modern lines and any investments on it will be highly remunerative in the long run not only for agricultural prosperity but also for the export trade. Since many departments of the Central and State Governments and the trade are directly or indirectly concerned with the import/export of products of agricultural origin, it appears desirable that for better co-ordination, a Standing Advisory Committee on Plant Quarantine should be constituted.

#### PLANT PROTECTION IN FOURTH PLAN

The new strategy for agricultural development in the Fourth Plan has been much publicized and it does not need to be spelt out in detail here. Plant protection measures figure prominently in the strategy.<sup>3</sup> It will, therefore, be necessary to step up the import and indigenous manufacture of pesticides and sprayers. The content and depth of training of extension worker also needs much improvement. A very serious consideration needs to be given to distributive system for chemical inputs, specially for pesticides because of the toxic qualities. Today the inputs have to be collected from scattered sources. Seed is available with agricultural departments, fertilizers with Co-operatives, plant-protection chemicals with Agricultural Extension Officers and sprayers with Gram Panchayats/. Village Level Workers. The farmer has to collect his various requirements from various places and very often he is unable to get these within a reasonable time even after searching, waiting and wandering. This has acted as a great damper to his eagerness to adopt recommended measures.

In applying "Package of Practices", the extension worker needs special training in the selection, handling and use of pest-control chemicals. About 700 persons at graduate level are employed by government wholly for plant-protection work, mainly at the district level. Such specialists should also be provided at Block levels, specially for areas in which intensive agriculture will be propagated. The Central Government has recently established an Institute for training in plant protection. This should be developed quickly to a truly national character. The institute should also undertake adaptive research and assist the industry in testing their products. Such facilities are sadly lacking in the country.

<sup>3</sup> Pest control measures will be taken up over 55·5 million hectares (137 million acres).

The recommendations for pest control vary from State to State, and very often, therefore, without legitimate reasons, competitive and equally effective chemicals, safer and even cheaper are excluded. In the UK, the pesticides manufacturers have adopted a "Voluntary Approval Scheme," under which the claims made on the label have to be substantiated before the approval is accorded. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (Regulation Division of Agricultural Research Services) registers pest control chemicals and recommends the dosage and crops on which to be used. India should make a beginning in this direction by constituting a 'Pesticides Approval Board' comprising of pest-control specialists of research and extension wings. The recommendations of this body will be a great help to the extension workers to provide a basis for selectivity and for safe and economical use of pest control chemicals.

The pace of agricultural production programmes, to be executed by the State will tend to lean heavily on the chemical inputs. The production and supply of these will be a responsibility of Central Government. As regards the pest control chemicals, till two years back, almost a nominal of foreign exchange was released for their import and for raw materials for their indigenous manufacture. The concerned Ministries of the Central Government have acted with commendable promptness to ease the situation. There is already a fairly well established pesticides industry in the country which produced about 15,000 tonnes comprising of 17 chemicals in 1966-67. The country may need 72,000 tonnes of chemicals by 1970-71 comprising of 35 chemicals. For sometime to come, the know-how and technology may have to be borrowed for newer products as many of these are protected by Patents. Ideological consideration should not hamper the growth of the industry. The priority for manufacture of a product should be considered on the basis of content of chemical raw materials available or likely to become so in the country.

The manufacture of pest-control equipment has also made much headway in the country and near self-sufficiency has been achieved. Gasoline engines as prime movers for power operated equipment have also been developed but their cost is very high by international standards. Considering the average size of holding of cultivators, it would generally not be economical for him to own such equipment. Agencies should be developed from which such equipment can be taken on rental basis. This will also ensure proper servicing of the machines. To the extent possible, machines and equipment should be available from the same source.

The proposed establishment of Agro-Industries Corporations to

act as a liaison between agricultural machinery and implements and the farmers is a welcome measure. It could truly be a service organization and not engage itself in manufacturing activity except in fields where entrepreneurship is not forthcoming. Some State Agro-Industries Corporations propose to manufacture formulation of pesticides. Already over 100 units exist in private sector engaged in this task and can meet the demand. There is neither any justification nor need for the government to step in a parallel activity and dissipate its resources.

Such institutional credit as is provided today for pesticides, for example, can be used only for supplies drawn from co-operatives or Government agencies. This discrimination against the other channels of supply must be removed, if the supply points have to be increased, and that within a total extension programme, the technical and advisory services of the industry could also actively participate.

Finally, it is suggested that the pesticides industry should be brought into picture for seasonal planning for agricultural development so that it can better serve the needs of the farmers. The government is the pivotal factor in the development programmes, but the others who must contribute to its success are handicapped if they do not know what is happening or is proposed. The industry, therefore, should find a place in planning at the opeartive level. This will give the industry sufficient time to plan production programmes and arrange for supplies to reach the consumers in time.

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## ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECT OF IMPROVED SEED PROGRAMME

*J. Veera Raghavan*

Of the three administrative processes, *viz.*, planning, implementation and evaluation, planning is most crucial for success in a quality seed production programme. There are fields of activities where it would be wise to plunge into action and plan as work progresses, but in an improved seed programme considerable and detailed advance planning is a necessity. The planning for nucleus, foundation and certified seed production must be done, three, two and one season ahead of the season for which the seed is required. In other words, the planner must look three years ahead and envisage:

- (i) the cropping pattern,
- (ii) the varieties to be grown,
- (iii) the area to be covered,
- (iv) the period of seed renewal,
- (v) the seed rate per acre, and
- (vi) the seed-yield per acre.

Any error in forecasting any of the six variables will affect the availability of the right seed at the right time. Errors in the first two variables might result either in losses to institutions (where expected changes or pace of adoption does not materialize) or losses to the economy (where changes or pace of adoption exceeds the anticipations). In a predominantly agricultural country which relies heavily on the adoption of new technology in agriculture, a loss to the economy due to delay in adoption or coverage of new varieties is a more serious matter than any financial loss that may accrue to institutions concerned with seed production or distribution owing to optimistic assumptions of change or pace of change. The planning must, therefore, be bold and the bulls must outweigh the bears. This, of course, does not obviate the need for reasonable estimate of future; there is every need for caution and commonsense to convert the technocratic visions into workable programmes. There is the further need to adopt methods of reducing

risks and uncertainties and a number of measures can be taken to achieve this end.

The most important single measure for reduction in uncertainty is to make use of two or three growing seasons in a year instead of one. Certain crops can be grown in North India only in summer (Kharif) and certain others only in winter (Rabi). However, these Kharif crops can be grown all the year round in South India and in parts of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh and the Rabi-crops can be grown in Summer in the hill areas. By the use of off-season multiplication, one can plan 18 months ahead instead of 36 months ahead and the reduction in uncertainties will be nearer 75 than 50 per cent. Such a use of different seasons in the various agro-climatic regions calls for an All-India rather than a state-wise approach to planning.

The selection of varieties and crops which should be grown 18 months or 36 months ahead calls for a patient appraisal of: (i) changes occurring in the structure of our agriculture, such as increased water and fertilizer availability, changes in market conditions, increasing mechanization, etc., and (ii) the likely results of current research. For the last few years changes occurring from results or research in plant-breeding are outpacing the changes occurring from other factors. There is no reason to think that this trend would be revised. On the other hand, with more intensified and better coordinated research we can hope for newer varieties, hybrids and composites, and considerable changes in crop-patterns as well as varieties. The success of seed planning will depend to a large extent on the liaison between seed production agencies and research workers. Currently there is a Central Variety Release Committee set up by the Government of India which screens all varieties and approves those which are superior to currently grown varieties. Seed production arrangements are taken up only after a variety is released by the Central Variety Release Committee. Similar arrangements exist with some State Governments as well. There is a pressing need for evolving a system of advance multiplication of seeds when a variety has a good chance of being released in a season or two. The National Seeds Corporation and the Department of Agriculture at the central level and the State Seeds Corporations and the State Departments of Agriculture at the State level must ensure such advance multiplication. The procedures adopted by well developed countries are not relevant in our context in one important respect. Our development programme is mainly a race between growth of population and growth of income. In this race, as in any race, time is the most important factor; by advance

multiplication we get ahead by a season or two. This is as important—perhaps more important—as the additional yields resulting from a new variety. If this is recognized and procedures grafted from elsewhere are suitably modified, the time lag in the release of new varieties and in the availability of seeds of new varieties could be cut down.

The estimates of period of seed renewal, seed-rate per acre and seed yield per acre affect the acreage planned under production. To the extent there are errors in these estimates, there may be shortfalls or surplus in seed production, but these errors are not so serious as errors in choosing of varieties or of area to be covered. A few general observations may be made in regard to these variables. The term "seed-renewal period" refers to a period of time in which the farmer must obtain fresh, tested and pure seed from a reliable source. This period will vary from crop to crop depending on the extent of cross-pollination or other degeneration. Normally seed should be renewed once in four years, but in highly cross-pollinated crops like *bajra*, it should be one year. In the case of hybrids which do not breed true annual replacement is essential, i.e., seed should be purchased or produced afresh every year. The seed renewal period should be determined on scientific basis by estimating losses in production arising from use of older seeds and once determined should not be varied for administrative convenience.

Seed-rate per acre refers to the quantum of seed required to obtain a good stand of crop per acre. This also varies from crop to crop, and also according to the viability of the seed. With good and assured germination of seeds, the seed rate could be cut down. Further, less seed rate could be used by adopting dibbling or mechanical planting rather than by broadcasting.

Seed-yield per acre refers to the per acre production of seed. The main point to be noted here is that any attempt to increase yields of seed per acre should be consistent with the objective of maintaining quality in seed. Yields can go up because of genetic mixtures in the seed sown or because of failure to rogue the seed crop properly. Such "increases" in yields are harmful to the seed programme. For this reason the attempt to treat "seed-farms" as "demonstration farms" should be considered incorrect. The objective of a seed farm should be to ensure quality even if this requires sacrifice of yields per acre.

## II

The implementation of the seed programme broadly comprises arrangements for:

- (i) production
- (ii) processing and packing
- (iii) storage
- (iv) marketing
- (v) quality control
- (vi) public relations

In this section we consider production, processing, storage and marketing, leaving the complex question of quality control and public relations to a separate section.

The responsibility for the production of seeds at different stages is reasonably well defined. Research Institutes are responsible for nucleus and breeder seeds. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research which directly controls the National Research Institutes is responsible for ensuring adequate production of breeder seeds. The National Seeds Corporation has been entrusted with a similar responsibility in respect of foundation seeds of hybrids of maize, jowar and bajra. The State Governments have to ensure adequate production of foundation seeds of varieties (other than hybrids) on their farms. The production of commercial seeds (the seed which is finally used by farmers for production of grain) is generally left to farmers through Government Farms and public agencies to produce substantial quantities of this seed.

To produce seed on own land or to contract with farmers is often a Hobson's choice. There are few seed production agencies with adequate land of their own and must necessarily contact with farmers. But where there is a choice the usual considerations in any "make or buy" decision must apply. Production on own land will give greater control and better utilization of overheads, while production on contract will lead to lesser investment and risk and the advantages of farmers' experience and speculation. The importance of speculation and experience cannot be overstressed. There is difference between crop and crop and some farmers who pay a close and wise attention to their crops can and do consistently obtain bolder, plumper and better seeds than others and of course higher yields per acre. The

selection of good farmers for seed production is vital to the success of the programme, but once a farmer is selected, he should be encouraged to continue in the programme to derive the advantages and peculiarities. The main difficulty in the selection of suitable farmers may arise from two opposing directions. To secure good farmers one must offer attractive prices and when the seed prices are set rather low, with a small margin over grain prices, only indifferent farmers take to seed production or difficulties arise in procurement—and in either case the seed programme fails. But if the prices are unduly attractive, there is a "seed-production rush" and considerable pressure from unscrupulous and another kind of indifferent farmer who sees in seed production a get-rich-quick-gimmick. The setting of appropriate purchase price in advance of the season thus influences the quality of the farmers entering seed production; it would be safer to make the prices less attractive than more attractive, especially as public agencies might find it difficult to resist the "pressures" of influential but unscrupulous sections amongst farmers. The practice adopted by the National Seeds Corporation of restricted area of seed production in the first year of entry of any person and regulating further increases on the basis of experience would seem to be a healthy practice to be followed in selection of farmers and allocation of areas. The selected farmers should be under a legal and contractual obligation to ensure sound land preparation to adopt recommended cultural practices, to ensure full roguing to permit and co-operate in inspection, to maintain the field standards of certification and to harvest and deliver the produce according to instructions.

Besides specialization by certain farmers, there is another kind of specialization, namely, of areas. Certain areas are better suited for seed production than other areas. Such areas should be identified on the basis of experience and seed production organized in a concentrated manner. The dispersal of seed production in all districts and blocks and amongst a large number of farmers does not seem conducive to good seed production, apart from difficulties in certification and quality control.

Seed processing, packing and storage are meant to improve and preserve viability and purity of seeds. Seeds lose their germination capacity if their moisture content is high. Hence they are dried to a low level of moisture. Even then they may absorb moisture from the atmosphere and hence the need for effective packing and storage. The appropriate methods of processing, packing and storage for each type of seed must be adopted. Seeds dried to 10-12 per cent moisture and packed in polythene or polythene lined bags can keep their

germination well. They should be treated with fungicides and kept in a cool dry place. For foundation seeds and costly vegetable seeds the National Seeds Corporation recommends storage with temperature and humidity control on the rule of thumb formula that temperature and humidity should not exceed 100. The administrative aspect to be noted is that the cost of processing, storage and packing is insignificant compared to the gain in public confidence in the seeds and the high yields from a stand of good crop from seeds of assured viability. Further seed processing plants must be set up ahead of harvest of seed crops and the lack of seed processing and storage facilities might mean serious loss to seed production or marketing agencies or to end-users.

The size, location and sophistication of the processing and storage facilities would depend on the number of crops and quantities to be handled as well as the transport and communication facilities. On the basis of current experience it appears that a medium sized processing plant catering to 500 acres of seed production located in the midst of a seed production area, catering to a radius of 50 to 100 miles would be appropriate, though larger sized plants with adequate transport facilities might prove more economical and efficient.

### III

The marketing task is usually thought of as one of the selling, but those familiar with marketing new products would be aware that it is one of education, of creating new awareness and new wants. It is and ought to be an important objective to have an adequate and timely stocking of seeds of varieties desired by farmers so that they may obtain what they want, where and when they want. But it is an even more important task to ensure that the farmers do want those varieties which are ultimately in their and in national interest. Those responsible for marketing of seeds might comprehend the behavioural forces governing farmers' actions. There are some farmers who will take to things new without any thought. At the other extreme are those who will not take to new varieties whatever the results. Resistance to change and gradations of resistance are both well known phenomenon. The Marketing agency must take upon itself the task of sales promotion and market development and speed up the race of adoption of new varieties and improved seeds. It must work with and through the national extension agencies but it cannot leave the task to extension workers alone. The Departmental agencies have multifarious duties and cannot be expected to discharge the functions of specialized market promotion. The farmer believes what he sees and

demonstrations should, therefore, occupy a pre-eminent position in any market development work. For the same reason audio-visual media would occupy a prominent position in the publicity drive.

Adequate and timely stocking of seeds must receive special emphasis. Nothing is more pernicious to market development than the experience of the farmer who wants seed of a variety and cannot get it ex-stock or in time. Making seeds available ex-stock must be a major goal of a marketing agency. The absence of suitable distribution channels for proper stocking and retailing of seeds may be a major impediment to be overcome in the next decade. The current channels of distribution of seeds are mostly official agencies like the District Agricultural Officer or the Block Development Officer who have to do these jobs in addition to their many other duties. The co-operatives constitute another agency for distribution. These existing channels of distribution could be improved and perfected or new channels of distribution through private wholesalers and retailers could be developed or both channels could be utilized.

The difficulties in the development of private wholesalers and retailers in the field of seed should not be under estimated. All the risks of marketing of seeds must be borne by the wholesaler. He must be willing to purchase seeds from farmers or seed production agencies at guaranteed prices. On the other hand he may have to sell the seeds of retailers on consignment basis or at any rate on credit. In addition to risk-bearing, this requires large working capital. The working capital cannot be turned over fast, as seeds are sold only once or twice a year and collection of debts also requires patience, expense and time. Further, in rural areas where the marketing work is to be done, established retailers are few. The itinerary merchant may dominate the scene and he is too slender a seed to rely upon. The absence of transport and other facilities add to the difficulties. These difficulties underline the need for special promotional efforts to assist the development of effective retailing or to develop such retailing through existing or new semi-governmental agencies.

Pricing is central to any marketing work and seed pricing is still shrouded in fallacy. A generalization can be made that the sale price would by and large reflect the quality and usefulness of the seed, *viz.*, high prices generally mean good seed. The sale price of seed must provide adequate margin to wholesalers and retailers to meet the costs of marketing and market development and also provide a return for risk-bearing. Failure to comprehend this in all its implications might defeat all attempts to develop a seed industry in the

country. There is need to repeat and emphasize this aspect even at the risk of being understood as a champion of profiteering, for there is no fallacy greater than the fallacy of low seed prices lying at the root of the failure of seed programmes in the past. It is rarely that farmers familiar with a variety will complain of high prices. The complaints of high prices will usually emanate from farmers unfamiliar with the quality or variety of the seed or from officials and public men not fully conversant with seed industry. To the farmer, the cost of seed is a negligible part of his total cost of production and an increase in the purchase of seed is well worth his while if quality is ensured. The foreign certification agency has put this idea across with the motto : "Good seed does not cost. It pays." In the U.S.A. seed prices are generally two to ten times the corresponding grain prices, depending on the nature of the seed and variety. But, it is said, our country is not the United States of America. True, but neither is our country on the moon. There are certain world-wide facts about seeds and seed marketing that can be ignored only at the expense of the programme. One such fact is that seed is as different from grain as steel from iron ore. To expect seed to sell at the same price or at a slight premium over grain-price is to ensure that grain is sold in the form of seeds. Profiteering can and ought to be checked by abundant production and well known methods of checking profiteering, cutting corners and essential margin is not a solution to the problem of profiteering. And what is essential margin is for the marketing agency and its customers to decide and cannot be governed by *obiter dicta*.

#### IV

Quality control is the essence of any seed programme. The factors of quality which require to be controlled and the means of checking for each factor are summarized in the table on next page.

Quality factors may be broadly classified as genetic trueness and physical purity. The former is checked through field inspections (known as certification) through testing of samples at seed testing laboratories (known as seed testing). Under the Seed Law enacted by Parliament, seed testing is compulsory while seed certification is voluntary. No dealer can sell seeds of notified varieties unless he declares the germination percentage and other aspects of physical purity on the seed container and a wrong declaration will make him liable for prosecution. The dealer has, therefore, per force to get seed handled by him properly tested. He need not, however, have his seeds field tested by a certification agency though Government would set up facilities for such field testing and certification for the use of those who want to avail of such facilities.

| <i>Quality factor</i>            | <i>Means of checking</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Genetic trueness to type      | Field inspections to ensure that field standards of isolation, roguing and freedom from diseases are fully observed. The inspections are to be carried out at critical stages when the variety or variation thereof may be easily identified. Checking should be according to statistically determined pattern. |
| 2. Germination                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 3. Freedom from mixtures         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 4. Freedom from weedseeds        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 5. Freedom from other impurities |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 6. Moisture content              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 7. Freedom from diseases         | By field inspection and by testing in laboratory.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

The procedures of seed testing, sampling and seed certification are well-known and established procedures from foreign countries could be adapted to our conditions. But quality control is more than mere inspection. Adequate training is the essence of quality control. The farmers who produce the seed, the agricultural inspectors who guide them, the engineering and the agricultural staff who process the seeds and the stores and marketing personnel who market the seeds have all to be trained in all aspects of quality so that the farmer is enabled to obtain seeds of assured quality. Realizing the importance of theoretical as well as practical training, the National Seeds Corporation has been providing training facilities for its personnel, as well as for personnel drawn from State Governments and private enterprises.

A distressing aspect of seed programme in India has been the poor public image that such programmes present. This is inherent in any large scale seed programme. When seeds are supplied for lakhs of acres, some errors are bound to occur. The system of quality control can be never so effective as to ensure that all defective seeds get classified as "rejects". When these defective seeds get distributed, there

are complaints from aggrieved parties. The good seed supplied gets little notice but the complaints tend to snowball. Sometimes the complaints may not be grounded on facts, sometimes they arise from genuine misunderstanding and sometimes they are motivated. The seed supply agencies have almost always been on the defensive and any attempt to present the problem in its proper perspective is likely to lead to allegations of complacency. Yet public confidence is vital for a vital seed programme. The dilemma between inherent tendency to a negative image and the need for developing public confidence can be resolved only by patient explanation of facts and restitution of damage by replacement of seeds where damage is fully and clearly established. It is doubtful if seeds organizations can go beyond this unless there is a general scheme of crop insurance into which unanticipated losses due to defective seeds could be fitted in.

It is, however, necessary to correct some of the current fallacies into which those unfamiliar with seed programmes are liable to fall. Outbreak of diseases, failure in germination, failure in seed setting, etc., occur due to a number of causes and not necessarily from defective seeds. The tendency to attribute every defect to seed without proper investigation may be termed as unscientific and needs to be modified. Secondly, in any evaluation of a seed programme, the quantitative proportions must be investigated. It is not sufficient to know that a certain number of seed bags were sub-standard; it is equally necessary to know the percentage of sub-standard seeds to total seeds distributed, the factor or factors in which the seed was sub-standard and the reason for the same. Prompt investigation of complaints and the education of seed users in providing needed data for such investigation would go a long way in correcting the tendency to exaggerate inevitable negative defects in a seed programme. Public relations work, in the truest sense of the term, namely the communication of facts to prevent or correct erroneous impressions is of inestimable value to the seed industry.

## VI

It would be appropriate to conclude this paper by pointing out that there is need for the right attitudes to delegation, accountability and authority. Quick decisions are vital to the seed programme. Crops do not wait for decisions and neither do sowing seasons. A possible damage to a crop by flood, cattle or disease can be checked by only local initiative. A delay in harvesting or processing arrangement might result in heavy loss. A failure to vary purchase price or selling price quickly might lead failure to procure or sell the seeds. Decisions

of much import have to be taken at or near the field of action and at best ratification could be obtained. Failure to recognize this will lead to delays and inefficient execution. As delegation to be effective must be 100 per cent and full blooded, the implication follows that there must be responsible and capable executives at the field level who could be entrusted with adequate powers and be accountable to the authority delegating the powers. At the field level we require technical competence, executive ability and entrepreneurial wisdom. One might reflect if the salary scales and motivation generally prevalent at the field level are good enough to attract and retain such a contribution of qualities.

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## FARM PLANNING AND FOOD PRODUCTION—AN EXAMINATION OF GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS

*S. M. Pathak*

**S**INCE Independence, agriculture in India has not been as stagnant as sometimes some people believe it. The country's agriculture has gone from one stage of development to another during this period. The production of foodgrains has increased from 51.6 million tonnes in 1950-51 to 88 million tonnes in 1964-65. The production came down to 72.3 million tonnes in 1965-66. This fall was due to unprecedented drought. During the First Five Year Plan period the annual rate of growth of productivity was 2.8 per cent. The growth rate during the Second Plan period was about 40 per cent higher than the First Plan period. The rate of growth during 15-year period covered by three successive Five Year Plans is over 3 per cent per annum. This is not a small achievement if we compare the annual growth rate of productivity of India with other developing countries. During the period 1955-63, the rate of growth in Philippines, Pakistan, U.A.R. and Taiwan was 3.2, 2.8, 2.8, and 3.6 per cent respectively as against 3 per cent for India. But in view of the requirement for food, growth rate of agricultural production has to be stepped up at least double with that of the previous years. The memorandum for Fourth Five Year Plan has, therefore, set target for a growth rate of production over 6 per cent per annum.

There are two acceptable strategies in increasing agricultural production. The first one is by bringing in more cultivable area under cultivation, *i.e.*, extensive method of cultivation. During the First and Second Plan periods the main emphasis was laid in bringing in more area under cultivation. Soil conservation and other land improvement measures were carried out over an area of 3.2 million acres and were brought under cultivation. The result of this effort was visible because during this period over half of the additional production came from the newly reclaimed areas. But the scope for bringing in more area under plough is limited and during this period almost all available usable land was brought under cultivation.

The second one is through intensive approach, *i.e.*, getting higher production (productivity) per unit of cultivated land. During the

First and Second Five Year Plan periods various intensive efforts to increase agricultural productivity were taken up simultaneously. But the increase in production per unit of cultivated area was not significant. This happened mainly because the efforts were made in a diffused manner over a wide area. Therefore, at the commencement of the Third Plan it was thought desirable to make a limited beginning in the direction of intensive agricultural development based on the principle of concentration of resources and efforts in potential and responsive areas with assured irrigation.

#### WHY FARM PLANNING ?

The careful analysis of causes of failure of community development and extension organization in motivating cultivators to increase agriculture production at the expected level indicated that one of the most important causes was very poor direct contact between extension worker and the individual producer. Therefore, in order to bridge this gap the first step taken in this sphere was to involve individual producer in the use of improved technical agricultural practices through farm planning approach.

In the Intensive Agricultural District Programme, a massive programme of farm planning was taken up with the help of extension agencies in the pilot districts. That is by far the largest field-oriented farm planning programme taken up by the governmental agency. This programme was developed in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Ford Foundation Team on Agricultural Production, which visited this country between January and April, 1959. The Team recommended intensified work on a pilot basis in selected areas for rapid increase in food production. The distinct feature of the programme is the involvement of individual farmer through farm planning for increasing food production. The farm planning was made a base to provide technical and credit assistance to the farmers. The other feature of the programme is to use in agriculture all inter-related factors, such as physical, social, institutional, etc., in appropriate combination which are likely to produce an impact on agricultural production.

Package programme was started on a pilot basis in 1961 in seven selected districts of the country. The programme was subsequently extended to nine more districts in 1962. One more district has been included recently from newly constituted state of Haryana. At present there is one "package" district in each state except in Kerala, where there are two districts. These districts were selected on some well-laid down criteria. These are : assured water supply, minimum natural

hazards, well-developed village institutions like co-operatives and Panchayats, etc., and maximum potentialities for increasing agricultural production.

Several other Government departments like Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation, Department of Agriculture are also attempting farm planning in a limited way in few selected districts with few farmers but their results are not yet known.

#### FARM PLANNING PROCEDURES AND ITS STAGES

The main purpose of farm planning is to stimulate the thinking of the farmer to take a step forward towards scientific farming. This will also broaden the understanding of the farmer about improved agricultural practices and challenge him to move forward in the right direction towards more productive farming. The other aspect of the programme was to give practical experience to the extension worker to understand the problems of the farmers at the grass-root and prepare himself to become more useful to the farmers in helping them to achieve the goal of food production in future at a rapid rate.

The implementation of the farm planning programme has got certain prerequisites, e.g., trained personnel, technical co-efficients, technical inputs, supplies, etc. In addition to this revolutionizing farming system from traditional to scientific lines cannot be done all at once. Keeping in view the situation, planning programme was phased into three stages so as to take farmer step by step suiting to his ability towards scientific farming on sound technical and economic lines.

The first stage of farm planning was termed "Package of Practices" approach. This stage was designed to fit the needs of a large number of farmers. The preparation of individual farm plans will bring closer the extension worker and the farmer. The farmers will start making decisions on the scientific lines regarding their farming operations and the extension workers in turn will start understanding the problems of the farmers in real sense.

The main strategy in the first stage was to encourage farmers in the adoption of a group of scientific practices, "Package of Practices" which were capable of giving significant increase in the production in the key crops with which most of the farmers are generally concerned. In the beginning it was also emphasized that the farmers may be

encouraged to take a fraction of acreage under key crops only and not the entire area under the main crops. The procedure adopted in farm planning at this stage was very simple. It consisted of taking stock of the farmer's internal resources and yield which he was obtaining in important crops by his practices, which he has known and has been using since time immemorial. An alternative farm plan was then developed in co-operation with the farmer for individual farmer keeping in view his ability and resources. The farm plan indicated the external resources needed by farmer in implementing his programmes and economic gains which he can expect in case he follows the programme in toto. It was thought that by this approach the farmers will gain experience in using improved agriculture practices in key crops and thereby will improve their skill in handling improved practices. This process will help them to see the economic gains by the use of improved practices. The farmer will then be ready to use improved practices with better skills on more acreage and on all the crops which they grow. Therefore, *the second stage* of farm planning envisages the use of improved practices on entire crop acreage slowly and steadily. In fact, the second stage of farm planning is not wholly different from the first one except in the degree of intensification of efforts.

Once the farmers are convinced of the improved practices and see it themselves the economic gains accruing to them on their farms, then they will start looking ahead for reorganizing their farm organizations for getting maximum economic benefit out of the internal and external resources which they possess. Therefore, *the third stage* of farm planning envisages the development of a programme which will utilize all the farming resources for optimum production and profit. At this stage the farmers will need highly technical help both in farm management and farm planning. In addition, technical supplies, administration, marketing, etc., will have to be geared up to meet the needs of the farming community.

#### COVERAGE

In the Package Districts, there are in all 308 Community Development Blocks having a gross cropped area of 81.06 lakh hectares. By the end of 1965-66, the programme covered 288 out of 308 blocks. Out of the total gross cropped area, the programme covered 30.28 lakh hectares which is about 37 per cent of the total.

#### PROGRESS MADE IN STAGE I FARM PLANNING

A good beginning was made in farm planning programme in few districts where the extension workers were better trained and had good

personal contacts with the farmers. In the beginning many districts had worked out a big proforma of farm planning. The field workers took lot of time in filling up and following the proforma. The district authorities realized this problem and revised the proforma and made it fairly simple which could cater to the needs of the farmers sufficiently well and the extension workers were able to contact comparatively a large number of farmers for farm planning work.

In the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh where the farming community was progressive and the extension agency was well organized, 38 per cent of farm families were brought within the fold of farm planning in the very first year of the programme. Similarly, in Ludhiana district of Punjab where situation was more or less similar, 37 per cent of the farm families were brought under farm planning in the first year. The rest of the districts started with 8 to 10 per cent of farm families. Table 1 gives the per cent of farm families under farm production plans since the inception of the programme till 1966-67.

Table 1  
Per cent of Farm Families under Farm Production Plan

| Name of the District        | No. of Farm Families in the District | Per cent of Farm Families under Farm Production Plans |         |         |         |         |                                   |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------------------------------|
|                             |                                      | 1961-62                                               | 1962-63 | 1963-64 | 1964-65 | 1965-66 | 1966-67 up to Qtr. ended 31-12-66 |
| (In Lakhs)                  |                                      |                                                       |         |         |         |         |                                   |
| Thanjavur                   | 3·01                                 | 18                                                    | 23      | 35      | 52      | 57      | 78                                |
| W. Godavari                 | 2·00                                 | 38                                                    | 63      | 59      | 60      | 63      | 63                                |
| Raipur                      | 2·64                                 | 8                                                     | 15      | 38      | 41      | 35      | 24                                |
| Shahabad                    | 1·65                                 | 13                                                    | 36      | 48      | 57      | 67      | 48                                |
| Aligarh                     | 1·50                                 | 6                                                     | 15      | 64      | 71      | 72      | 73                                |
| Ludhiana                    | 0·54                                 | 37                                                    | 89      | 74      | 86      | 85      | 51                                |
| Pali                        | 0·98                                 | 7                                                     | 19      | 27      | 48      | 57      | 50                                |
| Sub-total                   | 12·32                                | 17                                                    | 31      | 46      | 55      | 57      | 56                                |
| Alleppey                    | 1·64                                 | —                                                     | 5       | 28      | 45      | 68      | 82                                |
| Palghat                     | 0·82                                 | —                                                     | 9       | 29      | 70      | 77      | 81                                |
| Mandyā                      | 1·39                                 | —                                                     | 18      | 46      | 48      | 63      | 65                                |
| Surat                       | 2·41                                 | —                                                     | 29      | 36      | 40      | 48      | 88                                |
| Sambalpur                   | 3·21                                 | —                                                     | 7       | 9       | 14      | 17      | 33                                |
| Burdwan                     | 3·48                                 | —                                                     | 14      | 13      | 23      | 33      | 31                                |
| Bhandara                    | 2·65                                 | —                                                     | —       | 6       | 10      | 14      | 17                                |
| Cachar                      | 1·45                                 | —                                                     | —       | 0·3     | 10      | 12      | 15                                |
| Sub-total                   | 17·05                                | —                                                     | 8       | 18      | 27      | 35      | 46                                |
| Total for all the Districts | 29·37                                | 7                                                     | 18      | 30      | 39      | 45      | 50                                |

The table 1 reveals that the substantial percentage of farm families have been brought within the fold of farm planning activity in most of the districts except in some districts where there were several problems. From the participation of the large number of farmers, one point has emerged that farmers do respond well to improved practices provided these practices are capable of giving significant increase in yield and provided the farmers get proper technical help and needed supplies.

As stated earlier, the programme started by involving individual cultivator through farm planning approach to adopt improved agricultural practices on part of the acreage under main crop. This step was necessary to create confidence in the minds of farmers about the superiority of these practices over their own method. Therefore, in the beginning many farmers started with half an acre to one or two acres under "Package" but as they gained confidence the area under improved practices also increased. Table 2 on next page gives the per cent of gross cropped area under farm production plans. In Ludhiana, where farmers were exposed to improved practices more than any other district started with substantial area under improved practices right from the beginning. In the initial stage above average farmers participated in the programme, therefore, the area under improved practices was fairly substantial in some districts from the very first year.

About two-fifths of total gross cropped area in these districts have started getting the benefit of improved agricultural practices. Though it cannot be claimed that the package as such is being used in all the fields shown under plans, however, important component of package has now become the part of practice with many farmers and almost in every district the area under improved practices have shown an increase as the programme went along.

In progressive districts, farmers were using some fertilizers in their crops but this was mainly nitrogenous fertilizer. The farm planning programme emphasized on the farmers the use of balanced fertilizers through Package of Practices. Therefore, the consumption of fertilizers of all kinds has increased with the progress of programme but the consumption of nitrogenous fertilizer was higher in the beginning because of the fact that the farmers had known it more than the others.

In 1961-62 in first set of seven districts used about 89,000 tonnes of nitrogenous fertilizers in terms of ammonium sulphate, but in 1965-66 they consumed a little over two lakh tonnes. Similarly these districts

Table 2  
Per cent of Gross Cropped Area under Farm Production Plans

| Name of the District        | Total gross Cropped area in the District (Lakh hectares) | Per cent of Gross Cropped Area under Farm Production Plans |         |         |         |         |          |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
|                             |                                                          | 1961-62                                                    | 1962-63 | 1963-64 | 1964-65 | 1965-66 | 1966-67* |
| Thanjavur                   | .. 7.27                                                  | 19                                                         | 24      | 39      | 61      | 67      | 56       |
| W. Godavari                 | .. 4.84                                                  | 31                                                         | 54      | 84      | 84      | 87      | 87       |
| Shahabad                    | .. 6.84                                                  | 2                                                          | 11      | 20      | 26      | 38      | 69       |
| Raipur                      | .. 11.87                                                 | 9                                                          | 18      | 16      | 24      | 25      | 17       |
| Aligarh                     | .. 5.34                                                  | 2                                                          | 8       | 16      | 31      | 44      | 29       |
| Ludhiana                    | .. 3.75                                                  | 38                                                         | 59      | 52      | 53      | 46      | 35       |
| Pali                        | .. 5.18                                                  | 4                                                          | 8       | 16      | 23      | 28      | 25       |
| Sub-total                   | .. 45.09                                                 | 13                                                         | 23      | 31      | 40      | 45      | 43       |
| Alleppey                    | .. 2.21                                                  | —                                                          | 22      | 39      | 59      | 46      | 55       |
| Palghat                     | .. 3.15                                                  | —                                                          | 10      | 34      | 58      | 59      | 49       |
| Mandya                      | .. 2.62                                                  | —                                                          | 14      | 30      | 35      | 44      | 41       |
| Surat                       | .. 7.98                                                  | —                                                          | 19      | 22      | 29      | 31      | 27       |
| Sambalpur                   | .. 7.22                                                  | —                                                          | 3       | 7       | 7       | 9       | 15       |
| Burdwan                     | .. 5.21                                                  | —                                                          | 0.2     | 7       | 17      | 29      | 30       |
| Bhandara                    | .. 5.17                                                  | —                                                          | —       | 3       | 9       | 15      | 21       |
| Cachar                      | .. 2.41                                                  | —                                                          | —       | 0.4     | 10      | 26      | 6        |
| Sub-total                   | .. 35.97                                                 | —                                                          | 8       | 10      | 23      | 28      | 27       |
| Total for all the Districts | .. 81.06                                                 | 7                                                          | 16      | 24      | 33      | 38      | 36       |

\*Up to the quarter ending 31-12-1966.

consumed 73,000 tonnes of phosphatic fertilizers (in terms of superphosphate) in 1965-66 as compared to 43,000 tonnes in 1961-62. Thus the consumption of nitrogenous fertilizers increased by more than two and a half times while phosphatic fertilizers about two times.

The consumption of nitrogenous fertilizers in the second set of districts which came later in the programme has also shown an increase but not to the extent as in the first set of districts. In 1962-63, these districts consumed 67 thousand tonnes of nitrogenous fertilizers in terms of ammonium sulphate, while in 1965-66 they consumed 1.31 lakh tonnes. As regards the consumption of phosphatic fertilizers it has increased from 33,000 tonnes in 1962-63 to 53,000 tonnes in 1965-66. If we convert the nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers in terms of plant food on per hectare basis for the whole period the position would be more clear.

Tables 3 and 4 on pages 530-31 indicate that there has been steady improvement in the consumption of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizer per hectare in almost all the districts. In some districts the consumption rate has gone much higher than the others. This is quite understandable because the consumption of fertilizers depends on the progressiveness of the farming community and the efficiency of extension machinery. The Ludhiana District of Punjab has shown the maximum increase in the use of both kinds of fertilizers.

The second important component of package is seed and the distribution of improved seeds in the package districts, both in terms of quantity and area covered have shown steady improvement year after year. During the year 1965-66, 22.60 thousand tonnes of improved seeds were distributed in first seven districts as against 7.38 thousand tonnes in 1961-62. The increase in coverage of area was also very substantial during this period. In 1965-66, 5.91 hectares was planted with improved varieties as against 1.26 lakh hectares in 1961-62. The second group of districts has also shown encouraging performance in this field. The total quantity of improved seeds distributed in these districts during 1965-66 amounted to 8.32 thousand tonnes as against 1.66 thousand tonnes in 1961-62. Similarly the area covered was 2.80 lakh hectares in 1965-66 as against 55,000 hectares in 1961-62.

As the use of more production inputs goes in the field for higher yields, protecting the crops from insect, pest and diseases becomes more important. This component of package was very much emphasized to the cultivators through educational efforts because many cultivators were not in habit of using any plant protection measures before. The farmers took up plant protection measures in real earnest in these

Table 3

## Consumption of Nitrogenous Fertilizers per Hectare in IADP Districts

| Name of the District        | Consumption of Nitrogenous Fertilizers in Terms of Ammonium Sulphate (in Kgs. per hectare) |         |         |         |         |         |          |       |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|-------|
|                             | 1960-61                                                                                    | 1961-62 | 1962-63 | 1963-64 | 1964-65 | 1965-66 | 1966-67* |       |
| Thanjavur                   | ..                                                                                         | 24·0    | 28·8    | 36·2    | 39·9    | 57·6    | 88·1     | 85·2  |
| W. Godavari                 | ..                                                                                         | 38·5    | 71·2    | 101·2   | 85·1    | 133·9   | 82·5     | 74·8  |
| Shahabad                    | ..                                                                                         | 11·9    | 16·3    | 22·9    | 15·9    | 24·0    | 28·0     | 36·1  |
| Raipur                      | ..                                                                                         | 4·6     | 6·9     | 6·2     | 8·3     | 11·7    | 10·9     | 11·7  |
| Aligarh                     | ..                                                                                         | 2·0     | 3·0     | 8·4     | 14·9    | 28·8    | 40·1     | 25·8  |
| Ludhiana                    | ..                                                                                         | 14·0    | 30·4    | 39·0    | 44·2    | 107·8   | 115·3    | 96·7  |
| Pali                        | ..                                                                                         | 0·5     | 2·2     | 2·7     | 2·0     | 6·0     | 6·6      | 6·5   |
| Sub-total                   | ..                                                                                         | 12·5    | 19·7    | 26·4    | 25·8    | 43·5    | 45·3     | 42·2  |
| Alleppey                    | ..                                                                                         | —       | 21·6    | 29·2    | 31·7    | 36·1    | 51·6     | 33·4  |
| Palghat                     | ..                                                                                         | —       | 7·3     | 20·6    | 26·3    | 35·1    | 42·4     | 54·3  |
| Mandya                      | ..                                                                                         | —       | 58·3    | 103·5   | 160·1   | 145·6   | 176·0    | 120·3 |
| Surat                       | ..                                                                                         | —       | 12·6    | 16·9    | 20·2    | 30·2    | 29·0     | 18·1  |
| Sambalpur                   | ..                                                                                         | —       | 1·1     | 2·4     | 3·9     | 6·4     | 11·2     | 20·4  |
| Burdwan                     | ..                                                                                         | —       | 14·8    | 19·2    | 33·2    | 35·2    | 45·0     | 23·5  |
| Bhandara                    | ..                                                                                         | —       | —       | 3·6     | 5·8     | 6·0     | 6·3      | 10·4  |
| Cachar                      | ..                                                                                         | —       | —       | 0·2     | 0·5     | 3·3     | 8·3      | 0·5   |
| Sub-total                   | ..                                                                                         | —       | 11·4    | 18·7    | 26·8    | 30·1    | 36·4     | 28·6  |
| Total for all the Districts |                                                                                            | 6·9     | 16·0    | 22·9    | 26·3    | 37·5    | 41·3     | 36·1  |

\*Up to the quarter ending 31-12-1966.

Table 4

## Consumption of Phosphatic Fertilizers per Hectare in IADP Districts

| Name of the District        | .. | Consumption of Phosphatic Fertilizers in Terms of Superphosphate (in Kgs./per Hectare) |         |         |         |         |         |          |
|-----------------------------|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
|                             |    | 1960-61                                                                                | 1961-62 | 1962-63 | 1963-64 | 1964-65 | 1965-66 | 1966-67* |
| Thanjavur                   | .. | 18.7                                                                                   | 24.3    | 39.1    | 47.8    | 62.7    | 46.6    | 39.9     |
| W. Godavari                 | .. | 9.6                                                                                    | 34.0    | 42.7    | 39.4    | 66.3    | 24.2    | 4.2      |
| Shahabad                    | .. | 1.3                                                                                    | 5.2     | 7.6     | 8.8     | 9.5     | 8.1     | 4.9      |
| Raipur                      | .. | 0.4                                                                                    | 1.8     | 3.2     | 6.9     | 7.0     | 9.7     | 4.0      |
| Aligarh                     | .. | 0.4                                                                                    | 0.6     | 1.1     | 2.2     | 5.8     | 5.7     | 4.7      |
| Ludhiana                    | .. | 1.0                                                                                    | 5.3     | 6.5     | 15.0    | 21.1    | 16.2    | 26.8     |
| Pali                        | .. | 0.1                                                                                    | 1.2     | 0.9     | 0.5     | 2.2     | 3.0     | 2.4      |
| Sub-total                   | .. | 4.5                                                                                    | 9.5     | 13.6    | 16.7    | 23.2    | 16.3    | 11.8     |
| Alleppey                    | .. | —                                                                                      | 31.1    | 36.4    | 43.0    | 31.9    | 35.8    | 31.4     |
| Palghat                     | .. | —                                                                                      | 4.7     | 7.7     | 10.2    | 12.4    | 27.6    | 13.0     |
| Mandya                      | .. | —                                                                                      | 26.0    | 41.6    | 83.5    | 47.0    | 47.2    | 27.7     |
| Surat                       | .. | —                                                                                      | 3.7     | 3.8     | 5.2     | 7.7     | 11.3    | 5.6      |
| Sambalpur                   | .. | —                                                                                      | 0.7     | 2.4     | 4.1     | 5.2     | 4.6     | 7.8      |
| Burdwan                     | .. | —                                                                                      | 4.1     | 12.8    | 16.4    | 20.9    | 23.8    | 6.5      |
| Cachar                      | .. | —                                                                                      | —       | 0.1     | 0.5     | 3.6     | 10.3    | 1.3      |
| Bhandara                    | .. | —                                                                                      | 0.2     | 1.1     | 3.8     | 3.6     | 4.5     | 5.7      |
| Sub-total ..                | .. | —                                                                                      | 5.8     | 9.3     | 14.5    | 13.0    | 14.9    | 9.7      |
| Total for all the Districts |    | 2.5                                                                                    | 7.9     | 11.7    | 15.7    | 18.7    | 15.7    | 10.8     |

\*Up to the quarter ending 31-12-1966.

districts though the frequency of use was not to the desired level. The total area treated to some extent for pests and diseases in 1961-62 was approximately 2.35 lakh hectares out of 5.70 lakh hectares gross cropped area under farm production plans but it increased to 13.12 lakh hectares out of 20.23 lakh hectares gross cropped area under farm production plans in 1965-66 in the first group of districts. In the second group of districts the area has increased from 1.27 lakh hectares in 1962-63 to 3.36 lakh hectares in 1965-66.

Improved technology in agriculture calls for precision and timely operation of various practices for attaining higher yield level. Therefore, the use of improved implements has been emphasized in the "Package" wherever it was feasible. But improved implements suiting to the needs of cultivators were not in existence at many places. To have a really good implement for various areas needed good workshop where these implements could be developed, designed and tested. With this in view, every IADP district was provided funds to have a well-equipped implement workshop. In few districts workshops have started functioning while in others they are at several stages of development. In some districts new implements have been designed or modified to suit to local conditions for precision operation. The fertilizer-cum-seed drill which was very much needed by many districts has been tried in the farmer's field and is getting popularity. Several manufacturers of agricultural implements are showing interest in its manufacture and it is hoped that it will be in common use not very long.

Attempts have been made to make use of soil analysis for preparing packages. The soil analysis work has been strengthened wherever it was found necessary. Very recently one soil mobile laboratory has been added with the Extension Directorate for trial. The number of such type of laboratories will be increased, in case it is found successful in the field, during Fourth Five Year Plan period.

#### COMPOSITE DEMONSTRATIONS

The "Package of Practices" for various crops were prepared on the basis of available data generated from experiment stations and field trials in respective agricultural regions. These Packages were then discussed with various agricultural specialists and modifications were made wherever it was found necessary. But to create the confidence about the success of package "composite demonstrations" were organized every year for all important crops on the cultivator's fields. This was the major tool used to show the technical feasibility and economic soundness of the Packages to the farmers. Every effort was

made to conduct successful demonstration so that it may leave lasting effect in the minds of the participating cultivators and their neighbours. The results of these demonstrations were used mainly in the village meetings and programme planning. These results also helped the refinements of the packages for future use.

The following table gives the result of composite demonstrations for the year 1965-66 :

Table 5  
Results of Composite Demonstrations for 1965-66

| Name of the District | Crop                                     | Average Yield in Demonstration plot (quintals/Acre) | Average Yield in Central Plot (quintals/Acre) | Per cent Increase in Yield Demonstration Plot Over Control Plot | Average Additional income in Demonstration Plot Over Control Plot (In Rs.) | Average Additional expenses in Demonstration Plot Over Control Plot (In Rs.) | Return per Additional rupee of Investment |  |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--|
| (1)                  | (2)                                      | (3)                                                 | (4)                                           | (5)                                                             | (6)                                                                        | (7)                                                                          | (8)                                       |  |
| <i>I Season</i>      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
| Thanjavur            | Paddy I Crop                             | 14.8                                                | 10.6                                          | 40                                                              | 148                                                                        | 57                                                                           | 2.58                                      |  |
|                      | Paddy II Crop                            | 13.8                                                | 10.3                                          | 34                                                              | 153                                                                        | 50                                                                           | 3.04                                      |  |
| W.Godavari           | Paddy                                    | 13.5                                                | 11.6                                          | 17                                                              | 63                                                                         | 32                                                                           | 1.97                                      |  |
|                      | Paddy                                    | 12.7                                                | 7.6                                           | 67                                                              | 265                                                                        | 62                                                                           | 4.25                                      |  |
| Raipur               | { Paddy (fertilizer Dem)                 | 8.2                                                 | 5.8                                           | 41                                                              | 99                                                                         | 25                                                                           | 3.89                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
| Aligarh              | Maize                                    | 7.7                                                 | 4.4                                           | 77                                                              | 223                                                                        | 77                                                                           | 2.91                                      |  |
|                      | T 41 Hybrid Maize                        | 10.3                                                | 4.5                                           | 129                                                             | 403                                                                        | 216                                                                          | 1.86                                      |  |
| Alleppey             | Paddy                                    | 10.4                                                | 7.5                                           | 39                                                              | 206                                                                        | 74                                                                           | 2.76                                      |  |
| Palghat              | Paddy                                    | 15.2                                                | 11.2                                          | 36                                                              | 203                                                                        | 74                                                                           | 2.73                                      |  |
| Mandya               | Paddy                                    | 20.0                                                | 18.0                                          | 11                                                              | 124                                                                        | 29                                                                           | 4.21                                      |  |
| Surat                | Paddy                                    | 9.6                                                 | 6.8                                           | 41                                                              | 113                                                                        | 67                                                                           | 1.67                                      |  |
| Sambalpur            | Paddy                                    | 9.4                                                 | 6.8                                           | 38                                                              | 134                                                                        | 75                                                                           | 1.78                                      |  |
| Burdwan              | { Aus Paddy                              | 9.7                                                 | 7.9                                           | 22                                                              | 110                                                                        | 38                                                                           | 2.85                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
| Bhandara             | { Aman Paddy                             | 12.8                                                | 10.3                                          | 25                                                              | 117                                                                        | 47                                                                           | 2.50                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
| Cachar               | { Paddy (Unirrigated); Paddy (Irrigated) | 6.5                                                 | 4.3                                           | 50                                                              | 109                                                                        | 60                                                                           | 1.83                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
|                      | { Paddy (Sail) Paddy (Aus)               | 9.5                                                 | 6.2                                           | 54                                                              | 183                                                                        | 85                                                                           | 2.16                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
|                      |                                          | 17.1                                                | 10.7                                          | 60                                                              | 223                                                                        | 78                                                                           | 2.86                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |
|                      |                                          | 15.3                                                | 9.7                                           | 58                                                              | 193                                                                        | 82                                                                           | 2.36                                      |  |
|                      |                                          |                                                     |                                               |                                                                 |                                                                            |                                                                              |                                           |  |

(Contd.)

Table 5 (*Contd.*)  
Results of Composite Demonstrations for 1965-66

| (1)              | (2)                                    | (3)  | (4)  | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8)  |
|------------------|----------------------------------------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| <i>II Season</i> |                                        |      |      |     |     |     |      |
| Thanjavur        | Paddy                                  | 12.4 | 9.3  | 32  | 132 | 56  | 2.37 |
| Shahabad         | Wheat                                  | 7.2  | 3.4  | 112 | 338 | 84  | 4.02 |
| Raipur           | Wheat                                  | 4.5  | 2.3  | 97  | 139 | 73  | 1.90 |
| Aligarh          | Wheat                                  | 10.3 | 6.4  | 61  | 276 | 76  | 3.62 |
| Alleppey         | Paddy                                  | 9.4  | 6.1  | 54  | 218 | 92  | 2.37 |
| Palghat          | Paddy                                  | 13.5 | 10.1 | 34  | 171 | 74  | 2.31 |
| Surat            | Wheat                                  | 7.2  | 5.1  | 41  | 145 | 66  | 2.19 |
| Burdwan          | Wheat                                  | 6.6  | 5.0  | 34  | 146 | 53  | 2.73 |
| Bhandara         | Wheat<br>(unirri-gated)                | 3.0  | 1.5  | 103 | 106 | 28  | 3.71 |
|                  | Wheat<br>(irrigated<br>single crop)    | 4.3  | 2.6  | 63  | 148 | 43  | 3.41 |
|                  | Wheat<br>(irrigated<br>double<br>crop) | 3.0  | 1.9  | 58  | 99  | 43  | 2.29 |

In 1965-66, about 26 thousand demonstrations were carried out in various districts under the programme. Though 1965-66 was not a normal year, even then the return on additional investment in the shape of "Package" have given very good dividend to the participating farmers. The above table reveals that in almost all the districts the return on additional investment was sufficiently large to attract the cultivators to follow it through to attain higher yield levels.

#### PROGRESS MADE IN STAGE II FARM PLANNING

As stated earlier, the second stage of farm planning envisaged the development of farm plans embracing all the cultivated area and all the agricultural enterprises of the farm with improved agricultural practices. West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh is pioneer in this effort. In this district each Agricultural Extension Officer develops 3 comprehensive farm plans ; one each for small, medium and large farm. Every year 175 such farm plans are developed. Most of these farms have shown very encouraging results.

The farm of Shri P. Achuta Ramaiah has shown the best results. This farm comprises 48 acres of land. The farm has got its own

irrigation source and utilizes the land most intensively. The intensity of cropping on this farm is over 200 per cent. The main crops taken on this farm are paddy, chillies, tobacco, groundnut and banana. This farm made Rs. 6,631 net income in 1962-63. In 1966-67, the net income rose to Rs. 27,185. The farm added dairy and poultry enterprises in 1963 and these two enterprises together gave him a net income of Rs. 5,800 in 1966-67.

The yield of paddy obtained during 1962-63 was 12 quintals per hectare. In 1966-67 the yield went up to 22 quintals per hectare. Similarly the yields of groundnut, chillies and tobacco registered an increase of 35, 28 and 15 per cents respectively.

The use of improved inputs like fertilizers and plant protection materials have also increased tremendously. The farm was using Rs. 6,216 worth of fertilizers and Rs. 488 worth of plant protection materials in 1962-63 but the expenses on these items increased to Rs. 11,636 and Rs. 1,375 respectively in 1966-67.

The other farms under Stage II of farm planning in this district have also shown an increase of 40 to 75 per cent in their paddy yields. The yields of other crops like groundnut, chillies, tobacco and sugar-cane have also shown satisfactory increase.

#### PROGRESS MADE IN FARM PLANNING STAGE III

So far the programme has not yet reached a stage where comprehensive farm planning could be attempted on a large scale. The development of a comprehensive farm plan calls for a wide range of technical and economic data, thorough knowledge of farm planning procedure, and experienced and competent worker for the preparation of plan. However, few farm plans of comprehensive type have been developed with few farmers. The main approach so far has been to encourage farmers to utilize the available farming resources to the maximum to attain higher levels of production and income without changing farm organization substantially.

#### IMPACT OF FARM PLANNING PROGRAMME ON PRODUCTION AND YIELD

An obvious indicator of the progress made by the districts is the increase in production in these districts relative to the adjoining districts and to the rest of the States, excluding IADP districts. As revealed from Table 6 total production of major foodgrain crops has increased considerably in few districts during the period of operation of programme in comparison to other areas of the State.

Table 6

Average Production of Major Foodgrain Crops During the Period of the Programme  
in Percentages to the Average Production during the Pre-package Period for the  
Programme Districts and the Comparable Areas

| <i>Name of the District</i> | <i>Name of the Crop</i>                       | <i>IADP District</i> | <i>Adjoining District</i> | <i>State Excluding the District</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1)                         | (2)                                           | (3)                  | (4)                       | (5)                                 |
| Thanjavur                   | Rice                                          | 113                  | 106                       | 105                                 |
| W. Godavari                 | Rice                                          | 121                  | 109                       | 120                                 |
| Raipur                      | Rice                                          | 112                  | 90                        | 94                                  |
| Aligarh                     | { Maize, Bajra, Wheat, Barley<br>Gram and Pea | 121                  | 102                       | 98                                  |
| Pali                        | { Maize, Jowar, Bajra, Wheat<br>and Barley    | 113                  | 103                       | 103                                 |
| Ludhiana                    | Maize, Wheat & Gram                           | 155                  | 100                       | 102                                 |
| Sambalpur                   | Rice                                          | 108                  | 109                       | 110                                 |
| Shahabad                    | Rice, Wheat, Gram                             | 117                  | 111                       | 94                                  |
| Surat                       | Rice and Jowar                                | 139                  | 107                       | 130                                 |
| Mandya                      | Rice and Ragi                                 | 136                  | 118                       | 109                                 |
| Alleppey                    | Rice                                          | 103                  | 101                       | 106                                 |
| Palghat                     | Rice                                          | 110                  | 116                       | 106                                 |
| Burdwan                     | Rice                                          | 107                  | 108                       | 115                                 |
| Bhandara                    | Rice, Wheat & Jowar                           | 106                  | 115                       | 106                                 |
| Cachar                      | Rice                                          | 130                  | --                        | 113                                 |

*Note 1*—In case of first group of seven districts, the period of operation is 1961-65, for the second group of districts of Sambalpur, Surat, Mandya, Alleppey and Palghat it is 1963-65 and for the districts of Burdwan, Bhandara and Cachar it is 1963-65.

*Note 2*—In case of the first group of seven districts the pre-package period is 1958-61, for the second group of districts of Sambalpur, Surat, Mandya, Alleppey and Palghat it is 1959-62 and for the districts of Burdwan, Bhandara and Cachar it is 1960-63. For Shahabad the pre-package period has been taken as the year 1960-61 as only 20 blocks have been covered under the programme in the districts.

*Source*—Second Report on Assessment and Evaluation of Intensive Agricultural District Programme (1960-65) published by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation (Department of Agriculture).

#### INCREASE IN PER HECTARE YIELD

The Institute of Agricultural Research Statistics conducted crop-cuts to assess yield of main crops in programme districts. The crop-cut results show that in some districts the yield levels have gone much higher since the inception of the programme. Table 7 on next page gives the average yield obtained during the pre-package period and yield obtained during 1964-65 and 1965-66.

Table 7 clearly indicates that the increase in per acre yield in rice is lower than the other crops especially in wheat. The major reason for such phenomenon was the lack of suitable variety for giving higher yields in the main rice growing areas. The farmers in these areas were already doing a fairly good job in raising rice and were getting reasonably good yields. In those areas where wheat was taken after rice crop the wheat crop did not get much plant food, resultantly the yield of wheat was fairly low. With the introduction of programme the wheat yield showed a substantial increase in yield because the farmers saw that response to improved practices in wheat was very good and they adopted it.

In 1965-66 the yields in general were lower than that of 1964-65 in almost every district. This was due to the prevalence of very bad weather condition during 1965-66. The worst weather conditions prevailed in Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh and that is why the yield of rice in 1965-66 was hardly one-third than that of 1964-65.

#### USE TO BE MADE OF FARM PLANNING EXPERIENCE

A large scale farm planning programme was launched to educate farmers in making proper kind of decision about their farming operations and choosing suitable crop enterprises to get higher levels of production. The programme has been able to motivate a large number of farmers in the adoption of improved agricultural practices through farm planning approach. As a consequence of this effort, many farmers have already started getting much higher yields on their farms.

Recently a new dimension has been added to Indian agriculture with the introduction of high-yielding varieties of important crops like wheat, paddy, maize, sorghum and bajra (pearl millet). In 1966-67 it is expected that the high-yielding varieties will cover about 16 million acres. These high-yielding strains require two to three times more of plant food for giving a desired level of yield. Similarly, they require lot of care in the protection of crops from pests and diseases and need

Table 7

Average Yield of Major Foodgrain Crops During Pre-Package Period  
and During 1964-65 and 1965-66

| Name of the District | Crop             | Average Yield before Programme (Quintals/Hectare) | Average Yield in 1964-65 (Quintals/Hectare) | Average Yield in 1965-66 (Quintals/Hectare) |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Average 1958-61      |                  |                                                   |                                             |                                             |
| (1)                  | (2)              | (3)                                               | (4)                                         | (5)                                         |
| Thanjavur            | Rice             | 14.8                                              | 17.3                                        | 15.0                                        |
| W. Godavari          | Rice             | 13.6                                              | 16.1                                        | 16.3                                        |
| Shahabad             | { Rice<br>Wheat  | —<br>—                                            | 13.1<br>7.4                                 | 10.8<br>8.4                                 |
| Raipur               | Rice             | 9.1                                               | 11.3                                        | 3.4                                         |
| Aligarh              | { Wheat<br>Maize | 10.8<br>4.6                                       | 16.0<br>8.2                                 | 13.9<br>8.6                                 |
| Ludhiana             | { Wheat<br>Maize | 11.6<br>13.8                                      | 22.6<br>14.4                                | 22.1<br>24.5                                |
| Pali                 | { Wheat<br>Maize | 8.7<br>7.6                                        | 10.2<br>7.8                                 | 10.2<br>7.0                                 |
|                      |                  | Average (1959-62)                                 | Average (1964-65)                           | Average (1965-66)                           |
| Sambalpur            | Rice             | 9.3                                               | 11.0                                        | 5.4                                         |
| Surat                | Rice             | 11.7                                              | 13.4                                        | 9.8                                         |
| Mandyā               | Rice             | 15.4                                              | 24.1                                        | 21.6                                        |
| Alleppey             | Rice             | 14.5                                              | 14.4                                        | 11.4                                        |
| Palghat              | Rice             | 15.8                                              | 17.8                                        | 16.3                                        |
|                      |                  | Average (1960-63)                                 | Average (1964-65)                           | Average (1965-66)                           |
| Burdwan              | Rice             | 14.3                                              | 17.6                                        | 15.7                                        |
| Bhandara             | Rice             | 9.4                                               | 9.9                                         | 4.9                                         |
| Cachar               | { Wheat<br>Rice  | 4.3<br>10.8                                       | 4.4<br>12.9                                 | 3.1<br>12.3                                 |

Note.—The yield of rice refers to milled rice.

heavy investment on this item. The farmers need very good guidance in the allocation of their resources to fit these crops in their farm organization for attaining higher yields and higher profit.

The experience gained in the farm planning work is being utilized to some extent to help the farmers to reorganize their farming resources to take the advantage of these new developments in the various parts of the country.

#### PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

The overall progress of the programme has not been very encouraging, if we take the increase in yield per unit of cultivated area as an index of progress, however, if we take the programme from the organizational point of view which may lead progressive agriculture, it has been quite encouraging. As we all know, the yield is dependent on several uncontrollable variables and one such variable can pull down the yield substantially. For instance rainfall pattern in 1965-66 was responsible for bringing down yields substantially in almost all the programme districts. The organization on the pattern of IADP has shown that those districts where the district organization was well set the outlook of the farmers has changed entirely and they are now ready to take up improved technology even at a considerable risk. But this does not mean that merely having full-fledged staff will do the trick, the competence of staff, training and physical facility for work, needed supplies, etc., have to go hand in hand for the success of the programme. One serious obstacle all along in this programme has been the high turn-over of district staff especially the district level specialist. This has badly affected the continuity of the programme. At certain places poor district organization itself was responsible for not showing good progress. In general, this programme has clearly shown that agricultural development on the pattern of "Package Programme" has got the potential for increasing agricultural production in short run provided all the prerequisites are taken care of and a well co-ordinated programme is formulated.



## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION CREDIT AND INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS\*

*V. M. Jakhade*

AGRICULTURE has been accorded the highest priority in the Fourth Plan in view of its performance during the Third Plan period which was short of expectations, and the resulting shortages and steep rise in prices of agricultural commodities and particularly of foodgrains, affecting adversely the pace of economic development. Assuming an increase in population at the rate of 2.5 per cent per annum and allowing for improvement in consumption standards, the demand for foodgrains is estimated at about 120 million tonnes at the end of the Fourth Plan. In view of the expanding demand for agricultural commodities both for industrial consumption and exports, production targets in respect of these commodities have been placed at oilseeds : 10.7 million tonnes; raw cotton : 8.6 million bales; raw jute : 9.0 million bales; and sugarcane : 13.5 million tonnes. Thus agricultural production is estimated to be 31.3 per cent higher in 1970-71 over its anticipated level in 1965-66; thus a rate of growth of 6 per cent per annum has been visualized for the agricultural sector during 1966-71. As the performance of the agricultural sector has fallen short of the anticipations in the Third Plan period, to achieve the targets, the rate of growth will have to be stepped up further. This has become still more necessary as agricultural production received a severe set back in the first year of the Fourth Plan due to failure of rainfall over large parts of the country.

As the scope for further extension of cultivation is rather marginal, for raising agricultural production to the levels anticipated greater reliance needs to be placed on intensive exploitation of available land resources, by use of improved and exotic high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilizers, efficient water management and adoption of improved techniques of cultivation, etc. In view of the greater dependence of agricultural production on vagaries of the monsoons as has been our sad experience during 1965-67, emphasis should be laid on the development of scientific and progressive agriculture in an intensive manner in areas with relatively favourable agricultural conditions. In particular in areas with assured rainfall or irrigation facilities, resources and

\* The views expressed in this article are the personal views of the author.

efforts need to be concentrated to raise agricultural productivity. This has been the approach of the IAD programme. Encouraged by the results in some of the selected districts, and some experiments conducted for testing the potentialities of exotic high yielding varieties, the Fourth Plan has adopted a new strategy for increasing agricultural production.

Broadly speaking, in the new strategy the approach will be to select some areas with assured rainfall and irrigation facilities for concentrated application of a package of practices based on improved/exotic varieties of seeds responsive to heavy doses of fertilizers and adequately supported by a package of services. For this purpose it is proposed to cover 32.5 million acres. Adoption of this strategy is expected to realize an additional production of 25.5 million tonnes. In other areas the agricultural programmes on the present lines will be continued.

The successful implementation of the next strategy would necessarily imply that the resource requirements of cultivators for use of larger inputs will be enlarged and, therefore, their short-term credit requirements for ways and means purposes will also expand. It must, however, be made clear that credit is only an instrument. What is basically required is provision of adequate incentives to increased agricultural production through appropriate and effective land reform policy and an agricultural prices policy which provides for adequate returns to the grower and ensures him against steep declines. It is also necessary for the extension machinery to secure willing cooperation and response of cultivators to the adoption of improved package of practices calculated to increase the yield per acre through various extension methods. Further, it is necessary to arrange for supply of required inputs in adequate quantities, at appropriate time, at places within the reach of the farmers at reasonable prices. Depending on the policies adopted and measures taken on the above, the genuine demand for credit will expand. However, it is also not true that all cultivators will require production credit as it was observed in the AIRDI Survey that a sizable proportion of cultivators did not report any borrowing at all. Still with higher cash outlays required for larger use of inputs, the proportion of borrowers may, however, rise. Even so quite a number of persons will be in position to finance these outlays totally from their own resources. Then again, even for those who borrow, only a part of the outlays will need to be met from credit, the balance coming from their own resources. Further even those who resort to credit, will not necessarily resort to institutional credit. The proportion of cultivators who accept the new technology, and the extent to which they do so, the extent to which the outlays involved in this case to be met by borrowing

and the proportion of this demand which is directed to the institutional agencies, all these factors have to be taken into account in any attempt to arrive at the dimension of the demand for institutional credit which may result from these programmes. It should, however, be remembered that successful implementation of the agricultural production programme would not depend merely on plentiful supplies of credit being assured to the cultivators but on co-ordinated and integrated efforts of all the agencies involved. However, the problem will arise in a sizable way in areas selected for HYV Programme. The dimension of the problem may be seen by reference to one of the inputs, namely fertilizers, the total requirements of which in these areas have been estimated at 1.29 million tonnes (N). The HYV Programme may result in creation of large marketable surpluses in these selected areas. The problems of storage, warehousing, transport and marketing finance for these surpluses will need proper planning and adequate organization.

The credit requirements for agricultural production programme have been estimated at about Rs. 1,200 crores in the last year of the Fourth Plan. According to the All-India Rural Credit Survey 1951-52 conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, the non-institutional agencies comprising the agriculturist moneylenders, professional moneylenders, relatives, landlords and traders and commission agents together accounted for 93 per cent of the total borrowings of cultivators. The institutional agencies consisting of the Government, the co-operatives and the commercial banks accounted for the balance of 7 per cent, the share of the co-operatives being only 3 per cent. The All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey conducted by the Reserve Bank in 1961-62 revealed that the credit agency-wise distribution pattern of borrowings of cultivators continued to be dominated by the private agencies. However, there has been a noticeable change in the role of the institutional agencies whose share of borrowings of cultivators rose to 18.7 per cent. The proportion of borrowings from co-operatives expanded five-fold during a decade.

Although the private moneylenders and other agencies still provided bulk of agricultural credit, the credit policy has been oriented since the publication of the Rural Credit Survey Report to provide an effective alternative agency both from the point of the individual and from the broader point of the nation. Apart from charging exorbitant rates and indulging in other malpractices as also depriving the cultivator of a fair return for his produce, a demerit of the moneylender credit is that it is security-oriented. With land reform legislation the value of land as security is at a considerable discount and as such the

credit eligibility of an individual cultivator is fairly low in the money-lender's judgment. If the development of agriculture depends on raising agricultural productivity through use of larger inputs involving larger cash outlays, production credit requirements of farmers will grow sizably. Further their marketable surplus will also increase which when sold must receive reasonable returns so as to make use of increased inputs a business proposition. The private moneylender credit may not be able to meet these larger requirements in view of the narrow security-orientation of loans. Moreover, the resources of the moneylender will also be not adequate to meet the credit requirements at a higher level of input use. Thus an institutional credit system production-oriented and sympathetic towards the needs of the cultivator backed up by adequate resources needs to be developed and strengthened if the intensive use of land has to be practised on a vast scale.

Government has been providing agricultural credit in the form of taccavi advances under the Land Improvements Loans Act of 1883 and the Agriculturists Loans Act of 1884. The loans under the former are for improvement of land and are for medium and long periods and those under the latter are for meeting the current expenses of agriculture. During 1961-62, cash loans borrowed by cultivators from Government amounted to Rs. 26.70 crores. Being Government controlled, the system cannot obviously be accused of charging excessive rates of interest or of taking undue advantage of the needs of the cultivator. It may also be possible for the Government to raise adequate resources to lend support to a production-oriented system of agricultural credit. In practice, however, taccavi tends to become a very inflexible arrangement totally unsuited to meet the requirements of a large body of small cultivators scattered over thousands of villages. Taccavi at best can meet the requirements in full of a small body of large cultivators who can offer the necessary tangible security and who can manage to have easy access to the machinery which sanctions and disburses taccavi. The majority of cultivators cannot offer the prescribed security or afford the time, money and energy required in approaching the Government machinery controlling the flow of taccavi. In view of the incapacity of taccavi to provide adequate credit for increasing agricultural production, the accepted policy now adopted on the recommendations of the Taccavi Policy Committee appointed by the Government of India is to stop the issue of all taccavi loans, except distress taccavi, progressively all over the country. It has been agreed that taccavi may have a part to play in relation to areas or classes of people that are backward and that are not being looked after well by the co-operatives. But even here it is felt that it would be

better to have Agricultural Credit Corporations which are independent of the control of the Government.

The objective of the agricultural credit policy since the publication of the Rural Credit Survey Report has been to create conditions favourable for the development of co-operative credit societies, so that they may discharge their responsibilities in the agricultural development programme satisfactorily. The results of this policy may be seen in rapid development of co-operative credit as a source of agricultural finance. The share of co-operatives in borrowings of cultivators rose from 3.1 per cent in 1951-52 to 15.5 per cent in 1961-62. In quantitative terms, the advances by primary agricultural credit societies increased from Rs. 24.21 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 316.16 crores consisting of Rs. 287.35 crores under short term and Rs. 28.81 crores under medium term in 1964-65. Encouraged by the rate of growth achieved during the last ten years, the Fourth Plan has tentatively placed the target of short and medium term credit required from co-operative agencies at Rs. 650 crores compared with about Rs. 400 crores at the end of the Third Plan. In respect of long-term credit loans outstanding at the end of Fourth Plan are reckoned at about Rs. 300 crores as compared with Rs. 150 crores at the end of the Third Plan. Thus the co-operatives have been assigned a key role in financing the agricultural development programme.

The performance of the co-operatives has no doubt been very impressive during the Plan period and the expectations are that the co-operatives will be able to meet the challenge provided some weaknesses which have been observed are remedied immediately.

As at the end of 1964-65, there were 2.01 lakh primary agricultural credit societies, which covered nearly 83.8 per cent of the Indian villages. However, hardly one-third of the rural population was covered. Greater concern with attainment of targets in quantitative terms than with the qualitative aspects largely explains this phenomenon. Again a large number of these societies are small in size and financially weak as may be seen from the following figures:

*As at the end of  
June 1965*

|                                     |    |            |
|-------------------------------------|----|------------|
| Average membership per society      | .. | 126        |
| Average share capital per society   | .. | Rs. 5,166  |
| Average deposits per society        | .. | Rs. 1,620  |
| Average working capital per society | .. | Rs. 24,207 |

As at the end of  
June 1965

|                                                                  |    |                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------------------|
| Average loans advanced per society                               | .. | Rs. 20,384        |
| Total loans advanced for all societies                           | .. | Rs. 316.16 crores |
| Average share capital per member                                 | .. | Rs. 41            |
| Average loan per borrowing member                                | .. | Rs. 288           |
| Overdues as percentages of outstanding<br>ings for all societies |    | 25.9              |

Apart from the smallness of size, the working of a large number of societies is quite unsatisfactory. The audit classification of societies given below brings this out :

| <i>Classification</i>      | <i>Year 1963-64<br/>(Percentage in total)</i> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| A                          | 2.21                                          |
| B                          | 12.28                                         |
| C                          | 59.56                                         |
| D                          | 9.90                                          |
| E                          | 1.03                                          |
| Audited but not classified | 9.77                                          |
| Not audited                | 5.02                                          |
| <b>Total</b>               | <b>100.00</b>                                 |

The basic organizational weakness needs to be corrected first to enable the societies to carry out effectively the important role assigned to them in the agricultural production programme. As a first step it is necessary to select those societies which are potentially viable and secondly, to reorganize their working in such a way as to make them viable within two or three years. Societies which are not likely to be viable should be reorganized through amalgamation and defunct societies should be liquidated forthwith.

Alongside the crop loan system which has now come to be accepted by all States should be implemented effectively according to the three component formulae evolved; disbursements be made in kind to the extent feasible; cash component made available in instalments and a seasonality in timing and disbursement of credit and its recovery should be observed.

To meet the enlarging demand for credit, apart from Government Share Capital, the societies should make efforts to increase their own resources by raising share capital from their members; each member should, say, in three years, subscribe to the extent of 20 per cent of

his borrowings. Thereafter savings should be continued to be collected as thrift deposits at a certain percentage of borrowings each year. This may be done, if necessary, with some element of compulsion.

One of the major weaknesses of primary societies has been large overdues. The failure of rainfall over large parts of the country for two years in succession has aggravated this problem further; vigorous efforts will have to be done to make recoveries in the coming year when a bumper crop is anticipated. There is need to observe seasonality in relation to crop calendar in disbursements and recovery, if overdues are to be brought down in normal years. Further, the disbursement in kind to the extent feasible may minimize the chances of misutilization of loans. Still it is essential to develop recovery-mindedness at all levels so that remissness in timely repayment of dues is not only not encouraged but is regarded as a disservice to the community.

It has been observed that despite the rapid growth in co-operative credit the small peasants and particularly tenant farmers have not yet been able to avail themselves of the co-operative credit facilities. As recommended by the Mehta Committee provision of outright grants to the special bad debt reserves of the co-operative banks and primary credit societies should be made so as to encourage them to lend to the weaker sections. This assistance should be earmarked to cover the risks in lending to the weaker sections and be related to such lendings.

The Central Co-operative banks play a pivotal role in the co-operative credit structure and they have, therefore, to be strengthened and adequately equipped for the new tasks. The programme for reorganization of these banks had made much headway in most of the States. It is necessary that Central Cooperative banks undertake a programme of branch expansion within their jurisdiction and appoint trained and qualified key personnel, oriented to the new policies. Much leeway remains to be made in the general efficiency of the working of these banks in several States. Improvement is required in many directions—in the way the books are written up, basic banking canons are observed, the use of resources is planned, branches are controlled, loans are made, supervised and controlled. The apex banks concerned should actively assist in this process.

The resources raised by the central co-operative banks will form a crucial factor in determining the level of finance available at the primary level both for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes.

These resources consist of owned funds, deposits and borrowings. In addition to the state participation in share capital these banks should insist on share capital contribution from each primary credit society to the extent of 10 per cent of its borrowings.

It is observed that borrowings of these banks in most of the States formed between 50 and 80 per cent of their lendings. Assuming this proportion at 70 per cent during the Fourth Plan, though this reliance on outside borrowings should be reduced progressively, it is necessary to provide the remaining 30 per cent from their owned resources. The ratio of owned funds to borrowings from higher financing agencies and the apex banks may be assumed at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times with improvement in their operational efficiency and financial soundness. If disposability ratio is assumed at 60 per cent then the deposits of 34.45 per cent of lendings would be required for achieving the credit targets. The Central Co-operative banks will have to make sizable efforts to mobilize deposits to the extent of more than Rs. 100 crores during the Fourth Plan.

Opening of more branches, offering competitive rates of interest on deposits, providing various types of banking services to the depositors may be helpful in attracting larger deposits as also modernizing the appearance itself. These banks should also work out special deposit schemes attuned to the preferences of the urban depositors. This process of strengthening has also to be extended to the apex banks in those States where they were found weak. With a view to insuring that the flow of credit is not interrupted by overdues arising out of natural calamities, it is necessary to set up and strengthen the Agricultural Credit Stabilization Fund at all levels. Simultaneously it is necessary to build up adequate Relief and Guarantee Funds in the States for providing grants to co-operative institutions for enabling them to write off irrecoverable arrears due to widespread famines and natural calamities.

The Follow-up Surveys conducted by the Reserve Bank of India brought out that development of co-operative credit was rather uneven among the various States. In order that the agricultural production programmes do not suffer from want of production credit, it has been decided to set up Agricultural Credit Corporations in these co-operatively less developed States as a transitional measure. A bill has been introduced in the Lok Sabha for this purpose recently.

In this connection the experience of the IADP areas supports the points made out above. It has brought out the basic need for

ensuring effective co-ordination between the credit agency and other participating agencies of the agricultural programme, such as extension, supply and marketing by appropriate integration of their policies. This may be achieved by setting up a suitable co-ordination machinery for the personnel in different sectors and at different levels so that each works with a full awareness of not only what the other agency does but also why. Secondly, it is observed that co-operatives have to evolve and adopt sufficiently flexible policies and quick procedures positively designed to dispense production to an increasing section of the cultivating population and have also to make themselves strong, viable and efficient, so that both at the village level and the central bank level they will have the ability, in organizational and financial terms, to do all those things which are expected of a credit agency in this context. The co-operatives are expected not only to be a supplier of credit on the right lines but also to mobilize savings out of increasing agricultural incomes resulting from higher production levels and serve as an agency for promoting progressive agriculture.

One of the main features of the Integrated Scheme of Rural Credit is interlinking of credit with marketing. However, it was observed that the development of cooperative marketing was lagging much behind that of co-operative credit. Thus greater attention will have to be paid to their development. There is another aspect of this. With expansion of the package programme and the HYV Programme the marketable surpluses generated will be much larger in the selected areas. Thus the volume of business may be expected to reach Rs. 600 crores at the end of the Fourth Plan of which foodgrains may alone account for Rs. 400 crores. To handle this business efficiently and to provide the cultivators adequate marketing credit, the resources of these societies will have to be strengthened as also their storage capacity, grading units and other facilities enlarged and trained managerial personnel and supervisory staff provided.

The marketing societies will have to handle larger quantities of inputs like fertilizers, pesticides, etc. Thus special efforts will have to be devoted to strengthening of these societies and equipping them properly to meet the larger responsibilities. This process will be accelerated if the efforts to develop processing of agricultural commodities in the co-operative sector receive a further fillip during the Fourth Plan.

Another institutional agency which provided agricultural finance is the commercial banks. According to the Rural Credit Survey Report these banks accounted for less than one per cent of borrowings

of cultivators. Their share remained at the same low level in 1961-62, as was revealed by the AIRD Survey. Advances by the commercial banks to agriculture amounted to less than Rs. 10 crores during the last five years. The commercial banks have played an important role in financing movement of agricultural produce and its processing, but their share in providing production credit to agriculture has been almost negligible. One of the reasons is that so far the official policy has been to develop and strengthen the cooperative system so as to enable it to undertake the responsibility for providing credit to agriculture for production and development purposes. The commercial banks in the country have confined their activities till very recently to large towns and cities, though of late they have been spreading to rural areas. Even now they do not have the necessary administrative machinery for maintaining direct contact with the villages where the credit had to be provided, supervised and controlled. This is reflected in the fact that the credit deposits ratio in the semi-urban and rural centres is relatively very low as compared with that for the urban centres. The resources of these banks consist mostly of short-term deposits whereas agricultural finance has to be extended for at least one agricultural season extending up to 12 months. Moreover, the financing agriculture which is largely dependent on the vagaries of monsoons and susceptible to weather hazards and other natural calamities, credit risk in the conventional sense is somewhat greater; thus from the point of view of the safety of depositors' money there has been some reluctance to provide finance for agriculture. With the extension of branches in rural areas, the commercial banks should make vigorous efforts to mobilize rural savings and utilize them for financing agriculture in view of the top priority given to agriculture in the programme development. They can also extend support to debentures of land mortgage banks and provide financial assistance to the various agricultural development projects.

## ROLE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PANCHAYATI RAJ IN FOOD PRODUCTION

*I.D.N. Sahi*

THE Indian Community Development movement which, by the logic of its dynamics, grew in course of time to embrace Panchayati Raj also, was, it would be recalled, itself fashioned after the findings of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee headed by the late Shri V.T. Krishnamachari. The Committee were concerned to find out what exactly had gone wrong with the Grow More Food Campaign which had earlier held the field. They came to the conclusion that the campaign had wrongly been treated as an insular endeavour for agricultural development. Reporting in 1952, they observed that "the lesson to be derived from the working of the Grow More Food programmes is that all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if aspects of it are dealt with in isolation". This, even in the Indian context, was by no means a novel finding. As early as 1928, the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India had stated it as their conviction that "of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself" and that "no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living and the capacity, in terms of mental equipment and of physical health, to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws and good administration may place at his disposal". This, in the words of the Commission, is determined in the main "by his environment and it follows, therefore, that the success of all measures designed for the advancement of agriculture must depend upon the creation of conditions favourable to progress". The problem of food production, urgent and crucial as it is, has necessarily to be viewed, thus, in the wider perspective of overall development in the rural areas. The two are closely inter-linked. Neither can make much headway without the other.

What was new about the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee's finding was the effect given to it. Based largely on it, there came into being the National Extension Service and the new unit of development administration known as the Community Development block. While the size of the block and its resources may have varied from time to

time, within limits, in the light of experience and local conditions, the central purpose informing the concept of the block remains. It has been to bring the development administration as near to the village as the country's resources can afford and to equip it with a qualified team for coordinated and integrated field extension work in all the inter-related sectors of agriculture, animal husbandry, rural industries, co-operatives, health and sanitation, rural communications, social education and allied activities. The Community Development approach, it is worth reiterating, stems from two basic premises : first, that the overall development of the rural community can be brought about only with the effective participation and, to the extent possible, the initiative of the people, backed by the technical and other services necessary for securing the best from such initiative and self-help; and second, that the problems of rural development have to be viewed from a total perspective and the effort to solve them has to be integrated and multi-faceted rather than departmental and fragmented.

By 1963, a decade after the inception of the programme, the whole country stood covered by Community Development Blocks and the National Extension agency which went with them. It has to be remembered that nothing quite on the same scale, or of the same range, has been attempted anywhere before, or, for that matter, even afterwards. A measure of experimentation and improvisation was inherent in the process. Fostering community involvement in the developmental process through the building up of representative people's institutions was, however, a necessary corollary, in any case, of the concept of integrated approach to rural development. Without organized popular support and participation, any programme of rural advancement must remain bureaucratic, and one-sided ; it cannot become the concerted and combined assault, which the people must themselves make, on centuries of stagnation. When the programme of Community Development was first started, an effort was, no doubt, made to bring in the people through nominated advisory local groups. The system did not work. The stimulus for the establishment of the present-day three-tier structure of Panchayati Raj, therefore, came from the report of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee. They went into the working of the C.D. blocks during the preceding five years and found, what was obvious enough, that the programme had still remained largely under official leadership and had not evoked popular enthusiasm to the desired extent. The Committee concluded that "it is very necessary that there should be devolution of power and decentralization of machinery and that such power should be exercised and such machinery controlled and directed by popular representatives of the local area".

The three-tier Panchayati Raj system, now the accepted pattern of local development administration, has already been established in most States and, in the few that remain, continues to be under close consideration. There are, no doubt, dangers and difficulties in the programme of democratic decentralization. The snags can be real; yet at some point, they must be met. The experience of the working of Panchayati Raj, brief though it is, can be considered encouraging. In States, such as Maharashtra and Gujarat, where there has been a genuine devolution of functions and resources, the Panchayati Raj institutions have been able to make a distinct contribution both in the field of agricultural and other development. Thus, for instance, organization of plant-protection measures on a mass scale, hiring out of large numbers of oil engine pumpsets to farmers at nominal cost and construction of numerous 'bandharas', have now become an accepted part of the Zila Parishad's activities in several districts of Maharashtra. Deserving of special mention is the vigorous effort made by the District and Taluk Panchayats in Gujarat, following failure of the monsoon in large parts of the State, to boost up production in the Rabi season of 1965-66, often with substantial investment of their own resources.

Agriculture has, in fact, been in the forefront right from the inception of the Community Development Programme. The primacy of agriculture has been consistently underscored by the successive Five Year Plans. The Third Plan document indeed considered practical effectiveness as an agricultural extension agency to be the principal test which the Community Development movement had to meet. This is so, of course, because, at the best of times, the major concern of any programme focussed on rural communities must be their dominant activity; in the context of prolonged shortages within the country and the pressing need for early attainment of self-sufficiency, there is all the added urgency attaching to maximization and modernization of food production to meet the requirements of a growing population.

The provision for agricultural development, centering, in the main, on the food production effort, has been the largest single head of development in the C.D. schematic budget. The amount provided for it in the block's first stage of five years nearly equalled the provision for all the other sectors of development taken together. Likewise, leaving out establishment expenditure, which again was, for the greater part, on agricultural staff, the investment on agricultural production bears roughly the same proportion to the total programme expenditure of about Rs. 500 crores over the last fifteen years. In terms of personnel, five of the eight Extension Officers provided under the block staff pattern, namely those for Agriculture, Cooperation, Animal Husbandry,

Rural Engineering and Panchayats, have been for agricultural production programmes. In addition, where programme requirements justify, Extension Officers for Fisheries, Poultry and Horticulture have been available. The Village Level Workers, already required to devote the major part of their time to agricultural production programmes, have since 1962 been assigned for work pertaining to agricultural production exclusively. The States have discretion to vary the staff pattern according to local requirements and to strengthen the agricultural staff where necessary; this has in fact been done in areas under intensive agricultural programmes. The emphasis on agriculture has also been reflected in the training arrangements by making suitable modifications in the pattern and content of courses. The outlay on Community Development has, in fact, always been treated as a segment of the overall agricultural outlay and has constituted an integral part of the Agriculture sector of the Five Year Plans.

Promotion of agricultural development, it has been recognized in practically all the State enactments, is among the chief functions of the Panchayati Raj institutions. Reviews are constantly made by the Centre as well as the States, of the legislative provisions, organizational arrangements and administrative procedures with a view to improving them, as necessary, to enable the Panchayati Raj institutions to make maximum contribution towards increasing agricultural production. One such review, recently undertaken in the States at the instance of the Committee on Agriculture and Irrigation of the National Development Council, indicated that while adequate functions relating to agricultural production had been assigned to the Panchayati Raj institutions, and that, by and large, these bodies and their committees had been involved in planning and implementation of these programmes, there was scope for fuller involvement, through greater delegation of powers and responsibilities and devolution of commensurate financial resources by the State Governments, to enable these bodies to render more effective service in furtherance of food and agricultural production programmes. The reviews also highlighted the scope for improvements in the administrative and institutional arrangements for coordination, particularly for strengthening the district level bodies, the Zilla Parishads.

The new strategy for increasing food production in the Fourth Plan is based chiefly on intensification of efforts in selected areas having the maximum potential, and concentration of the needed inputs, credit and organizational support in those areas. The Intensive Agricultural District Programme, spread over 314 blocks in 16 districts, covers an area of 8.80 million acres, while the Intensive Agricultural Area

programme covers 1,600 blocks in 117 districts over an area of 15.30 million acres. The High Yielding Varieties Programme, covering these and other suitable areas, has been undertaken in nearly 6 million acres during the current year and is to be extended over a total of 15 million acres in the coming year; the target is to bring 32.50 million acres under the programme by the end of the Fourth Plan period. The mainstay of these programmes, backed as they are by the needed supplies and inputs in the shape of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and credit, is the block extension agency, strengthened as necessary according to the programme requirements. The drive for food self-sufficiency aims at a production of the order of 120 million tonnes by 1970-71. This is to come from the intensive as much as the non-intensive areas. The field agency for implementation throughout would remain the Community Development organization in the blocks.

Two special programmes undertaken by the block agency in selected areas also deserve mention. There are the programmes of Applied Nutrition and Rural Manpower. The former aims at nutrition education in the villages through the production, preservation and consumption of subsidiary protective foods—chiefly poultry, fish, fruits and vegetables—and utilization of a specified part of the produce for demonstrational feeding of select groups from the nutritionally most vulnerable sections of the community, *viz.*, children in the age group 0-5 and expectant and lactating mothers. The programme, presently in operation in 488 blocks, is to cover some 1,200 blocks by the end of the current Plan period. The Rural Manpower Programmes implemented through the Panchayati Raj institutions, aim at provision of additional employment opportunities for agricultural workers during the slack seasons through a works programme based on community action to create productive community assets mainly in the agricultural sector. It is in operation in some 1,000 blocks and experience shows that, due largely to the part played by local resource mobilization, the execution of works has been less expensive than under corresponding departmental arrangements.

The precise functions performed by the block organization, including the Panchayati Raj institutions, in food and agricultural production programmes may, and no doubt do, vary from State to State in terms of the specific financial and administrative arrangements. Effectiveness in practice must necessarily depend on the responsibilities assigned to the Panchayati Raj bodies and the block agency by the State authorities and the backing this receives in the shape of actual programme content and the resources entrusted to their care. Local variations of detail apart, the broad pattern of the block organization's

role in the drive for increasing food production could be summed up as under :

- (i) *Programme Planning* : Based on local needs and requirements, the extent of resources expected to be mobilized locally, and indications given by higher agencies or the State Government of the quantum of resources likely to be made available from outside, the village Panchayats have to draw up realistic agricultural production plans. These are consolidated at the block and subsequently at the district level, providing the basic blue-print for carrying out the year's production programmes. These plans form the basis for the Panchayati Raj institutions to review performance periodically at their respective levels.
- (ii) *Supply and Distribution of Inputs*: While the main responsibility for arranging supplies of improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and credit rests with the State authorities and the cooperative societies, the Panchayati Raj institutions have to ensure that the available supplies are distributed in a timely and equitable manner. In some States, where the management of seed farms has also been entrusted to the Panchayati Raj institutions, they come more directly into the picture in regard to the supply of improved seeds. Many of the Panchayati Raj institutions maintain sets of farm equipment, such as tractors, power dusters and sprayers, pump sets and the like, which are hired out to individual farmers on request.
- (iii) *Minor Irrigation*: A major responsibility of the Panchayati Raj institutions is in the field of minor irrigation; within the resources available to them, the construction and maintenance of tanks, 'bandharas', small embankments and other minor irrigation works are invariably among their main functions. They have in the more recent past also tended to undertake small lift-irrigation works where feasible. Besides installing and maintaining such minor irrigation works on their own, the Panchayati Raj institutions perform another important function in processing or, within the limits of authority delegated to them, clearing the sanction of privately owned minor irrigation works particularly wells, constructed with the help of State subsidy and loan. They also have a part in securing better utilization of irrigation potential already developed; legal sanction exists in all States for ensuring the responsibility of beneficiaries with regard to the construction and maintenance of field channels.

(iv) *Extension and Mobilization:* The task of organizing Kharif and Rabi campaigns which spearhead the food production drive every season devolves on the Panchayati Raj institutions at their respective levels. The block extension agency being squarely under them, the responsibility for effective implementation of the extension aspect of production programmes vests with these institutions. In the process of ensuring that the different functionaries in the extension net-work attend to their allotted tasks properly, they generally carry out a variety of functions. Mention may be made, for instance, of (a) provision, even from their own resources, of subsidies on seeds and pesticides, specially where new varieties are being introduced; (b) encouragement of improved agricultural practices through demonstrations, supported financially by the Panchayati Raj institutions; (c) organization of crop competitions; and (d) organization of farmers' training programmes. The block extension agency also provides the link between the research laboratory and the field; it has to carry to the farmers research findings whose value and utility have been tested and proved and feed emerging field problems back to the laboratory.

In general, the Panchayati Raj institutions and the block agency have to create the necessary climate and fervour in the local areas for intensifying agricultural production. It is here, as experience has shown, that the quality of local leadership becomes extremely important. Ultimately, it is the measure in which the Panchayati Raj institutions are able to motivate and mobilize the farmers for greater production, that must provide the test of their performance.

It would be uncharitable in the circumstances, as some times happens, to question the relevance of the block organization to the country's food production effort. Improvements and adjustments can, no doubt, always be effected, and have indeed to be a continuing process, in order to ensure that arrangements for implementation remain attuned to the needs of developing programmes. It has to be remembered, however, that the Block agency has been, and continues to be, virtually the only field agency for carrying out field agricultural programmes. Confronted with the pressing and persistent problem of food shortages, one is apt to find fault merely with the tools provided at the operational level. But that would be over-simplifying the issue. There is evidence to show that the extension agency in the blocks has been able to make a definite contribution in the sphere of agricultural production. That it has helped the farmers realize the importance of better seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and other improved practices will

be evident, for instance, from the fact that as against 407 quintals of improved seeds distributed per block in 1952-53, the figures for 1965-66 were 1,034 ; the annual block intake of fertilizers increased from 1,315 quintals to 5,559 quintals over the same period, and from a negligible amount at the inception of the Community Development programme, the yearly average distribution of pesticides per block rose to 60 quintals by 1965-66. Indeed, an all-India survey of the awareness of Community Development in village India conducted by the National Institute of Community Development in 1965, and involving interviews of over 7,000 persons drawn from all the States, showed that five out of every six respondents had heard of the place of chemical fertilizers in agriculture, three out of every four were aware of improved seeds and two out of every three knew about pesticides; about a half, if not more, of them had actually tried and adopted these improved practices. These are clear indicators of modernization of agriculture, which has been a major factor for the increase in aggregate production during the last 15 years, though, no doubt, the increase has not latterly kept pace with the growth of population.

An effort has been made during recent years to further streamline the organizational arrangements for implementing agricultural production programmes, by securing greater coordination not only among various governmental agencies, but also between the official machinery and the people's institutions. A Working Group headed by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, who was then Union Minister for Agriculture, went into this question in 1963. Among the important recommendations of the Group were the merger at the secretariat level of the State departments concerned with agriculture and other sectors of rural development under an officer of senior enough standing, to be designated as Agricultural Production Commissioner, constitution of Agricultural Production Committees of Zila Parishads with the Collector as Chairman and the district officers of the departments concerned and representatives of non-official organizations as members, establishment of block level Agricultural Production Committees of the Panchayat Samitis, consisting of elected representatives of the Samiti and the appropriate extension officers, and the setting up of similar Village Agricultural Production Committees at the Panchayat level giving representation to the Village Panchayat, the village cooperative society and progressive farmers. These recommendations have largely been accepted and implemented in most of the States. For instance, Agricultural Production Commissioners, exercising supervisory control over the different Government departments directly concerned, such as those of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Minor Irrigation are in position in Assam, Haryana,

Kerala, Mysore, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. In other States like Maharashtra and West Bengal also, several, even if not all, of these allied State departments have been placed under a common officer. At the Centre, the departments of Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation now function under a common Secretary. The functional committees at the district and lower levels have been set up in practically all the States. These measures have appreciably helped in overcoming the administrative and organizational bottlenecks and lack of coordination at various levels, which had been met with all too frequently earlier.

If the agricultural problem continues to plague us even today, the deficiencies cannot surely be laid at the doors of the block alone. The block agency, as already pointed out, represents an effort at maximum coordination of the roles and responsibilities of all concerned in the drive for food production, especially the echelons of the administrative machinery at levels above the block. The block cannot but reflect what is transmitted to it. Apart from certain well-recognized basic factors, such as lopsidedness in the pattern of land holdings and price policies, which have not always managed to secure best incentives to the cultivators, the main impediment today in the way of stepping up food production, as is well known, is the shortage of vital inputs, particularly seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, credit and assured irrigation. Obviously it is not within the power of the block agency to resolve this problem at the operational level alone. This agency can, at best, ensure that field implementation of production programmes proceeds under the most favourable conditions within the given limitations. It has to be borne in mind that the block has been but the field image of the entire national apparatus—Central and State—for agricultural development and food production.

It is not uncommon to come across the suggestion that shortfalls in performance at the field level ought to be blamed on the Panchayati Raj institutions. It is contended that agricultural production should be kept outside the purview of these bodies and made the sole concern of the departmental hierarchy with its unilinear command. The view ignores the lessons of the previous Grow More Food Campaign already referred to. It overlooks, among others, two basic considerations. Firstly, agricultural production is a complex of several inter-related operations: farm production proper; cooperation, including agricultural credit, marketing and processing; irrigation, particularly minor irrigation at the local level; and rural engineering and animal husbandry. No single departmental hierarchy is designed to take charge of all these interlinked functions; yet if agricultural production has

to make the desired headway, all these allied processes have of necessity to be stepped up in a complete coordinated and integrated manner. Secondly, agricultural production is not simply a matter of command, unilinear or otherwise. Popular backing is fundamental. While the actual producers may be vast numbers of individuals and families, agriculture cannot flourish without community support and a climate of positive popular opinion. Whether it is in drawing and following up concerted production plans, or in securing acceptance of constantly improving technology, or even in ensuring prompt and equitable distribution and utilization of the available inputs and irrigation facilities, or seeing that full effect is given to measures of land reform, no official or group of officials irrespective of their line of control, can be a substitute for the people and their institutions. Otherwise, the food production effort could have forged ahead much better in states still without the full Panchayati Raj set-up. Actually, experience shows that in States where there has been some genuine attempt to clothe the Panchayati Raj institutions with the necessary authority, development programmes, including the food production programme, have, by and large, fared better. The village scene is a composite entity and agricultural production, while its most important component, cannot be viewed in isolation ; divorcing the people's institutions, conceived as they are as instruments for the totality of the development effort in the rural areas, can be conducive neither to good development nor to effective decentralization. The need is to strengthen rather than weaken the popular institutions at the area level.

The contours of future policy on Community Development have indeed been under discussion for some time. The Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj worked out a draft policy statement which was later discussed and endorsed by the Conference of State Ministers of Panchayati Raj and Community Development in October, 1966. The policy was considered in the specific context of the present juncture when strenuous efforts are to be made for attainment of self-sustaining economic growth and self-sufficiency in food. The considered view came back to the starting point that, while providing for fresh emphasis on programme priorities, the new approach must continue to rest on the premise of integrated approach to rural development. A distinction is first to be made between programmes of nationwide priority and coverage and those of local relevance and need. The latter can be undertaken in the measure in which there is local demand and corresponding local resource mobilization. As for the former, agriculture and allied programmes will continue to have the highest priority ; in this context the term 'agriculture', is to be construed to include, certainly, food production proper, and also

activities like animal husbandry, fisheries, poultry, horticulture, etc. The States would be free to choose the appropriate agricultural development programmes for different blocks depending on local conditions and potential. The block agency and the Panchayati Raj institutions would continue to be responsible for extension of improved practices and for mobilizing the village people for increasing production. These approaches to policy are now before the recently reconstituted State Governments and are to be made final on the basis of consensus.

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## **PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN FOOD PRODUCTION DRIVE—THE ROLE OF COOPERATIVES AND FARMERS' ORGANIZATION**

*P.P.I. Vaidyanathan*

THE agricultural production of this country is the aggregate of the production of millions of small farms mostly below 5 acres in size. These farms are operated by the so-called small farmer, who is the proprietor, the manager and the technical director of this little production unit. The knowledge and skills which he employs are mostly traditional, supplemented to some extent by the extension agencies. The resources he uses are very limited in quantity and even for a small production concern, they are certainly not adequate to ensure smooth operation. Improving the agricultural production, in the ultimate analysis, will be dominated by two tasks, namely, the adoption by the small farmer of the sophisticated technology, which has been evolved by science in recent years, and placing at his disposal the requisites in the form of money and material, which would enable him to undertake sound programmes of operation.

The role of the farmers' association is to facilitate the actual adoption of all these techniques by the majority of the farmers and to condense the transformation into a short period of time. The knowledge which the farmer has so far utilized for production is mainly traditional and, though of a high order, is not of the nature which would ensure a steep growth in production. By adopting improvements it is capable of increasing the yield by about three per cent per annum in a sustained manner, but any spectacular increase is possible only by the adoption of the technology which has been evolved in the beginning of the century. This technology is sophisticated and involves a large number of connected operations which have to be done with a reasonable precision, in quantity as well as in timing. Thus, when high-yielding varieties are grown and all the practices are adopted, the yield may increase by 200 or 300 per cent, but if the practices adopted are changed in any material respect, the yield may be not much higher than what the traditional varieties give. It is possible for a few bright farmers to learn the techniques, but a dent will be made on the food problem of the country, only when a large number of farmers adopt the methods. The farmers' organizations have an important part in effecting this change.

We have tried different approaches in tackling this problem. First, we tried forming farmers' association in each village, but these associations did not prove effective for various reasons. The farmers came from very different social and economic levels and the majority of them did not have the means to use any of the improved practices indicated to them. Another method adopted was to have training centres for the more progressive type of farmers, usually those who are better off and, therefore, could find the means. They served a limited purpose, but since the training was for a short period, it could not be said to be very effective, because in the short time they could not absorb all the details of the sophisticated techniques. A third method adopted was to involve the local Panchayat in the agricultural programme, but here also success was not widespread, because these new institutions found other activities more exciting than agricultural production. We have yet to evolve a method of grouping the farmers and putting the message across to them collectively. In our efforts to mobilize and activate the human factor which goes into agricultural production, we have achieved only very limited success.

On the economic front, when we attempt to place the means of production in the hands of the weak farmer, we have done much better. Cooperative organization has been universally recognized as the most effective means of organizing the weak farmers into strong units. In this country, the cooperative movement started with agricultural credit as the main activity and considerable progress has been made in organizing cooperative societies all over the country and enabling them to undertake large-scale credit operations. The achievements so far are quite spectacular. The short-term credit disbursed today is about Rs. 400 crores, which compares quite favourably with Rs. 25 crores advanced in the beginning of the First Plan. During recent years, we have been able to keep up a sustained expansion of 15 per cent per annum in short term credit. Long-term credit also increased from a level of about Rs. 1 crore in the beginning of the First Plan to about Rs. 65 crores during the current year, and the rate of expansion has been of the order of 25 per cent per annum during the last five years.

Similar progress has been maintained both on the agricultural marketing side as well as in respect of the supply of agricultural inputs. The importance of these two sets of activities lies in the fact that they form integral parts of the process of agricultural production. The farmer is equally concerned with agricultural inputs, agricultural operations, as well as agricultural marketing, and it is only when we look upon all these three together that we can evolve a stable service structure for agricultural production. Any weakness

in one sector would lead to a retardation of the programme. Our weakness in the marketing sector has already affected the recoveries of loans and hampered the growth of credit. The agricultural inputs supplied through the cooperatives have been increasing rapidly and today they form about 20 per cent of the total materials going into agriculture. In the same way, the marketing of the produce has increased from about Rs. 47 crores in 1950 to about Rs. 400 crores today, which is about 15 per cent of the total agricultural produce marketed.

All these achievements are quite significant, but the part the co-operatives play in agricultural production taken as a whole all over the country, will be made clear only by certain dimensions. The value of the agricultural production is about Rs. 8,000 crores, of which about Rs. 2,500 crores form the value of the marketed surplus. It is from the sale of this surplus that the farmer has to find all the inputs of agriculture, including the wages paid by him and also his other consumer requirements. The gross value of these inputs, which are essential for the agricultural operation, will be of the order of about Rs. 1,200 crores at the present level of use of the different items. This means that the credit supplied to the farmer by the cooperatives is about 35 per cent of his real requirements and the materials supplied by cooperatives form about 20 per cent of the materials actually made available for the entire farming sector.

The position can be analysed from the point of incidence of this credit on the farmers, but looked at from that angle, things do not appear so bright. Studies have shown that the proportion of farmers who are getting adequate credit for the agricultural operation ranges from 20 to 40 per cent in different States. This means that even with the substantial growth which we have achieved, the major part of the ground is yet left uncovered. How to bridge this gap is a problem constantly facing the cooperative organization. The rate of growth of cooperative credit and inputs is about 15 per cent per annum, and even this growth has resulted in considerable strains in the administrative organization. Assuming that this rate of growth can be sustained over the next five years, we reach a coverage of about 50-60 per cent. In other words, if cooperatives expand at the present rate, without experiencing any set back they would be able to provide 50-60 per cent of the credit needed for agricultural operations in five years.

But these 'ifs' are quite significant, specially when we deal with administration of programmes covering millions of small farms. Arithmetical projection may not be of much help in this sort of planning. The ability of the administrative organization to implement

the tasks will prove the crucial factor, and as I have stated above, the organization is already exhibiting signs of strain, when a sustained growth of 15 per cent is imposed on it. One of the symptoms of this strain is the slackness shown by the cultivator in repayment of his dues. After all, any credit organization can function only if the money loaned comes back on the due date. A certain amount of occasional slackness may probably be tolerated by the system, particularly when it is caused by the adverse seasonal conditions. But, our studies have shown that even apart from the adverse seasons, there is still a large accumulation of overheads solely due to the slackness of the farmer. The position can certainly be rectified by more rigorous collections and by better realization on the part of the farmer, as his repayment is as essential for the functioning of the machine as the issue of the loans. Whether the cooperative organizations and the political leadership will be able to impose this essential discipline on the farmers is another question. But the future of the cooperative organization depends on a firm answer given and implemented.

The general picture that emerges is that the cooperatives have rapidly expanded the scope of their activities and today give adequate credit to finance about 25 per cent of the farmers and some sort of credit to another 15 per cent. If the present rate of expansion is sustained, the cooperative agency may be able to handle about 50 per cent of the total agricultural credit requirements in another five years. These are all-India figures which are not of particular significance when we consider each State separately. If we look at a State or a smaller region, we can say that, in a few regions, the cooperative credit can be brought up to the stage of meeting the bulk of the agricultural requirements. But, in much vaster areas, the role of the cooperative credit is likely to remain at the level of 30 or 35 per cent for quite some time. Some are likely to get impatient with this situation and seriously think of by-passing the cooperative structure. Various suggestions have been made like commercial banks operating in the agriculture sector, agricultural credit corporations functioning in some areas and agricultural development corporations being set up in some States. All this can be done, but it must be realized that when we are thinking of agricultural credit of the magnitude of hundreds of crores of rupees, these smaller efforts will hardly make any serious dent on the problem. Moreover, whatever be the organization which is built up, will also run into the same difficulties which the cooperative organization has had to face when dealing with millions of small farmers. The cooperatives need not seriously object to these alternative agencies coming into being, because rural organization and finance is such a vast sector that many flowers can bloom without causing any detriment to one another.

## INTEGRATION AND APPLICATION OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND EXTENSION

*M. S. Swaminathan*

THESE are days when agricultural development has become a fashionable topic for discussion. It is repeatedly emphasized that only the introduction of science into our agriculture can help to break the yield dilemma, *i.e.*, the static nature of the per acre yield of our major cereals, millets and pulses. However, a comparison of the quantum of financial support extended to agricultural research in relation to other scientific activities indicates what the priorities really are (*see* Figure 1). The situation in a country like Australia where agriculture has been developed into a primary industry is revealing (*see* Figure 2).

There is no distinction between "applied research" and "ivory tower research", if administrative arrangements for exploiting the fruits of research do not exist. I shall, therefore, deal in this article with some possible approaches for increasing the technical competence of the field extension staff and raw agricultural graduates and for bringing about at the administrative level a close integration of research, extension and training. A lack of unified control and activity is known to be the primary weakness of our developmental effort. Hence, earnestness in achieving agrarian advance should be reflected in bringing about a confluence of activities now proceeding on parallel lines.

### EXTENSION

Agricultural extension has three major roles—supply of the inputs indicated by research as necessary for a desired output, transfer of knowledge relating to the maximization of the effectiveness of the inputs applied, and a feed-back channel for information from the farmer to the scientist so as to ensure research on the factors limiting yields. If a good extension machinery exists, the time-gap between discovery and application will be reduced and at the same time research workers will be kept busy finding answers to problems of immediate relevance to the farming community. Research and extension have,

**EXPENDITURE ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH BY CENTRE AND STATES  
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SECTORS  
( ONLY FOR 1964-65 )**

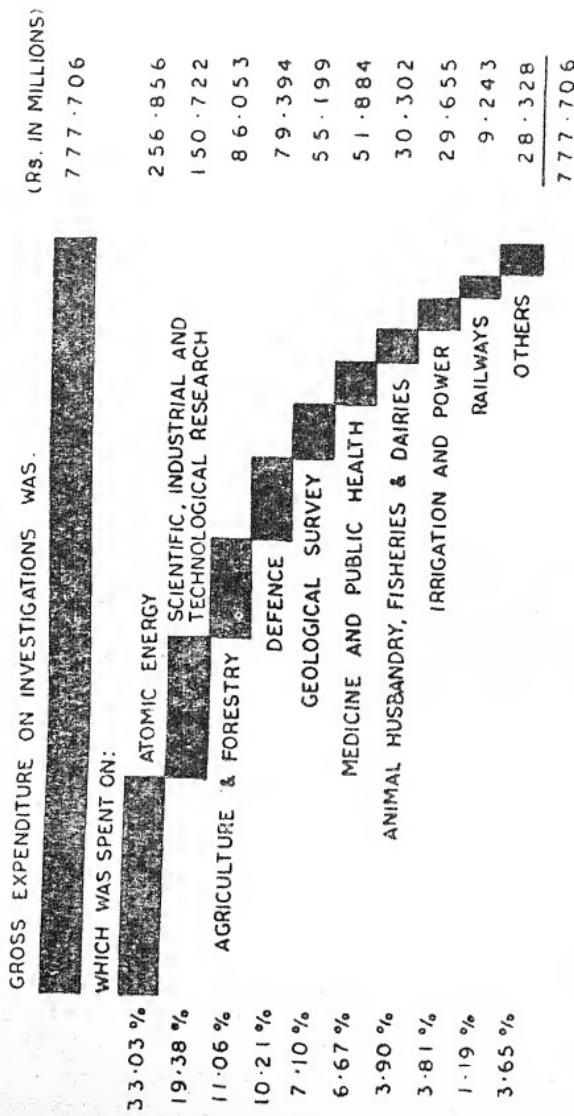


FIG. 1

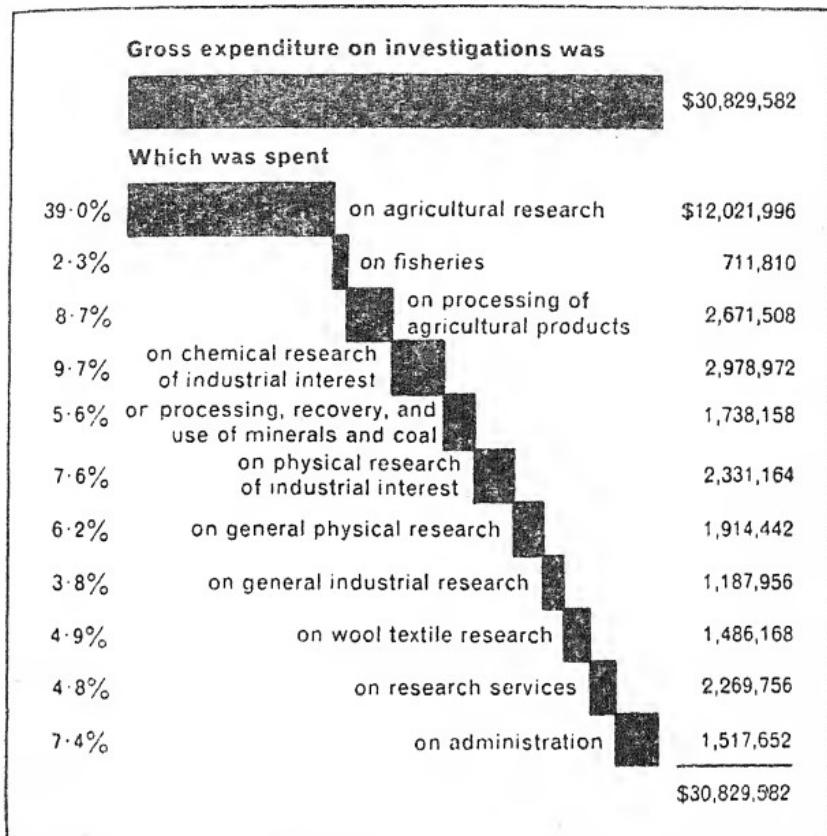


FIG. 2

therefore, a symbiotic relationship and if this symbiosis is fostered through adequate administrative, political and financial support, a continuous rise in the economic yield per unit area can be achieved without detriment to the long-term productivity of the soil.

Recent research strategy aims at exploiting fully the favourable features of our agricultural situation, namely, the existence of abundant sunlight and fairly extensive water resources. The possibility of cultivating green plants which convert solar into chemical energy during most parts of the year is a unique asset of sub-tropical and tropical agriculture. The development and release of high yielding varieties in the major cereals and millets have enabled a farmer with a holding

of only 3 to 4 acres to derive a net income of over Rs. 3,000 per year. Such yield and income possibilities have provided the motivation necessary for the farmer to take to a whole set of new cropping patterns and practices, an outcome which could not be achieved all these years in spite of plans and propaganda.

Dwarf varieties of wheat or rice or hybrids of maize, jowar, bajra are high yielding only if certain fundamental changes in age-old agronomic practices are made. Thus, the time of the first irrigation may make as much as one tonne per hectare difference in the yield of wheat, given the same fertilizer dose and total number of irrigations. The depth of transplanting makes a similar difference in rice. Therefore, the extension agency assumes great significance for ensuring the maximum return to the farmer from his investment on inputs and to the country the maximum production from the existing fertilizer and water resources.

We have a very wide extension net-work in the country. As in every other field of human endeavour, any striking impact of the extension agency, such as the excellent work done in Tanjore and Ludhiana IADP Districts, can be traced to an outstanding individual extension leader. The field extension staff, by and large, have been unable to win the respect of farmers, because of their poor technical and practical knowledge. They have, therefore, relied heavily on their control over input supply to invite visits from farmers. The lack of a living contact with plants and an understanding of the factors limiting crop yields in the farmers' fields have rendered the extension staff practically useless from the point of view of transmitting to the scientist problems requiring investigation. Also, many of the present-day extension officers have worked at some time as research men and they hence tend to forget the fact that it is not the duty of extension workers to function as substitutes for research workers and *vice versa*.

#### MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM OF INFORMATION-TRANSFER

While the number of farmers to be contacted is very large, the number of gifted and well-informed extension workers is few. Progress in the scientific methods of destroying yield barriers and manipulating yield and quality is, on the other hand, very rapid. The price of most of the inputs is among the highest in the world and the availability is low. Therefore, the need for increasing as speedily as possible the technical competence of the field extension staff, so that knowledge concerning the qualitative aspects of input use can be rapidly spread is obvious. Because of the magnitude and urgency of the problem,

thought should be given to the evolution of new information-transfer techniques which would help the country to reap rapidly the fruits of recent scientific research and thereby to rise from the mire of economic recession and world charity. It is also necessary to evolve closer administrative linkage between research and extension.

The National Demonstration Programme started in 1965 at my suggestion is intended to bring the scientist and the farmer directly into contact. Under this programme, scientists lay out demonstrations in farmers' fields to show how to realize the yield potential of the new varieties. During 1967, 2,000 demonstrations, each with a minimum yield target of 10 tonnes of grain per hectare per year have been put up by research workers in collaboration with extension staff throughout the country under the sponsorship of the I.C.A.R. These demonstrations have had a far-reaching impact on the minds of farmers. For example, one Delhi farmer who was giving up wheat cultivation in 1964-65 worked for a world record for the yield of Spring wheat in 1966-67, as a result of a demonstration put up in his farm in 1965-66.

Only those who have themselves produced high yields can with confidence teach the farmers how to do likewise. In other words, extension workers must be conversant with modern production technology. Practical experience rather than a printed package of practices can help them to win the respect and following of farmers. While the new high-yielding varieties show a wide adaptation, the cultural practices necessary to get the best out of them need modification from area to area and sometimes even from farm to farm. Numerous types of training schools and programmes exist now, aiming to increase the technical competence of the extension worker. Judged by the end-result, much is yet to be accomplished in creating an extension agency capable of discharging the triple functions described at the beginning.

#### USE OF LARGE STATE FARMS FOR TRAINING STUDENTS

I believe that one additional approach to this problem is to entrust the running of large State Farms to the senior extension staff in each area. Such a step will have several advantages. Firstly, the extension staff can apply the latest scientific findings on a large scale and acquire proficiency in the use of such techniques as well as evolve such modifications as may be necessary in the methods suggested to facilitate their large scale adoption. Secondly, a large number of extension workers can be trained to produce high yields and thereby equip themselves to educate the farmers. Thirdly, the farms can become demonstration and training centres for farmers. Finally, there will be

ample scope for establishing close links with the scientists, who can make use of such farms to conduct pilot experiments and carry out adaptive research. At the level of making strategic decisions relating to the management of such farms, scientific institutions, such as Agricultural Universities or I.A.R.I., should be closely associated.

If the large farms already existing, such as the one at Suratgarh and those proposed to be established in the different States, become the seats of the Extension Directorates, rather than Government offices as now, the extension staff will become production-oriented and the attitude of the farming community towards them will change.

It is possible now to get at least 10 tonnes of grain per hectare per year by growing 2-3 crops, provided there is water. To build a buffer stock of 5 million tonnes per year, about 500,000 hectares of irrigated land will, therefore, be needed. If farms totalling this area are established and placed under the charge of extension staff, not only would the purpose of creating a very efficient extension machinery be served, but also the need for creating a buffer stock not solely dependent upon levy and other procurement practices would be met. Yield-oriented farms run by extension workers, if organized properly, could become an effective instrument in the production of buffer stocks. In addition, they would help us to get the best out of the few good scientists and extension leaders we have, since they could pay concentrated attention to a few centres, rather than dissipate their efforts over a wide area.

#### AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Extension-cum-training-cum-buffer stock production farms of the type described above can be run very economically and efficiently by making one year service at such farms a requirement for getting degrees in agriculture. Nearly 5,000 B.Sc. Ags' are being produced annually now and hence the farms will have enormous technical manpower. The students will have an excellent opportunity for acquiring proficiency in production technology, which they sadly lack now.

Agricultural Universities have either been set up or are being set up in most States of India. The philosophy underlying these Universities is the achievement of a complete integration of research, education and extension training. The departments of agriculture in the States will then be in charge only of field extension and input supply work. The idea is a good one conceptually, since the entire agricultural research work in a State will be under the charge of the University, which

being an autonomous and academic body, may be able to function more efficiently than Government Departments can. Operationally, however, the greatest weakness of the administrative separation of research and education from field extension work is that the efficiency and speed of exploitation of research findings would depend to a great extent on the personal relationships of the heads of the University and the department. Arrangements should, therefore, be built into the infrastructure which would reduce subjective decisions to the minimum.

From the purely academic angle, the introduction of a flexible course-credit system of post-graduate instruction, based on the American Graduate School System, by the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in 1958, is a significant milestone in our educational progress. This system has since been adopted by all the Agricultural Universities. It affords scope for a student to overcome the twin defects of our traditional system; firstly, to undo the damage done by a rigid grouping of subjects in the early University education, such as Botany, Zoology and Chemistry without any mathematics at all, and secondly, to help the "first generation learner" to eliminate his handicaps by taking a larger number of courses spread over a longer period of time.

#### AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

The allocation for agricultural research amounted to less than 10 per cent of the national science budget during the first three Plans. As a result, the research base now in existence will not be able to provide rapid solutions to the many new problems which will inevitably arise from the switch-over from a static to a scientific agriculture. An attempt is now being made to remedy this situation and certain steps have already been taken by the Government of India to reorganize the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and convert it into an autonomous body similar to the C.S.I.R. A scientist has been appointed as the administrative head of the I.C.A.R., thereby replacing the tradition of appointing civil servants to this post. The research institutes formerly under the control of the Department of Agriculture, I.C.A.R., and several Commodity Committees have all been brought under the unified control of I.C.A.R. Research on most of the important crop plants would henceforth be carried out through all-India co-ordinated projects involving collaboration among scientists working in I.C.A.R. institutes, State Government institutes and Agriculture Universities. It is, therefore, hoped that isolated and ineffective activity which was the characteristic feature of agricultural research until recently, would soon give way to a dynamic, time-oriented research programme.

A major defect of the present administrative situation is that the extension and policy-making responsibilities are vested in the Department of Agriculture, the I.C.A.R. being concerned only with the co-ordination of research work. Under this situation the scientific component of strategic decisions could often be low. Developmental activities and the package of practices recommended may tend to get too general to be of value and frequently divorced from research findings.

#### INTEGRATION OF RESEARCH, EXTENSION AND TRAINING

In my view, the present agricultural administration at the Centre will benefit from adopting some of the features of the Atomic Energy Commission or Railway Board. A small group designated "Agricultural Production Commission" composed of scientists, technologists and administrators should be in complete charge of both the making and implementation of policy decisions. The Chairman of this Board would perform also the duties of the Secretary to the Government of India. The other members of the Board could be assigned the following major responsibilities (see Table 1).

Table 1

| Re-organization of the Department of Agriculture<br>Suggested Organizational Pattern                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Cabinet Minister for Agriculture                                                                                            | Agricultural Production Commission                                                                                                                                                                    | Chairman<br>(Co-ordination Wing)                                                                                                                                                       |
| Member for Research,<br>Training and Extension<br>(I.C.A.R., Fisheries Wing,<br>Forestry Wing and Extension<br>Directorate) | Member for Input Production<br>and Supply<br>(Divisions of Fertilizers,<br>Seeds, Minor Irrigation, Plant<br>Protection, Machinery and<br>State Farms and Directorate<br>of Economics and Statistics) | Member for Development<br>and States Liaison<br>(Crops Division, Animal Hus-<br>bandry Division, Export Pro-<br>motion Unit, Lands Wing,<br>States Liaison Unit, Prices<br>Commission) |
| (Existing Sections which can be placed under the charge of different members are given within brackets.)                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                        |

- (1) Input production and supply,
- (2) Research, training and extension, and
- (3) Development and State liaison.

All strategic decisions should be taken only after joint discussions among members of the Commission.

If such an organization replaces the present set-up of the Department of Agriculture a sense of unity of purpose and action can be introduced into an area which today permits various sections of this organization to work independently of each other and sometimes even at cross purposes. Since agriculture is a State subject, the Centre will be able to play a more effective role in influencing agricultural development, if such a science-based-commission capable of evolving and initiating integrated action is formed. If research and education are to yield the returns expected from the investment made in them, we should ensure the continuity of the administrative links in the research-training-extension-development cycle. If such links exist, the country will benefit in the way the Atomic Energy Commission has shown and if they do not exist, problems in the utilization of research findings will crop up, as has happened in the case of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

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## PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION AND FARM EDUCATION IN RELATION TO FOOD PRODUCTION

*D. V. Reddy*

**I**N India, agricultural production takes place on the fields of over sixty million farmers scattered all over the country. The problem of agricultural production is, therefore, essentially one of how to induce and motivate the millions of farmers to produce more on their lands. It is these problems which are sought to be tackled through what is known as Agricultural Extension and Farm Education, which aim at the development of the farmer and his family by training and enabling them to adopt the best tillage practices and secure the fullest utilization of the advances made by science and technology and motivating them to take desired actions.

Agricultural extension and farm education have grown over the years with the growing needs of agriculture in our country. The needs of the country are, of course, colossal and require enormous resources to build an educational and extension system capable of providing adequate support to our vast and complex agriculture. Since the inception of planning, the crucial role of agricultural extension and education in agricultural development has been increasingly realized and systematic efforts have been made to create the necessary institutions and organizations and also to strengthen them. Extension Training Centres have been set up to train the village level workers in the different aspects of agriculture before they are saddled with the responsibility of actually guiding and helping the farmers in the task of agricultural production. Arrangements also exist to impart higher level training to the staff at the higher rungs of the extension ladder so as to develop in them adequate technical competence and skills. Similarly, the number of agricultural colleges and universities has increased considerably over the last fifteen years to match the needs of our agriculture to the extent possible.

### TOOLS OF EXTENSION

The extension system in India, as in any other country in the world, operates through certain well-identified tools which largely condition the response and receptivity of the farmers to the approaches made by the extension worker. These tools constitute the various

forms of motivation and aids to the farmers for increasing farm production and improving their economic condition. Some of the important measures which have been taken in the past, and, more recently since the inception of the Third Plan period, to improve the effectiveness of the agricultural extension in our country, in terms of its quality and coverage may be enumerated as follows:

- (i) Strengthening of field extension agency at the district and block levels to enable effective contact with the farmers and provide them intensive technical guidance and assistance;
- (ii) Improving technical competence and skill of the extension workers;
- (iii) Ensuring administrative coordination in the working of several departments concerned with agricultural production at different levels;
- (iv) Adequate and timely supply of agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, etc., and credit to the farmers;
- (v) Provision of facilities like storage, marketing and processing of agricultural produce;
- (vi) Adequate motivation of the farmers;
- (vii) Full use of the various media of individual and mass communication for education of farmers; and
- (viii) Development of new extension approaches.

The problems of agricultural extension arise from the inadequacy of one or more of the various aids to production, stated above. In the succeeding paragraphs, it is proposed to deal with these aspects in some detail and identify the problems encountered.

#### *(i) Strengthening of Field Extension Agency*

One of the important lessons drawn from the experience of the Intensive Agricultural Programmes is that the field extension agency comprising the Village Level Worker and the Agricultural Extension Officer can do the job effectively and establish close personal contact with the farmer only if they are put in charge of reasonably manageable

areas. The present jurisdiction of a Village Level Worker is spread over an area of about 5,000 acres cultivated by nearly 1,200 farming families. As against this, in Japan where the means of transport and communication are highly developed and the level of literacy of farmers is also much higher than in our country, a Farm Extension Adviser has to deal with only about 550 farming families cultivating about half the area. In addition, there is an equal number of qualified and well trained Farm Advisers (Extension Workers) maintained by cooperative organizations. These shortcomings were taken into account at the time of planning the Intensive Agricultural District Programme (Package Programme) and in the areas covered by this scheme, the extension set-up was strengthened by addition of 10 Village Level Workers and 3 to 4 Agricultural Extension Officers at the block level and a Project Officer supported by 3 to 4 Subject-matter Specialists at the district level. Such a set-up has also been recommended for the areas covered under the Intensive Agricultural Areas Programme and the High-Yielding Varieties Programme. It has, however, been noticed that the pace of appointment of additional staff in all States has been slow and this important aspect has not so far received the attention it deserves.

#### *(ii) Improving Technical Competence and Skill of the Extension Workers*

The effectiveness of the extension agent depends largely on the extent to which he is able to convince farmers of the need for adoption of improved technology and to wean them away from traditional agricultural practices. This implies that the Extension Worker should have the requisite qualifications, competence and skill. Although there are institutional arrangements to impart both pre-service and in-service training to the extension workers, inadequacy of ability and competence on their part to guide and assist the farmers has been increasingly in evidence. This deficiency has come into sharper focus in the areas covered by the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme where the bulk of the farmers are progressive and demand a higher level of technical advice from the Village Level Workers and the Agricultural Extension Officers. This aspect has been considered by several committees in the past and it has been suggested that all the Village Level Workers should be gradually replaced by agricultural graduates over a period of time, and at least in the intensive agricultural block during the Fourth Plan period.

It has not been possible to give effect to the above recommendation mainly because of non-availability of graduates in adequate number due to: (i) the limitation of the capacity of the existing agricultural

colleges, and (ii) the ineligibility of many of the Village Level Workers now in service for admission to degree courses in the universities. However, action is being taken:

- (a) to depute the eligible Village Level Workers for a degree course in a phased manner;
- (b) to improve their competence by deputing the Village Level Workers to a special upgraded course of one year in agriculture in all its aspects; and
- (c) to provide impressive technical guidance through the provision of Subject-Matter Specialists at the district level in the Intensive Agricultural Districts.

Besides, there has to be increased emphasis on providing on-the-job training to the extension workers at all levels. In the areas covered by the Intensive Agricultural Programmes, the importance of on-the-job training has been adequately realized and before each crop season the extension workers are thoroughly oriented into their job by the State Level Experts with the help of the Subject-Matter Specialists from the Centre. Similarly, all categories of extension personnel should be made to go through in-service and refresher training of a sufficiently high standard at frequent intervals.

### *(iii) Administrative Coordination*

Lack of proper coordination in the working of the various departments concerned with agricultural production at the State, regional and block levels has been one of the major problems retarding the growth of agriculture over the past decade. This weakness was kept in view at the time of planning the Intensive Agricultural Development Programmes and steps were taken to set up Coordination Committees at the State and district levels. These Coordination Committees consist of both officials and non-officials. They meet frequently to consider the progress and problems of the agricultural production programmes and provide guidance and direction to all concerned.

Another problem which has been hampering agricultural production is the absence of a single line of command and control over the field extension worker. The Agriculture Department, which is technically responsible for the success of all agricultural production programmes, has not been able to exercise effective control over the Village Level Worker who is the key functionary at the field level. This is

largely due to the fact that he is controlled by the Block Development Officer who is the leader of a team of specialists and has to ensure implementation of all programmes. Under these circumstances, the directives given by the Central and State Governments that the Village Level Worker should engage himself whole-time in agricultural production, still remain largely unimplemented. The Working Group on Inter-departmental and Institutional Coordination of Agricultural Production (Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's Committee) reviewed the existing arrangements in this regard and suggested measures for bringing about coordination within the entire administrative and organizational structure from the village to the State level. In pursuance of the recommendations of this Committee, some of the States created integrated Departments of Agricultural and Rural Development comprising the Department of Agriculture including Minor Irrigation, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Community Development and Panchayati Raj, Cooperation and allied Departments and also put them under the charge of a Commissioner for Agriculture Production and Rural Development. This has been a very important step forward in the direction of administrative coordination. The Committee also made important suggestions to remove the dual control over the block agency by placing the Village Level Worker under the administrative control of the Agricultural Extension Officer who is controlled by the District Agricultural Officer. It was also suggested that the District Agricultural Officer should initiate the confidential report of the Block Development Officer after consulting the District Officers of the other technical departments and should also have the powers to transfer him within the district. Wherever these recommendations have been implemented, the situation has considerably improved and agricultural production has received a fillip.

#### *(iv) Adequate and Timely Supply of Inputs Including Credits*

It has been observed that a break-through in the adoption of improved technology has been possible only in the areas where supply has kept pace with the educational aspect of extension; in other words, where the package of practices and the package of services (including supplies) have gone hand in hand. The main inputs which the farmers require for increasing production are improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and improved implements. In the Intensive Agricultural Areas, arrangements have been made at all levels to ensure that these inputs are made available to him in the required quantities and when needed. In view of the overall shortage of fertilizers, however, it is not possible to meet the growing requirements of our farmers who have now become fertilizer-minded and want more and more of this critical input.

The bulk of our farmers are poor and need external assistance in the form of credit to be able to purchase the various inputs. In the wake of the various intensive agricultural programmes involving use of increased inputs, the requirements of credit, short, medium and long-term are rapidly growing. The cooperative institutions are not uniformly strong all over the country and wherever they are weak, they are not able to satisfy the demands of the farmers with the result that production suffers. In such cases, Government is making available taccavi to fill the gap to the extent possible. Accumulation of overdues with the farmers, especially in areas affected by natural calamities, affects their credit-worthiness and interferes with the flow of credit. During the last two years marked by widespread draught over larger areas in the country, this problem assumes serious proportions. It is necessary that the State Governments undertake a drive to scale down the overdues so that the cultivator can take full advantage of the credit facilities. Alternative sources of financing like Agricultural Credit Corporations are also being tapped in some of the States where the cooperative movement in general is weak. Another important agency which is being brought into the field of agricultural credit is the Commercial Banks which have not so far played any significant role in this sphere.

(v) *Provision of facilities like storage & marketing of agricultural produce*

To ensure timely supply of inputs to the farmers, it is essential to provide adequate storage facilities. There are schemes for construction of storage godowns at rail head/mandi and village level and a large number of godowns have been constructed in the cooperative sector. Recently, a Crash Programme for construction of a net-work of godowns was also undertaken in all the States as a Centrally Sponsored Project. In view of the large areas to be tackled, there is still the need to provide more storage facilities until there is at least one godown to serve a group of five villages.

It is also important to provide adequate arrangements for the marketing of agricultural produce so as to ensure better returns to the producer and at the same time facilitate easy recovery of the loans advanced. Cooperative marketing of agricultural produce is being encouraged. Considerable emphasis has been laid on this aspect in the Intensive Agricultural Areas where the value of agricultural produce marketed through cooperatives has registered appreciable increase.

A tie-up between credit, marketing and processing is essential for the success of any agricultural production programme. In the

district of Thanjavur in Madras where a massive programme for conversion of about 6 out of 9 lakh acres of single cropped Samba land into double and triple cropped land has been taken up during the current kharif season, arrangements have been made for providing adequate facilities for storage, drying, processing and marketing of produce. Similar efforts are necessary in other areas where the High Yielding Varieties Programme has been taken up on a large scale and sizable produce will require to be stored, marketed and processed.

#### *(vi) Incentives*

Extension efforts have to be aided by a sound scheme of incentives for the farmers. We must make it worthwhile for the farmer to adopt the improved technology, which involves larger investments, by guaranteeing his remunerative prices for their produce. The price support measures taken by the Government of India have gone a long way to provide this incentive to the farmer. An agricultural Prices Commission was set up by the Government of India in January, 1965 to advise the Government, on a continuing basis, on price policy for agricultural commodities with a view to evolving a balanced and integrated price structure in the perspective of the overall needs of the economy and with due regard to the interests of the producer and the consumer. The Commission announces minimum support prices well in advance of the sowing season and also advises the State Governments on fixation of suitable procurement prices which can act as an incentives to the growers to produce more and increase the income from their land.

Besides, there may be other incentives in the form of land reform measures which confer on the peasants the right of ownership of their lands. It is important that land reforms are carried out with the utmost speed to remove the present uncertainties which have inhibited production.

#### *(vii) Extension Techniques*

The techniques at present adopted by the extension workers to educate the farmers in improved methods of cultivation have mainly been : (i) demonstrations; (ii) distribution of literature like leaflets, pamphlets, circulars, newspapers, etc.; (iii) visual aids like posters, photographs, flash cards, flannelgraphs, films, bulletins, slides, film strips, etc.; (iv) direct contacts through tours, songs, dramas, puppet shows, etc.; and (v) working with village leaders. The extension worker is being called upon to use these tools in greater and greater measure

for the education of farmers, especially in the context of the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme like the High Yielding Varieties Programme. A large number of field demonstrations of the composite type are being laid out on the cultivators' fields in each crop season under the supervision of the Village Level Workers and the Agricultural Extension Officers. The quality of these demonstrations is being ensured by entrusting only a small number of demonstrations to each extension worker which he could easily manage and supervise. In the areas covered by the Intensive Agricultural Programmes, package of practices based on the latest research findings is printed and widely circulated amongst the extension workers and the farmers. Mass communication media like exhibition of films and radio broadcasts on different aspects of agricultural production, including the cultivation of high yielding varieties, are being widely used. Recently, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have set up a Farm and Home Unit in the All India Radio under the charge of a Director to provide a strong radio support to the Intensive Agricultural Programmes. Similar Units have also been established in the regional radio stations to cater effectively to the needs of the farmers in the Intensive Agricultural Areas.

#### *(viii) Development of New Extension Approaches*

In India, during the First and Second Five Year Plan, the production efforts and resources were widely diffused over the entire country. The educational and extension efforts among the millions of farmers to be tackled remained thin and restricted. It was only at the commencement of the Third Plan that significant departure took place and a beginning was made in the direction of intensive agricultural efforts based on the principle of concentration of resources and efforts in potential and responsive areas with assured water supply. The Intensive Agricultural District Programme (popularly known as the "Package Programme") which was initiated in selected districts in 1960-61 has given two important tools to the extension workers. One is the "Package Approach" which emphasizes adoption by the farmers of a scientific combination of the various factors of production based on the latest research findings. Such a package has to be developed for each area keeping in view its soil, water and climate complex. The other is the "Farm Planning Approach" which envisages preparation of a farm production plan by each farmer with the assistance of the extension workers and the higher level Subject-Matter Specialists. Such a farm plan takes into account the available on-the-farm and off-the-farm resources of the farmer and inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, implements, credit, etc., which he will need to maximize

the farm output. An attempt is being made to apply the principle of farm management in an extensive way, both at the micro and macro level, for increasing agricultural production. The objective is to create conditions under which the cultivator can use the improved farming practices that are available to him in such a combination that he gets optimum results. Technology and economics must work together in the programmes of up-to-date business of farming. The other important aspect of this approach is its being an effective extension or teaching tool in the hands of the extension workers. In a country like India wide spread adoption of this approach is essential to change the outlook and attitudes of the bulk of our farmers. The adoption of these new extension tools by our extension workers is still confined to limited areas as it requires a well equipped extension agency capable of reaching every farmer in time and giving him the necessary technical help and guidance.

#### *Farmer Receptivity*

The success of all extension efforts is to be judged ultimately by the receptivity of new ideas which the extension workers have been able to build up among farmers. Increases in agricultural production will be ultimately determined by the extent to which improved technology has been adopted by them. Training is, therefore, as important for farmers as it is for extension workers. There should be arrangements for training of farmers, selected village leaders, farm women and young farmers.

In all States, there are schemes in operation for training of farmers in improved methods of farming. Under the High Yielding Varieties Programme, special emphasis is being laid on this aspect and short duration training camps are organized for the benefit of farmers well in advance of the crop season. Recently, a massive programme for training of farmers has been taken up by the Government of India in collaboration with the U.N.D.P. Under this programme, 100 Farmers Training Centres will be set up in the selected High Yielding Varieties Programme districts according to a phased programme during the Fourth Plan period. This scheme is expected to provide a strong educational support to the High Yielding Varieties Programme and the farmers will be given intensive training in the new technology recommended for the cultivation of the high yielding varieties.

#### *Impact of Extension on Production*

The measures detailed above have no doubt contributed to the successful working of the extension agency in our country. The performance of the Intensive Agricultural District Programme, which

was the first Intensive Agricultural Development Programme introduced in the beginning of the Third Plan period, has adequately demonstrated the effectiveness of our extension worker provided he is fully supported by a strong administrative set-up, receives adequate technical guidance and assistance from the higher level subject-matter specialists and is able to assure the farmers adequate and timely supply of inputs. All these facilities were available in the IADP districts. The results achieved in these areas were extremely encouraging. There were substantial increases in the crop yields in most of the districts. Districts like Ludhiana were able to double the yield of wheat within a short period of 4-5 years. There has been a much faster rate of growth in these districts than in the country as a whole during the Third Plan period. Such a rate of progress was made possible by the encouraging response of the farmers which has resulted in a phenomenal increase of 4 to 5 times in the consumption of fertilizers in these districts during a period of 4 to 5 years. The response of farmers did not remain confined only to use of fertilizers. They have shown a keen awareness of the need for timely adoption of plant protection measures to save their crops from attacks of pests and diseases. The cultivators have realized the need for prophylactic treatment on an area-wide basis. Improved implements like seed-cum-fertilizer drills have also become very popular among the farmers.

In the light of the encouraging experience of Intensive Agricultural District Programme, a programme of much larger dimensions known as the Intensive Agricultural Areas Programme was taken up in the beginning of 1964-65 in about 117 selected districts. With the availability of high yielding varieties of rice and wheat and hybrids of maize, jowar and bajra the high yielding varieties programme, was launched in the beginning of 1966-67 and even this has unmistakably demonstrated the effectiveness of our extension agency. The farmers' response to the introduction of these varieties has been encouraging beyond expectations. They have seen the benefits of the cultivation of these varieties and have participated in the programme in large numbers. Wherever the recommended package of practices was adopted in full, very high yields far exceeding those of the traditional varieties were obtained. It was also observed that in the case of attacks of pests and diseases on crops, the IADP districts having the necessary facilities and trained staff could control the situation with much greater promptness and effectiveness than the other areas where similar facilities were not readily available. A further encouraging development in the wake of the introduction of these high yielding varieties has been the creation of an awareness among the farmers all over the country and the State Governments that even the locally evolved varieties are

capable of giving very much increased yields, if adequately fertilized. Such promising varieties have been identified and their yield potentialities are being tried over large compact blocks on optimum levels of fertilization and application of other inputs before these are also adopted as high yielding. The farmers are clamouring for bringing more and more areas under the cultivation of such promising varieties. A living example of the enthusiasm and growing awareness of the farmers is the massive programme of conversion of about 6 out of 9 lakh acres of single cropped Samba paddy area into double or triple cropped land launched during the current kharif season in Thanjavur district of Madras. The entire area has been sown with ADT-27 which is a high yielding variety of paddy and has become very popular among the farmers in the district. The administrative machinery has also been fully geared to the needs of such a programme and the required inputs are being assured to the farmers. If everything goes well, it is expected that an additional production of 7.5 lakh tonnes of paddy will accrue from the converted Samba area.

### *Conclusion*

India is passing through an era of agricultural revolution. The traditional methods of production are giving place to new technology. The Indian farmer, though cautious in adoption of innovations, has on the whole, shown admirable receptivity to the advances of science and technology. This, in fact, is one of the most encouraging features of the Indian agricultural scene. Today, what is holding up the progress in the domain of agriculture is not so much that the lack of demand from the farmers but the lack of supply of essential inputs. This transformation has come about over a period of decade and a half as a result of the sustained efforts of the extension agency to educate our farmers and open up their minds to technological changes. It is well-known that the yields of most of our crops are still among the lowest in the world. In the areas covered by the Intensive Agricultural Programmes substantial increases in crop yields have already been achieved and the introduction of the high yielding varieties has shown the way to the "break-through" in agriculture which is the avowed goal of the Fourth Five Year Plan. What is needed is a massive agricultural extension effort backed by adequate supply of agricultural inputs, a strong field extension agency capable of guiding and assisting the farmers in the adoption of improved technology and an administrative machinery geared to accept as well as accelerate change.

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## CROP INSURANCE UNDER INDIAN CONDITIONS

*G. R. Seth*

**A**RICULTURE, accounting for about 50 per cent of the national income, is the main plank of our country's economic and social structure. Peasantry constitutes the vast majority of the population and is the backbone of country's life as a whole. The prosperity of the nation is very much linked with the well being of the farmer. Failures in the performance in the agriculture sector of the plan slow down the economic growth. On the other hand, no other occupation is as much subject to hazards beyond human control as agriculture. Agriculture in India has been described as a gamble in rains and, in addition, numerous factors like incidence of pests and diseases, floods and cyclones add to the uncertainty of a cultivator's lot. A crop failure to the cultivator means not only the loss of a season, family income but also of the capital invested in the crop. As cultivators, in general, do not have the capacity to bear such losses, the resulting impoverishment of farmers lead to their failure to pay rents and taxes, to their loss of purchasing power and mounting debts. This leads to reduced harvestings and curtailment of agricultural operations in the subsequent seasons consequently increasing the unemployment among agriculture labour. Crop failures affect also the flow of raw materials to agro-industries. This way the entire economy of the country is affected by crop losses of which the farmers are direct and worst victims. In the interest of stabilizing the economy, it is, therefore, clear that adequate protection should be provided to the farmers to continue their agricultural operations unhampered.

The need of such a protection is all the more greater as intensive efforts are expected from the farmers to meet the expanding food needs of the population. Growth rate in population is of the order of 2.4 per cent and is alarmingly high, whereas the agricultural production is increasing at a much slower rate. The result is that gap between the requirements of food of the population and the available supplies is widening. Government is, no doubt, serious about propagating family control measures to halt this high growth rate in human population but their effectiveness will only begin to be felt after a decade or so. Meanwhile, it is an urgent necessity to raise agricultural production. The scope for expansion of area under cultivation is very limited for this

purpose. Increase in production, therefore, has to be brought about by maximizing per acre production over the entire area under foodgrains which is estimated at about 117½ million hectares. Such increases in production are possible provided the Government makes available high quality seed and fertilizers in sufficient quantities and supply of irrigation water is also adequately increased and the new agricultural strategy is adopted extensively by the farmers. This strategy consists of growing new high yielding varieties highly responsive to fertilizer application and adopting intensive multiple cropping programme, i.e., growing two to three crops in a year on the same piece of land. Our farmers are, no doubt, poor and illiterate. With many, agriculture is still only a way of life and it is not easy to change this attitude. But once they are convinced that high yields can be obtained by adoption of the new agricultural strategy and are provided sufficient incentives and necessary purchasing power to buy the inputs, they will take to the new agricultural technology in larger numbers. Already the demand for high yielding variety seeds has considerably increased in the country. No doubt, purchasing power can be created initially by advancing agricultural credit as is being done under the new enlightened policy of the Government to grant it on easier and cheaper terms. In order that agricultural system should continue to serve the cause of the farmers, the loans once advanced should be repaid in time. It has been the experience in some States that lack of payment of loans on the part of farmers has resulted in overdues with the result that the high yielding programme has suffered a setback. In the last two years in certain States, it has been observed that whereas seeds, fertilizers and pesticides were ready for distribution in the villages but they were not lifted in the desired quantities due to limitation of credit because of overdues. One of the major factors responsible for overdues has been the crop failure in the past two years. Farmers have suffered crop losses and thus they were not in a position to pay back the loans. As defaulters are not generally entitled to further loans, the result is that productive efforts for high yielding programme have suffered a setback in these States. This has also been the experience in the Intensive Agricultural District Programme where the increasing trend in fertilizer use is not seen during the past two years.

In order that productive effort is maintained after a crop failure, it is necessary that they should be in a position to repay their loans and also have sufficient funds to carry on the agricultural operations in a subsequent season. For this purpose, a scheme like crop insurance becomes a social and economic necessity. The last two droughts amply justify the introduction of such a measure.

No doubt, when agriculture distress is acute, Government undertakes measures of relief, suspends or remits land revenue and also provides loans for rehabilitating the cultivators. Such measures, however, are not adequate to rehabilitate the farmers and the overall rural economy. These relief measures only help the farmers to tide over the period of agriculture distress without providing them adequate means for carrying out the agricultural operations in the subsequent seasons. Such governmental measures also cannot be claimed as a matter of right by the farmers but only as concessions, the extent of which is largely dependent on policies and resources of the government. Therefore, the farmers are not free from anxiety unless, of course, the provision of relief, its rate and amounts are guaranteed by statutes. Thus, more effective means have to be provided to protect the farmer's interest. Under crop insurance by paying small amounts as premia, they purchase the right to be compensated for loss of crops. Also the liability of the Government of the cost of relief measures to farmers following a crop failure is reduced as through crop insurance they have provided relief on their own.

A question can be raised whether crop insurance is only necessary when exposure to risks is frequent. No doubt, in this case farmers may realize the need of insurance and perhaps willingly go in for it. But the cover of insurance is also vital where the losses may not be frequent but are likely to happen and are heavy whenever they occur. Farmers, generally, cannot bear such heavy losses without impairing their capacity to carry out farming operations. Insurance will provide them the much needed funds at such critical moments and it will be economical also as premium rates will be lower in view of the comparatively infrequent occurrences of the calamities. This situation has been well realized in a developed country like the U.S.A. where the farmers have large holdings and natural risks to crops have been reduced by technical advances. The crop insurance scheme which started in U.S.A. in 1939 with wheat crop now covers a large number of crops including fruits. In short, crop insurance would provide the cushion to absorb the shocks of disastrous crop losses and ensure a considerable measure of security in farm income, making the farmers more credit-worthy, provide them incentives to invest more for the needed rapid raise in agricultural production and promote self-help and mutual aid among the farmers favourable to cooperative efforts. It will also relieve the government to some extent of the present irregular financial burden of providing relief and distress loans to farmers in the event of heavy crop losses. Lastly, if the insurance was combined with storage of commodities, the programme would help to normalize the availability of supplies, stabilize prices and guarantee

even flow of raw materials to industries. All this will contribute to the stability of the rural economy.

A question is raised whether crop insurance will be well received by the farmers who are engaged mainly in subsistent farming, whose productivity is generally low and have low capacity to pay premia and also lack of appreciation for any type of insurance especially for crops. As elaborated earlier, the need for crop insurance in such a situation is great to help the large vulnerable class of society both for their sake as well as for the welfare of the society at large. Farmers, of course, have to be educated regarding the benefits of crop insurance. Premia have to be interpreted as a contribution to mutual relief fund set up for their welfare to help them in their distress. This will give them a sense of participation in the scheme. Cost of the operation of the crop insurance should also be reduced to the minimum, if not entirely borne by the Government. Further, if the rates of premia are brought down by adjusting the benefits or through subsidies such that a majority of farmers are in a position to pay, there will be good chances of its acceptability by the farmers. Further, if it is operated as a progressive measure and also as an integrated programme of development of agriculture, it is likely to receive a wider support of the peasants.

#### NATURE OF CROP INSURANCE

Crop insurance is in operation in a number of countries including the United States, Japan and Ceylon. The system of crop insurance, as developed in other countries, cannot be introduced in India as such but has to be modified to suit the special conditions prevalent in the country. Any type of crop insurance should, however, observe the sound principles of insurance. It should be geared to the needs of the farmers. The amount of premia paid (including the subsidies, if any) over a number of years should balance the claims paid over that period. Therefore, there should be a proper actuarial basis for the insurance scheme.

Crop insurance is somewhat more complicated than some other types of insurance like life insurance. In the latter case, the risks to be insured can be identified at the time of insurance whereas the crop to be insured does not exist at the time of insurance and is still to be produced during the season and the amount of produce to be realized is unknown to both the insured and the insurer. The insured farmer, of course, has some expectation regarding the production which is likely to obtain based on his past experience and thus could determine the amount to be insured. Also when the damage to the crop occurs, it

involves the assessment of losses of a large number of farmers within a short period. This assessment is further complicated when the loss of crop is only partial. This is all to be done to the satisfaction of the farmers in the interest of smooth working of the scheme.

Crop insurance can be voluntary as in the United States or compulsory as in Japan. The principal consideration is whether compulsory or voluntary cover is likely to prove greater success. For countries like India where a large majority of holdings are very small and the peasantry is illiterate, some form of compulsory insurance will be essential to secure adequate participation. In a voluntary scheme of insurance, there may not always be a sufficient degree of participation necessary to reduce the cost and lowering of premiums. Farmers will have the tendency to insure only those fields which are exposed to higher risks and if they are asked to insure all the fields, it is very likely that the high risk farmers may apply for insurance whereas the low risk farmers may not participate. This will lead to insurance of predominantly bad risks. Voluntary insurance apart from such adverse selection in countries like India raises additional problems of administration and cost to the extent that the insurance has to be sold. A compulsory scheme on insurance avoids these difficulties by ensuring adequate participation, reducing adverse selection risks and cost of operations. Under conditions prevailing in under-developed countries, therefore, the insurance experts have generally recommended the introduction of compulsory crop insurance.

#### ORGANIZATION FOR ADMINISTRATION OF CROP INSURANCE PROGRAMME

The crop insurance programme can be administered by Joint Stock Companies, Farmers' Cooperatives or Government. Because of considerable risks involved, neither the Joint Stock Companies nor the small Farmers' Cooperatives with their limited resources would be able to initiate crop insurance. It is the considered opinion of experts that in countries like India, the governments with their relatively larger resources can only initiate this scheme. If the Government is not prepared to accept responsibility for such a social security scheme, there is little prospect of a viable scheme being developed and conducted in such countries. The crop insurance programme should be viewed as mentioned earlier, an integrated programme of agricultural improvement and thus it can be best run by a Government Agency. In Japan, the crop insurance scheme is viewed in this light and the farmers are provided all measures for protecting the crops, such as plant protection measures which have reduced the losses to a considerable extent over a period of years. Such an integrated approach has made Japan

from a deficit country to a self-sufficient one as far as rice production is concerned. It is the Crop Insurance Federation set up by the U.S. Government which is undertaking crop insurance in that country. In Ceylon too, the crop insurance is being run by the Government. The operation of such measures as well as of enlisting the cooperation of the farming community can only be done in countries like India by implementing the scheme of crop insurance through a governmental agency. Besides the organization in the States, there should be a crop insurance organization at the Centre to guide the work of crop insurance in the States.

#### APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF CROP INSURANCE

The main impediment in launching a full scale crop insurance scheme in countries like India are lack of reliable data over a period of years on crop yields and crop losses; lack of trained personnel and limited financial resources. At present there is no experience of crop insurance in India. A sound system of insurance can only be built on the accumulated experience gained from actual working of an experimental scheme operated on a limited but an adequate scale in different crop regions under different agricultural conditions. Such pilot investigations would provide valuable material for working out sound actuarial basis for the scheme, for studying the various costs of operations and for training a body of personnel who will form the nucleus for further expansion of the scheme.

#### THE INDIAN PROGRAMME

So far, no serious efforts have been made in India for introducing crop insurance. An attempt was made in 1943 in the then Dewas Junior State at introducing compulsory scheme of all risks of crop insurance which permitted modest benefits to the farmer. In 1948, Shri G. S. Priolkar of the Life Insurance Corporation was appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture to study the problems of crop and cattle insurance under Indian conditions. The reports submitted by them were considered at a conference of economists, actuaries, insurance and agriculture experts held in Bombay in 1949 recommended that a pilot research scheme of crop insurance should be immediately taken up, more or less, on the lines mentioned in Shri Priolkar's Report. The operation of the scheme should be accompanied by well organized publicity and propaganda. The conference also recommended that Government of India should run the pilot scheme under its own auspices for a period of five years. The scheme was also placed before the F.A.O. Working Party on Crop and Livestock Insurance at

its meeting held in Bangkok in 1956. The Working Party endorsed the principles of the Indian programme and recommended its implementation on a pilot scale. No State Government, however, has been able to initiate crop insurance mainly due to financial stringency.

During the Third Five Year Plan, the Government of Punjab desired to implement an all-risk compulsory crop insurance scheme. Services of Mr. T. Yamauchi, an insurance expert in Japan were obtained under the Extended Technical Assistance Programme of F.A.O. for formulating the scheme. Life Insurance Corporation also spared the services of Shri G.S. Priolkar for a year to help the Punjab Government in this effort. These experts recommended the scheme to be introduced on a compulsory basis in a few selected areas and recommended the preliminary steps, to be taken for introducing the scheme. For lack of legislation for introducing crop insurance on a compulsory basis, Punjab Government has not been able to introduce the scheme so far. A bill to enable the State Governments to introduce compulsory crop insurance is now under the consideration of the Government of India.

A model scheme has been prepared for consideration of the Government of India. The main features of the scheme are that it is compulsory in nature and covers insurance against all natural crop risks. For fixing rates of premium and indemnities, the region where the crop insurance is to be introduced is divided into homogeneous risk areas. Under the scheme, indemnities will become payable to all the farmers growing the insured crops in a homogeneous area in case the average yield rate for a crop for the area in any season falls below 75 per cent of the normal yield rate fixed for the area, the latter being fixed on past yield rates of the area. Objective methods of estimating the seasonal yield, such as crop cutting experiments on representative field of the area, are recommended for adoption. In case the natural calamity is not widespread but affects only a part of the area, indemnities become payable to farmers in that part of the area if the estimated yield rate of that part falls below 75 per cent of the normal yield fixed for the area.

#### PROBLEMS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CROP INSURANCE SCHEME

In case Crop Insurance Bill is passed by the Parliament, it will enable the State Government to introduce the scheme on a compulsory basis, if they so desire. The State Governments will naturally have to go cautiously with the scheme and launch it on an experimental basis. The success or the failure of the crop insurance programme to

a very large extent depends upon the effectiveness of the administrative machinery responsible for carrying out the various operations involved in the scheme. Three major operations are those of verification of areas growing insured crops, determination of seasonal yields and settlement of claims. After a State Government specifies the areas and crops to be insured, all the farmers intending to grow the insured crop shall have to submit to the authority prescribed by the Government in a prescribed proforma, the details regarding the location of the fields on which insured crops are expected to be grown. Thereafter, the officers appointed for the purpose shall verify the sown area and determine the insurable acreage for each farmer. This work is painstaking and has to be carefully handled. Any person affected by such a determination, no doubt, can get his grievances redressed through a court of law but such litigations should, as far as possible, be minimized and the farmers should not feel that they are unnecessarily being harassed by the administering staff. For the success of the scheme, not only the justice should be done but also should appear to have been done. The administering staff will have to be vigilant, unbiased and above suspicion. Carelessness on the part of the staff will lead to innumerable number of litigations and will defeat the purpose of the crop insurance programme to be a beneficial measure.

Seasonal yield forms the basis for payment of indemnities. This is to be determined by objective methods, such as crop cutting experiments. These objective methods should be strictly adhered to to avoid any suspicion on the part of farmers that the yield rates are being biased in favour of the Government. Also collusion between the local functionaries and the farmers in lowering the yields will seriously affect the financial stability of the scheme. To avoid such contingencies, a built-in-machinery for spot checking by superior officers should be an essential part of the administration of the scheme. However, it may be pointed out that such collusion to lower the seasonal yield rates will in the long run lead to higher premium rates which will ultimately go against the interest of the farmers themselves.

Settlement of the claims is the most important part of the scheme. They should be settled with promptness. In case the assessment and the settlement machinery fails to act in time, the whole programme will fall through and the farmers will begin to feel that the scheme is a ruse to levy indirect taxation and no benefits are likely to accrue to them from the scheme. Such dissatisfaction among the farming community will seriously impair the implementation of the scheme for all times to come.

The implications of administering the various operations, mentioned above, will give an impression that with the present machinery functioning at the village level, it would be difficult to launch a sophisticated programme as crop insurance. For this purpose, the field machinery shall have to be strengthened. Further, the cumbersome governmental procedures should be adjusted to avoid undue delays. In this connection the remarks of the Expert Committee on Assessment of the I.A.D. Programme in the second report are relevant. The Committee has remarked that "the (present) administrative system is not adequate for the job and has to be geared to the needs of the programme. In fact, one of the most serious obstacles that the IADP has had to face is the archaic administrative system that obtains in the country. This system based essentially on checks and balances evolved in a different time and for different purpose has proved woefully inadequate for any operation, the aim of which is not to maintain the *status quo* but to change it". If the present administrative system is inadequate to meet the needs of IADP where inputs and other aids are being provided to the farmers, it will be all the more unsuitable for a progressive and dynamic measure like crop insurance where farmers are to make payments in expectation of a quick relief in the event of their suffering crop losses and prompt action has to be the primary motive. Thus, the Government machinery to be set up should have the necessary authority and facilities to enable it to act promptly in the interest of the smooth functioning of the scheme. The pilot investigations should, besides training of a body of suitably recruited persons for carrying out various operations of the scheme, also go into the various requirements for the proper administration of the scheme. With a view to avoiding cumbersome governmental procedures, States might set up Crop Insurance Boards to lay down procedures and standards for successful implementation of the scheme.

Crop insurance in India will be a new venture and is proposed to be introduced on a compulsory basis. Government will be very much interested in making a success of it. Being compulsory, the premium rates should be as low as possible to take the insurance within the purchasing power of all the farmers. It may thus be advisable at least in the initial stages to bear the entire cost of the administration of the scheme and charging farmers only net premiums without any addition for expenses of operating the scheme. U.S.A. where the farmers are comparatively better off is bearing the cost of administration of the scheme of crop insurance. Further, subsidies by the Government to reduce the net premium rates will, of course, be welcome by the farmers. This has many implications and the limitation of space prevents one to examine them in detail. But if the Government

decides to subsidize the net premiums also, it will perhaps be in order, for it will be helping the vulnerable section of the society to stand on its own legs which is also in the interest of everybody. As mentioned earlier, Government of Japan is heavily subsidizing the premiums to make crop insurance attractive for the successful implementation of the scheme.

## **ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP FOR INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION**

*G. R. Kamat*

**T**O understand the nature and scope of tasks which the administrative machinery has to undertake for raising food production, it will be appropriate to begin with a broad analysis of the problems of production itself. We should first examine the objectives and the means to achieve them. It is then possible to consider the role the administrative machinery at various levels assumes in achieving these objectives.

While the production of foodgrains (cereals and pulses) in India increased from 51 million tonnes in 1950-51 to 89 million tonnes in 1964-65, foodgrains deficit measured by the rate of imports and representing the excess of demand over supplies, has increased and not diminished. The reasons why the foodgrains demand has risen faster than the growth in production are now well known. The population in India is currently rising at the rate of 2.4 per cent per annum so that every year we now have additional 1.2 million or more hungry mouths to be fed. Further, with the rising standard of living, the enlarged scope for employment and the consequent generation of additional incomes amongst various sectors of people, the per capita demand for foodgrains has grown. Indeed, such increase in the level of food consumption, particularly of those, who had hitherto suffered from low living standards, is amongst the very objectives of the development. So, the development process itself has led to a greater growth in demand for the foodgrains and partly contributed to the imbalance. The growth in production of 2.98 per cent per annum (compound rate) achieved between 1949-50 and 1964-65 has been found to be wholly inadequate.

The experience of the three Plans and more specially of the Third Five Year Plan has demonstrated that a high rate of economic growth cannot be sustained without an adequate growth in food production, and that the industrialization and modernization of economy requires the solid foundation of corresponding growth in agricultural output. Not only in terms of the economic growth but also in terms of human welfare of a subsistence character, it is important that the

food production is now stepped up at a more rapid rate. The unprecedented droughts of the last two seasons, necessitating very high levels of import from all parts of the world, even to ensure meagre rations to large sectors of population and to maintain ship-to-mouth feeding line, emphasizes the urgency of the problem. The Fourth Plan provides that at the end of the Plan period, foodgrains production should rise to the level of 115 to 120 million tonnes. In making that demand projection, the Planning Commission and the Government of India have taken into account the inevitable year-to-year fluctuations in output due to natural causes, as well as the factors of growth in demand which have been referred to above. The Government of India has already placed before themselves and before the State governments and the people of India, the objective of reaching self-sufficiency by 1970-71. It has been pledged that as from that year imports of foodgrains on concessional terms will cease. A further indication of the earnestness with which this problem is approached is that while the recent paucity of resources has led to the scaling down of allocations to other sectors of the Fourth Five Year Plan, allocations for the agricultural sector and for sectors which support agricultural production, are not allowed to suffer. This adjustment in plan priorities has been readily accepted both by the Central and all the State Governments and has been generally approved by people.

The production of foodgrains, which form the staple food for a large majority of population, has naturally received a great deal of attention in the policies of the States and the Central Governments. It is equally important, however, to secure larger production of supplementary and subsidiary food like vegetables including potatoes, fruit, fish, meat, milk and milk-products. The production and consumption of these commodities will raise the nutritional standards and impart health and vigour to the growing population, by providing them with a diversified balanced diet. There is evidence too that, with the rising incomes, the demand for these subsidiary foods is already on the increase. Experience in high income countries shows that when incomes rise above a certain level, part of the cereal consumption tends to be substituted by these subsidiary items of diet. It is, therefore, expected that as our economic development proceeds, the larger supplies of these subsidiary foods will be called for, and these will somewhat ease the pressure of demand for foodgrains.

Our longer run objective has to be to ensure a continuously rising rate of output of foodgrains and subsidiary foods, commensurate with the growth in population and rate of growth in overall

economy. Conditions have to be created which will bring about a sustained growth of the requisite order, in these respects.

## II

We may next consider the means by which these objectives are to be achieved and how high production levels, especially of foodgrains, are to be brought about. The two obvious possibilities are extending the area under cultivation and raising the yields per acre. Experience of the three Plans indicates that of 2.98 per cent per annum of growth in foodgrains production (compound rate) between 1949-50 and 1964-65, 1.34 is attributed to the extension of acreage and 1.64 can be identified as compound rate of growth in productivity per acre. In these statistics acreage figures are gross; the area under double cropping and multiple cropping is counted twice over or as many times over as the number of crops grown on the same acreage. Strictly speaking, such an intensive use of land, as double and multiple cropping, could also be regarded as intensive cultivation and increase in productivity per acre.

There are limitations in increasing the physical acreage under cultivation. With the exception of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and a few other regions, availability of land suitable for extending cultivation is limited. A technical Committee appointed some years ago concluded after examining records and after local inspections, that just about 10 million acres of land was available as cultivable waste, capable of being brought under cultivation without large expenditure on reclamation. Further and more detailed enquiries have not succeeded in identifying a greater part of this acreage. In any case extensive cultivation has to be preceded by expensive measures for reclamation which may be undertaken by mechanical means or manually. Very often, the newly reclaimed areas have to be treated with soil conditioners in order to raise the soil fertility. Cropping patterns have to be carefully devised and practised over a period of years before a high level of productivity is reached. The newly reclaimed land has to be provided with irrigation and other facilities. All these measures involve large investments spread over a period of years.

The other way to increase gross acreage under cultivation is to provide more irrigation, so as to facilitate double and multiple cropping. Programmes of irrigation, whether minor, medium or major are intended to serve this purpose. By supplementing rainfall (and in conditions of scarcity, by partly substituting it) the irrigation supplies provide the conditions necessary to enable the peasants to grow

more than one crop on their land. Minor irrigation works take only a short period for completion and they can, therefore, bring about a change-over to double and multiple cropping in a relatively short period. Another advantage in minor irrigation works is that many such works give individual farmers greater control over irrigation supplies, and a feeling of assurance that water would be available for their crops just when needed. However, in the long run minor irrigation works are a more expensive and less efficient source of supply inasmuch as it often depends on local rainfall and requires relatively greater effort on maintenance. In respect of major and medium irrigation, it has been found, on the other hand, that even after the works are completed, the utilization of irrigation is a time-consuming process. Distributaries and water channels have to be taken out to individual fields, frequently, over the lands of a large number of peasants; land has to be levelled to make it suitable for irrigated cultivation, cropping patterns have to change to suit the changed environment of soil and water availability. All these measures require significant investments either by farmers or on his behalf by cooperatives and Government agencies. Major and medium irrigation programmes need to be undertaken, and speedily completed and the time-gap between completion of works and the utilization of irrigation water should be reduced to the minimum, so as to meet the long term need of a continuous rise in production. But, in the context of current situation requiring speedy increase in production, greater reliance has to be placed on minor irrigation works and on the speedy completion and utilization of major and medium works already under construction.

As regards intensive cultivation, it is well known that the average foodgrains yields in this country are low. They are much below the average yields reached in many other countries. While the general average is low, there are areas even in India, where rice and wheat yields are several times more than those in other regions. It has been found that with the right combination of soil, water and other agricultural inputs and using seeds of high yielding varieties which have been recently introduced, the yields can be stepped up several times and very rapidly. It is for this reason that special emphasis is now placed on high yielding varieties programme, which concentrates the use of resources of input and technical knowledge on areas specially identified as being capable of giving large increase in production in a short period of years. A sustained drive in implementing the programme shows promise of realizing its objective.

The intensive cultivation requires the use of several inputs like high yielding and disease-free varieties of seed, chemical and organic

fertilizers, soil conditioners, pesticides and modern agricultural implements. Another requisite is to ensure timely supply of water and moisture as needed for the germination of the seed and the growth of the crop; these, in turn, mean provision and judicious use of irrigation supplies. The third important requisite is that the cultivator should have the inclination, knowledge and resources for the proper and timely application and use of the various inputs.

### III

The production of foodgrains, as of other agricultural commodities, is in the hands of millions of farmers who constitute an extensive but unorganized section of private enterprise. It is to be remembered, however, that not all the agricultural producers are at the same level of technological progress. There are some progressive farmers in the country who have achieved very high yields of production comparable to the levels reached in more advanced countries. These are the farmers who also have the resources to find and use the necessary inputs. Being men with a progressive outlook on farming, they are frequently on the look-out for improved methods and always ready to invest in any new measures which would give a substantially higher output. Given necessary economic and market incentives and ready availability of inputs, these farmers can be relied on to step up yields without much effort on the part of the public administration. They can, moreover, become (and they frequently are) the spearhead of progress amongst the rest of the farming community. At the other end of the scale, are farmers who have small holdings, small resources and inadequate knowledge of modern farming, and whose meagre production from relatively unfertilized land is obtained with traditional and often obsolete methods of agriculture. For this class of farmers, years of stagnation in yields and a progressive diminution in land fertility have benumbed their sense of enterprise. They do not have the resources nor the inclination to take to modern agricultural practices. In between these two extremes, there could be a variety of farm producers at different levels of agricultural technology and having varied capacities for raising production.

In the case of progressive farmers, it may be assumed that provided necessary supplies of inputs are arranged in time, they might not need much assistance from the administration for raising production from their fields. They may be expected to keep in touch with latest research findings and also with research scientists. They need, of course, the economic stimulus of remunerative prices and of marketing and transport facilities. They can be frequently called on to support

the administrative efforts to spread the knowledge of modern agriculture amongst the rest of the agricultural community.

For other farmers, the question of raising production resolves itself, firstly, in motivating them to undertake measures for greater growth of yields, secondly, in the provision of institutional framework for demonstrating to them improved agricultural practices and an extension service to appreciate, consider and find solutions to their problems and to impart scientific knowledge, thirdly, in arranging timely supplies of physical inputs and, fourthly, in making available to them the necessary capital—both short and medium term—through institutional and other channels for the purchase of necessary inputs, for seasonal operations and for long term development.

From the above discussions, it should be clear that the principal tasks of the public administration are to create conditions which would induce a large mass of farmers to take up intensive cultivation methods and to establish and promote facilities which would help them to do so. As a rule, it is not for the governmental machinery itself to undertake production in the field, except by way of demonstration of improved practices, or for conducting research and to produce improved seeds for which requisite standards of quality and purity have to be maintained. In these few cases, close supervision by high level technologists is necessary, which may not be within the reach of most farmers. For the rest, it is the farmers who produce food and not the Government. It is sometimes mooted that our food problem would be solved if we establish a large number of State farms, as in some other socialist countries. In the conditions of India, such a course on any significant scale, is neither feasible nor necessary.

The particular tasks which the administration has to undertake in the course of a rapid increase in food production may now be summed up and grouped as follows:

- (a) To make or promote arrangements for timely supply of current imports, *viz.*, supplies of disease-free seeds of high yielding varieties of grains, chemical fertilizers, plant protection material and improved implements;
- (b) To provide economic incentives in the form of remunerative support prices and to make effective arrangements to secure to the farmers the benefits of these prices, as also to provide marketing and transport facilities;

- (c) To promote institutions for providing credit and marketing facilities and to assist and supervise their working to the extent necessary to make them efficient instruments in the service of the farm producers;
- (d) To set up research institutions and research farms in charge of competent and highly qualified scientists to investigate, in the laboratory and at the field level, the manifold problems of improved agricultural practices, their application to the varying soil conditions and also to undertake fundamental research with a view to bringing about over longer periods, continuous improvements in growth by discovering high yielding seeds, economy in fertilizer use, control of plant diseases, etc.
- (e) To set up competent extension machinery right down to the field level and to ensure that the extension personnel are well informed on the latest research results and are in a position to pass on the requisite knowledge and technique to the farmers and generally to propagate the use of modern agricultural practices;
- (f) To undertake for or on behalf of the farmers, or to assist them to undertake, works of development, e.g., soil conservation, minor irrigation, aycut development in the shape of levelling of land, construction of field channels and other capital works, to bring about speedy utilization of irrigation potential.

These may be regarded as the principal administrative tasks directly affecting the farmers in their production efforts. There are many others somewhat more removed, but no less important. Examples of these are the major and medium irrigation programmes which are commonly undertaken by the Irrigation Departments of States, setting up or assistance in setting up of chemical fertilizer factories, and establishment of educational facilities including Universities, and post-graduate Institutions to train the personnel necessary for research extension services, for running of seed farms and for agricultural administration in general. Another important task in the administration and enforcement of Land Reforms Laws with a view to giving a sense of ownership to actual tiller of land, thereby inducing him to greater efforts. In many States, programmes are undertaken for the consolidation of holdings so as to improve the overall production potential of the otherwise fragmented and dispersed pieces of

holdings. In fact, it may be difficult to find many activities in the field of rural administration, which does not have some impact or other on the levels of agricultural production.

A further point to be noticed in regard to these tasks—whether those listed above as principal tasks or others mentioned in the last paragraph—is that they need to be attended to at all levels of public administration, from Central and State Governments, to district and Block Development Officers and village level workers as well as such local democratic institutions as Zila Parishads, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats. Each has a part to play and from the point of achieving the objective, no one part is less important than that of any other.

#### IV

Here, it may be permissible to digress a little and to consider the relative constitutional responsibilities. Under the Constitution, Agriculture is a State subject and this is as it should be. Agriculture development requires a great deal of detailed work at the field level. Involvement and motivation of a large number of farmers are functions, which can be hardly carried out effectively from a distant unit like the Central Government. Even if Agriculture was the responsibility of Union Government, it would have become necessary for that Government to delegate most of its tasks to the States and to make the fullest use of State Government machinery including the echelons of local administration. Detailed administration whether, in regard to supply of inputs, works of minor irrigation, extension services or credit, to be more effective, has necessarily to be devolved on the local administration and local institutions at the district and block level.

Nevertheless, the Central Government cannot absolve itself of the major responsibility in these tasks nor has it sought to do so. Linked very closely with prospects of agricultural growth are the welfare and development efforts of a large mass of people. Their well-being and prosperity are the very objectives of economic planning which has necessarily to be and is, under the Constitution, Centre's responsibility. Agricultural incomes constitute nearly half the national income and an increase in that income makes a major contribution to overall economic growth. State Governments are greatly dependent on the assistance from the Centre for their development finance. Without financial and technical assistance from the Centre it will not be possible for the State Governments to maximize their efforts towards rapid agricultural growth. Certain important functions, such as providing foreign exchange for important requirements,

and high technical personnel for research, are to be handled only by the Centre. In the recent past, many important movements, spearheading agricultural growth and rural development, like package programmes and community development and National Extension Service, have emanated from the Centre. Above all, whatever be the constitutional position, a tradition has grown over all these years for both the State Governments as well as the Central Government to regard, in actual practice, agricultural development as a joint endeavour, determining policies and programmes in frequent and mutual consultations and considering themselves as partners and cooperators in this common enterprise. The changes in the political complexions of several State Governments after the recent general elections, have made no dent on this tradition. The compulsions of current situation as to food supplies and food production, are such as to require the State Governments to recognize the lead given by the Centre in regard to broad policies and priorities, to evolve programmes of development best suited to the States, but conforming to national priorities and planning framework and to deploy their energies, administrative talents, resources and staff right down to the village level for making a rapid advance towards the fulfilment of the targets. The need to maximize food production is a continuing one, for several years to come. As far as one can see, it would be no undue optimism to consider that the Centre and State Governments will continue to look upon the agricultural development programmes, as a joint and co-operative enterprise. Such an approach would be in the interest of States themselves, no less than that of the national economy.

## V

Reverting to the tasks defined above (and such others as are relevant for the purpose), it should be obvious that for their execution, several administrative processes have to be undertaken. In the first place, the tasks themselves are to be analysed in all their aspects with a view to breaking them down into specific proposals, on which decisions are reached after the necessary rounds of consultation. In respect of agricultural development measures in most matters, important decisions have to be taken at the level of Centre and State Governments, in or after joint consultation. Next, it is necessary to identify the functionary or functionaries who would give effect to these decisions, which are communicated to them in the form of instructions or sanctions. For this purpose, these instructions and sanctions have to be stated in as precise terms as possible. Numerous executive agencies are involved in the process. Some of them have regional jurisdiction and others have specific functions allotted to them. In

all cases, it is necessary to provide for all the local functionaries, direction, supervision and guidance, whether by way of inspection visits or otherwise. There has to be a system for the follow-up of the progress of implementation. In this way, many departments and their officers at various levels participate in the execution of the programmes. If they are to act in unison so that their efforts yield largest possible benefits, provision has to be made for ensuring co-ordination at various levels. One particularly important feature of the process of implementation of agricultural programmes is the need to secure popular participation. Increased production can result only if the producers readily accept the facilities and the technical knowledge supplied to them and begin to put them to use in actual production. In order to secure the necessary impact on their minds, the official agencies particularly at the field level have, therefore, to invoke the assistance of local leadership and progressive farmers and to devise and follow many other ways of persuasion and discussion.

Let me illustrate these administrative processes by briefly referring to the measures introduced in implementing the various programmes of foodgrains production. The illustrations will also indicate how numerous are the executive agencies that are involved in these administrative tasks and how the particular functions of each of these agencies contribute to the realization of the objectives.

By many years of research and drawing on the experience of other countries, a number of high yielding varieties of wheat, rice and other cereals have now been identified. These have been subjected to field trials in several areas in order to test their suitability to Indian climatic conditions. A programme for spreading the use of seeds of these high yielding varieties has been undertaken. The National Seeds Corporation established by the Central Government has been made responsible for supervising the production of certified quality seeds. Several State Governments have also undertaken similar seed programmes. Seeds so produced are then made available on order to the agencies of agriculture department or through the cooperatives for sale to the producers. Some seeds are also produced by private seed farmers but the Departments are responsible for their inspection of the quality and purity of supply. The programme of improved seeds thus involves not only Central and State Governments, and National Seeds Corporation, but various functionaries of Agriculture and Cooperative Departments in States, the research farms, co-operative institutions, seed producers, etc.

The demand for chemical fertilizer and plant protection material has grown rapidly in recent years and in the immediate future large

quantities have to be imported. The Central Department of Agriculture determines in consultation with the State Governments and the Department of Chemicals, the probable demand and internal production and obtains the allotment of foreign exchange for necessary imports. Hitherto, large imports of nitrogenous fertilizers are made directly by the Central Government through its purchasing agencies. The Department of Agriculture arranges for the receipt of these imports and their transport and supply to the cooperatives and other agencies nominated by State Governments. It is the responsibility of the State Governments then to see that requisite arrangements exist for stocking and retail sale of these and other fertilizers produced in India and to watch that the supplies are available to the agricultural producers in time and in quantities needed in different regions. Even where private agencies undertake the distribution and sale of fertilizers and plant protection chemicals on commercial basis, it is necessary for the States and the Central Governments to watch and ensure that adequate supplies are available to different classes of farmers and in different regions. Departmental distribution channels (with the help of cooperatives or otherwise) may be maintained to fill the gaps which may arise. In this instance again, various agencies, Centre, States, Cooperatives, private distributors, etc., are involved in the process.

The question of providing economic incentives has been mentioned earlier. The Agriculture Prices Commission established by the Central Government first considers and suggests suitable remunerative support prices for each of the cereals and the periodical changes needed in them. The Commission usually suggests different prices for different regions and for different cereals, taking into account costs of inputs and production market conditions, etc. The Commission's recommendations are then discussed between the Central and the State Governments and decisions reached. For some years now, it has not been necessary to bring price support measures into effect, as the market and procurement prices have generally exceeded the support prices. Even so, the facilities of Food Corporation of India (which has a network of purchasing agents, cooperative and others, in several districts) and of the procurement agencies of the State Governments can be commissioned to purchase grains offered at support prices and thus make these prices effective when required. Here again numerous executive agencies would be called on to participate in these measures.

For securing a continuously rising rate of growth or production research in agriculture technology is very important. Fundame

research is undertaken by the institutes set up by the Central Government making use of the best research talent available in the country. These institutes maintain liaison with several field research agencies, particularly those set up by the State Governments. The problems which arise in practical agricultural operations have to receive the attention of research workers and their investigation has to be arranged. The field level research units are therefore needed to cater day-to-day needs of farmers and extension agencies and to take up investigations on problems of local applicability. They have also to keep in touch with the extension personnel on the one hand and with the Institutes of fundamental and higher research on the other. To obtain the best results a number of coordinated research programmes have been undertaken, by which research knowledge is transferred quickly from Centre to the States and to the field levels and the problems for research are, in turn, located and brought to the notice of the appropriate institutes, where they can be adequately attended to.

Reference may be made to the cooperative credit and marketing institutions. Cooperative Societies and Banks are State-aided, but are autonomous institutions owned and worked by the agricultural producers and their representatives. We have had this cooperative movement for a very long time, but its achievements are not uniform all over the country. Credit required for these institutions is provided by the Reserve Bank of India which exercises a supervisory role in the promotion and the best utilization of these credit facilities. Executive functioning of these institutions is, however, supervised by the State departments of cooperation, which also undertake promotional work. The broad national targets of cooperatives credit are settled between the Reserve Bank of India and the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operation. But the further implementation of the programmes is in the hands of the State Cooperative Departments on the one hand and the Central Cooperative Institutions. There is a further decentralization of these functions to the field level to the District Registrar of Cooperative Societies and the Central Cooperative Banks for each district. The last functionaries in this chain are the cooperative credit societies catering to the needs of one or more rural communities. These institutions need a great deal of guidance, supervision and direction. Their work has to be coordinated with the activities of the extension agencies, so that the supplies of inputs made to the farmers are supported by working capital provided by credit agencies and are put to effective use in the field on the advice of the extension personnel.

In all these tasks, it should be obvious, the extension agencies hold a crucial role. The detailed work at the field level forms their

main responsibility. For this purpose a large cadre of the district and block officers, their extension specialists and the village level workers has been provided all over the country as a result of the special programmes launched little over a decade ago. It is the competence of these extension agencies which finally determines the success that can be achieved in increased production. Facilities are, therefore, provided for giving intensive training to these personnel. By refresher courses and other means their knowledge is sought to be kept up-to-date. However, continued attention is needed to provide requisite guidance and supervision to them so as to make them increasingly competent and effective in their duties. Their work is somewhat like that of Industrial engineer who is required to find ways of improving factory production. They should be made familiar with the results of the pilot trials made at field level, like those in the Intensive Agricultural Districts Programme, commonly known as the Package Programme.

Then there are the programmes of soil conservation and minor and major irrigations. Generally speaking, medium and major irrigation programmes are executed through the engineering organizations of the Departments of Irrigation in the States. Minor irrigation programmes are, however, executed by several agencies according to the nature of those programmes. Some States have set up special units for sinking of tubewells. In these and some other States the supply and distribution of agricultural pumps is the responsibility either of Department of Agriculture or State Electricity Boards or of both. For surface wells and other minor irrigation works some State Governments have special establishments and some others make use of other departmental agencies to promote these programmes. A particular feature of the minor irrigation programmes is the grant of loans to the producers to construct their own wells and or water lifting devices. This programme is again administered variously through revenue agencies or through agriculture departments.

## VI

The above brief descriptions would show how a large part of administrative machinery at various levels is engaged on the administration of the agricultural development programmes. As stated earlier, it is necessary to arrange that these diverse activities by diverse agencies are fully coordinated. The question of administrative coordination at various levels in the States, from the State Governments' down to the village level, and between official and non-official agencies, was examined by a special Committee set up in 1963 on the recommendation of the Joint Conference of Ministers of Community Development

and Agriculture Departments of the States. The Committee was headed by the then Minister of State in the Central Department of Agriculture Dr. Ram Subagh Singh. The Committee examined all these matters, and made several recommendations for improved procedure. Most of the State Governments have accepted and implemented these recommendations. In the main, the recommendations comprise setting up committees between various agencies at each level to speed up decisions on problems requiring simultaneous and matching action by different functionaries and also to take periodic stock of action taken and progress achieved. It is believed that these measures, where they have been implemented, have greatly improved the capacity of the administration in putting forward and effectively launching large field level programmes for improved and modernized agriculture.

While I have referred, in some detail, to the programmes which are undertaken for raising the yields of foodgrains, the agriculture departments need also to give a considerable attention to the development of subsidiary foods. The administrative problems involved in these efforts may be somewhat different. But they all have the common features that in the final analysis the success in achieving the results depends greatly on the extent to which the large mass of producers at the level of technology are assisted to take those measures which would yield increased production per capita and per acre of land.

As stated earlier, in this process the work of the extension agencies and the measure of success that they achieve in enlisting popular support at the field level, is particularly crucial. There are no rigid or simple solutions to these tasks. Each area of even each plot may have its own particular feature with which the producer is fully familiar. It is for the extension personnel to understand these problems, find solutions to them and to induce and assist the producer in putting them into practice. A great deal of flexibility of approach is therefore needed. Efforts to prescribe any uniform methods for improving agricultural practices, from above, have not always succeeded. It is for this reason that the administrative personnel in the district find the field level should be given a degree of latitude in approach that is necessary to show results. At other levels, the various functionaries in various departments should attend to their allotted targets in a manner which would lend fullest support to the undoubtedly crucial role of these field administrative units.

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## ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY AT THE CENTRE FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

*N. Srinivasan*

THERE appears to be widespread misconception in the country about the proper role of a federal government in the field of agricultural administration. It is said that a federal government has at best only a peripheral concern with agriculture, since in most of the major federations excepting Canada agriculture is exclusively reserved to the constituent states by the constitution. In Canada it is a concurrent subject and in Switzerland it is divided between the federal and cantonal governments. Practice, however, is quite different. Whether constitutional documents specifically allocate responsibility in the sphere of agriculture to the State or federal governments or to both of them, or are silent, the logic of circumstances seems to have forced federal governments everywhere to take the initiative in solving problems affecting agricultural progress and the welfare of the farming population. Agriculture has become major area of responsibility of federal governments. This may be seen from the history of federal agricultural activities since the sixties of the last century both in the U.S.A. and Canada.

In the U.S.A. federal activity in the field of agriculture can be traced back to the Morrel and Homestead Acts of 1862. The former set up the Land Grant Colleges for agricultural education and the latter made provision for the encouragement of land settlement in the vast lands of the West. Simultaneously the Department of Agriculture was established at Washington. In 1889 the Department achieved cabinet status. Federal legislation was adopted to set up Farm Corporations for fighting animal diseases and insect pests and to provide credit for agricultural purposes.

During the First World War and the post-war period federal activities in the field of agriculture greatly increased. The New Deal measures of the First Roosevelt Administration were the culmination of a series of federal acts to help the rehabilitation of the farming population suffering from the low prices of farm produce in the Great Depression. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933) the object of which was to enable farmers to achieve a higher standard of life, to

stimulate the economy, and to regulate the production of commodities was declared unconstitutional in 1936 by the Supreme Court (U.S. vs. Butler). But the Roosevelt Administration carried through Congress the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act in 1936 which achieved the same object indirectly. In 1938 a second Agricultural Adjustment Act was adopted and became one of the bases of federal agricultural policy of so regulating agricultural production and marketing as to maintain "an ever normal granary".

During the period since the end of the Second World War, 1945 to the present, the U.S. Government has taken steps to maintain price stability and to assure farmers' produce prices which, compared with the products of industry, gave the farmer a 'parity of income'. This has been a key objective of U.S. agricultural policy since. The Federal Government controls both production and marketing through highly sophisticated measures such as acreage allotments for commodities and farms, acreage reserves (*i.e.*, taking land out of cultivation through bonuses), conservation reserves, benefit payments for encouraging farmers to plan their production in the interests of national and international markets, commodity loans enabling farmers to hold back stocks for securing higher prices, marketing quotas, price support, crop insurance, etc.

The agricultural activities of the Federal Government are not limited to the regulation of production, market controls, price support and social security. They include extensive research into agricultural problems, both scientific and economic. The U.S. Federal Government employs 18,000 scientists for research in agriculture, extension and information through county agents (of whom there are over 5,000), soil conservation, rural rehabilitation, rural electrification and farm credit.

The activities of the Federal Government are carried on by the Department of Agriculture which is one of the largest departments of the Federal Government and is closely connected with the farming interests in the country and in Congress.

The growth of the agricultural activities of the Dominion Government in Canada was similar and parallel with the growth of these activities in the United States both in scope and in point of time. The Dominion Department of Agriculture was established in 1867. To achieve agricultural progress and expansion was the dominant motive that led to the establishment of the federation in 1867 and continued to be the latter's major concern throughout the rest of the century.

Departing from the Constitution of U.S., the Canadian Constitution made agriculture a concurrent subject.

Chronologically federal agricultural policy has centred round four main themes : land settlement; regulatory measures like pests and disease control, quarantine and the prevention of fraudulent selling practices, grades and standards of quality of agricultural produce and marketing controls.

Federal activities today include an extensive information service, agricultural price support, experimental farms, marketing, production, rehabilitation and Science Services. A division of the Dominion department of Agriculture deals with each of these and their operations are nation-wide.

The Experimental Farms maintained by the Federal Government and located throughout the country engage in fundamental and applied research, serve as demonstration farms, operate 'Illustration Stations' on privately owned farms and assist Provincial extension agencies in their work. The Science Service similarly has laboratories throughout the country and is principally concerned with fundamental pathology, chemistry, entomology, and forest biology.

The production service carries out research in the field of animal diseases, applies legislation in the field of animal health, and carries out federal policies for improving the quality of farm products, livestock and poultry etc., and administers seeds projects for the production of certified seed.

The marketing service arranges for grading and inspection of agricultural products, research in the economics of production, marketing, and agricultural policies.

There is an extensive information service maintained by the Federal Government.

The Provincial Governments have concerned themselves largely with financing and supervising agricultural societies, assisting livestock shows and exhibitions and fostering agricultural education. The provinces have taken the initiative in improving rural life and the work of the Saskatchewan in this field has been distinguished.

The division of powers and responsibilities in the Indian Constitution has followed the American and Australian models and places

most of the powers in relation to agriculture within the exclusive sphere of the States in List II of the Seventh Schedule. The Centre's powers in the field are not so much powers conferred on it directly by the constitution but flow from its exclusive and concurrent powers in Lists I and III such as defence, industry, commerce, transport, banking, insurance, inter-state rivers, standards of higher professional and scientific education, welfare of labour, price control, electricity and others. The autonomy of the states under the Constitution is not an absolute autonomy. It is restricted by the Union's exclusive and concurrent powers. Price control, marketing, international trade, inter-state trade, social and economic planning, banking and credit, the control of foreign exchange, standards of education, union powers of taxation, etc., all impinge in some measure on independent exercise by the States of their exclusive powers while the Union Government's financial power could severely restrict considerably the States' exercise of their constitutional responsibilities.

The question is, however, not one of powers so much as one of responsibilities. Inevitably the ultimate decisions on planning for the economic and social development of the country—howsoever decentralized the actual process of making a plan and implementing it may be—must rest with the national government which has the predominant share of financial and technical resources, and which controls foreign exchange, money, banking, trade and transport. The fact of its being the national government attracts to it the responsibility for feeding the entire country. Though constitutionally the powers of the Union Government in the field of agriculture are few its national character tends to make powers in this field joint rather than exclusive in actual fact.

The growth of federal power in recent years is not, it may be noted, at the expense of that of the states. The growth of federal power is accompanied by a growth in the power of the states as the latter undertake new responsibilities. When it is borne in mind that the Centre acts almost solely through the instrumentality of the states in administration, complaints about the loss of autonomy and central infringement lose much of their force.

From the experience of the last two decades it seems clear that left to their own devices without any central advice, guidance or stimulus, the states could hardly have faced up to their great responsibilities in the field of agricultural development. Not all the blame for the snail's pace of progress of the states in the period could be placed on the centre, or on the absence of resources, defects of

administration, the nature of the problems themselves, the uneven distribution of the production potentialities or other causes. A great measure of the responsibility must rest on the states themselves, their limited vision, and lack of initiative and leadership.

The Centre has a great, one may say, an overwhelming responsibility in the field of agricultural development. It is simply the consequence of its being the national government responsible for the balanced development and welfare of all its constituent parts, and for feeding their growing populations at adequate standards of nutrition. State autonomy should be so conceived and exercised as to lessen the burden on the Centre, by effectively assisting the latter in the implementation of its policies and by the efficient discharge of their own proper responsibilities. Federalism can succeed only in the measure that it is a joint venture of the national centre and the constituent units in serving the people.

To fulfil its great responsibilities, the Centre obviously needs an adequate and efficient machinery of administration as well as proper procedures for speedy action. To what extent is the Centre equipped with such machinery and procedures? It is the purpose of this paper to examine this question.

The machinery for agricultural administration in the Centre has developed from slender beginnings in 1871 when a department of agriculture was first set up to take cognizance of all matters affecting the practical improvement and development of the agricultural resources in the country. The new department was merged in the Home Department in 1879. The Famine Commission of 1880 recommended the establishment of departments of agriculture at the Centre and in all the provinces as a long term remedy for recurrent famines. Between 1881 and 1890 a separate department of revenue and agriculture was set up in the Centre, which was concerned largely with investigations and conferences. Provincial departments of agriculture were set up in the U.P., Punjab, Assam, Bombay, C.P. and Madras. The functions of the latter were mainly the collection of statistics regarding land revenue till 1901. Agricultural research received some attention and a few experiments were conducted in the cultivation of American cotton, groundnut, potatoes and fruit. The Government of India attempted to organize both agricultural education and research under expert advice. The Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research was set up in 1889 at Poona and later transferred to Mukteswar (1893). The Botanical and Zoological Surveys were organized in 1890.

In 1901 an Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed whose duty was the 'systematic study of Indian agriculture, its conditions, and remediable defects', and the supervision of the development of provincial departments of agriculture. An Imperial Mycologist and an Entomologist were appointed in 1903.

Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty (1901-1906) was a landmark in the development of the agricultural departments both in the Centre and in the provinces. The Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI) was established at Pusa in Bihar and all scientific personnel were brought together in 1906; Provinces were equipped with research stations and experimental farms; agricultural colleges were reorganized or newly set up; directors of agriculture were appointed in all the provinces and an Indian Agricultural Service constituted. Thanks to these great reforms, the years from 1906 to 1914 were years of steady growth in agricultural research and education.

Progress was halted by the War of 1914-18 and with the reforms of 1919 there was a setback to agricultural advance though agriculture was a transferred subject. Agriculture was the responsibility of a combined department of Education, Health and Lands at the Centre and in the Provinces formed part of composite development departments. Recruitment to the Indian Agricultural Service ceased in 1924 and the Centre ceased "coordinating and directing research and experimental programmes of agricultural departments in the Provinces". The only notable steps during these years were the setting up of the Indian Dairy Research Institute (1923) and the Indian Central Cotton Committee.

The next stage in the development of agricultural administration began with the appointment of Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1927. It carried out a comprehensive enquiry into Indian agriculture (1926-1928) and marks the beginning of a new interest in agricultural development. The major events of the period from 1927 to 1947 were the establishment of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research (1928) to coordinate all research, the appointment of an Agricultural Marketing Adviser in the Centre and marketing officers in the Provinces, (1935) the appointment of a Statistical Adviser, and advisers on Irrigation and Fisheries (1944) the setting up of a number of commodity committees (Jute, Sugarcane, tobacco and coconut, oilseeds) the setting up of a department of food (1943) and of a separate department of agriculture (1945) the inauguration of a grow more food campaign (1943) and the establishment of the Central Rice Research Institute, Central Inland Fisheries Research Institute and other research institutions.

The Central Government was compelled by the acute shortage of food during the years following the stoppage of imports of rice from Burma in 1942 to assume increasing responsibilities for the production and supplies of food, prices, procurement, movement distribution and other allied issues in relation to agricultural commodities, especially food grains. Following the Bengal Famine, 1943 food became a major concern of the Central Government. The Central Government began "to arrange for expert advice, and to guide and coordinate the policies of the provinces for increasing agricultural production". It appointed experts to advise on fertilizers, irrigations, fisheries, dairying and livestock utilization.

The new functions which the Centre had to assume in the food crisis of the forties were : conducting a countrywide Grow More Food campaign, assisting minor irrigation, and drainage projects, ground water survey (1944), improved seeds programme providing financial assistance for agricultural inputs like fertilizers, manures, compost, etc., allocations of steel, cement and fuel oil, plant protection measures, land reclamation through the Central Tractor Organization and the collection of statistics.

The growth of the Central Ministry since 1942 to the present, broadly speaking, has followed the same lines. Its expansion has been phenomenal and somewhat haphazard. A number of committees have investigated the machinery of agricultural administration, H.M. Patel, in 1946-47 ; W.R. Natu in 1951, N. Gopalswami Ayyangar in 1951 and more recently by Mr. Kiefer (1964) and suggested schemes of reorganization. It would appear, however, that their proposals have resulted only piece-meal changes and have not led to the streamlining of agricultural administration at the Centre.

The noteworthy developments of these years are: (i) the creation of a number of ministries at the Centre concerned with agriculture—the Ministries of Irrigation and Power and Community Development, Cooperation and Agricultural Division of the Planning Commission (1951) and the Ministry of Agriculture with its two departments of Food and Agriculture; (ii) the setting up of a number of organizations, some of them autonomous, some semi-autonomous and still others subordinate in the Ministry of Agriculture to deal with a variety of problems, such as soil conservation, land reclamation, tubewells, agricultural finance, dairy development, fisheries development, seeds, implements, etc.—the number of these is over 23; and (iii) the growth of the Directorate of Extension as a distinct but subordinate organization (of 1955-1960) of the Ministry. One may also notice steady increase in the number of technical officers in the ministry.

Agricultural activities of the Central Government were greatly expanded. These include:

- (i) the planning of agricultural development in cooperation with the Planning Commission.
- (ii) the provision of agricultural inputs such as improved seeds, nitrogenous fertilizers, pesticides, improved implements, technical assistance and credit.
- (iii) providing financial assistance by way of grants, subsidies and loans to states for agricultural development.
- (iv) coordinating State agricultural plans and watching their implementation and evaluating performance.
- (v) agricultural extension and education.
- (vi) development of livestock, dairying and fisheries.
- (vii) land reclamation, soil conservation, utilization and conservation of water resources and forestry.
- (viii) fundamental and applied research in agriculture, veterinary science, etc.
- (ix) administration of external assistance.

There has been a growth in the channels of communication between the Centre and the States. Contacts between the Centre and the States are maintained through the National Development Council, conferences of ministers and officials, annual plan discussions, periodic visits of central teams of officials to the States, apart from circulars and exchange of letters.

During the period policy issues have become crystallized. The objective of making the country self-sufficient in the matter of food, set before the country in the forties, is now accepted as the aim of agricultural administration and it is to be achieved before 1971, or the last year of the 4th Plan. Our dependence on imports of food has to be ended. As imports taper off as they must in the near future domestic production should increase. As the Food Grains Policy Committee (1966) puts it:

“No State and no region of the country can afford hereafter in planning and executing domestic measures—whether in production of more food or in management of supplies—for there can be no reliance on imports; there can only be self-reliance.” (Para 4.II)

The realization of the objective depends on the speed and efficiency of the modernizations of our agriculture. Increased production of foodgrains, fibres and other agricultural commodities is the key to the solution of our chronic food problem and the industrialization of the country. The need for "a more vigorous and sustained effort on the part of the Central Government for drawing up and executing bold programmes of agricultural development" is not generally recognized.

The Ministry of Food and Agriculture which has grown enormously and in a haphazard way especially during the last twenty years, has been recently reorganized (1966) with a view to fitting it to function more effectively and to enable it more actively to associate itself with the implementation of development schemes by the States. The reorganization was aimed at (i) a redistribution of subjects and responsibilities among the various units of the Ministry so as to make the assignment of the units compact and specific; (ii) to assign to scientific and technical officers of the ministry executive functions and operational responsibilities and to give the scientist his due place in the administration; (iii) to improve centre-state relations through better administrative machinery for closer and more continuous contact between the Central and State Governments in the implementation of plan schemes.

The agency most directly concerned with bringing about a transformation of our agriculture is the department of Agriculture, in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The Department of Community Development and Cooperation, the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, the Agriculture Division of the Planning Commission are also directly concerned as also Finance. If duplication, waste and delays in making our plans of development and carrying them out with speed, great deal of coordination is necessary due to the existence of a number of ministries at the Centre concerned with agriculture. The usual method is through meetings of secretaries as well as ministers of these departments. An agricultural production board was set up 1965 with the Minister of Food and Agriculture as Chairman. The Board has yet to establish itself as the final policy making body in the field.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture, Minister of State and Deputy Ministers constitute the apex of the structure and are the political chiefs. The Secretary is the official head of the department and the principal aide of the minister. The Department is organized in eight wings, five specialized offices, and a number of supervisory and operational agencies and smaller units and cells for specific purposes. The eight wings deal respectively with : (1) Production,

(2) Forestry, (3) Fisheries (4) Inputs, (F), (5) Inputs (M), (6) Land problems, (7) Special Development Programmes, and (8) Coordination.

The five specialized offices are Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Directorate General of State Farms, Agricultural Prices Commission, Directorate of Extension and the Directorate of Economics and Statistics.

The supervisory or operational agencies which are located outside the Secretariat are either attached or subordinate offices and include the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection, Directorate of Plant Protection, Quarantine and Storage and a number of Commodity offices as well as institutes and offices in the Forestry, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries divisions, functioning in different parts of the country.

The Production Wing is concerned with the making of policy and programmes at the departmental level and is headed by an additional secretary. It is divided into two divisions : the Crops Division and Animal Husbandry Division. The Crops Division has separate branches for dealing with food crops and cash crops. The Crops Division deals with all matters relating to the development of rice, wheat, pulses and millets as well as with cash crops. The animal Husbandry Division is concerned with laying down policy and programmes in regard to livestock and dairying and is organized in three branches for dairy development, livestock production and livestock health.

The Forestry Wing is headed by an Inspector General of Forests, who is one of the two scientists with *ex officio* secretariat status, is concerned with national policy for forests, forestry education, etc. The Forestry Wing has a development and administration branches. The former deals with the problems of forest development and preservation of wild life. The latter deals with the Forest service, Forest Research Institute and Colleges, etc. A Central Forestry Commission which is a technical body assists this Wing in evolving a forest policy and standardizing forest techniques.

The Fisheries Wing headed by a Joint Secretary is concerned with policies and programmes for the development of fisheries, engineering, processing and preservation. The Wing has a Planning and Development branch and a Fisheries education and trade branch.

The two Inputs Wings F and M are concerned respectively with policies and programmes concerned with the procurement, distribution and utilization of chemical fertilizers, organic manures and the development of improved seeds and with minor irrigation, plant

protection agricultural machinery and supplies of iron, steel, cement, diesel oil, etc., for agricultural uses. The latter Inputs Wing is also concerned with Water utilization. These two wings are headed by Joint Secretaries. Different sections deal with planning, procurement and distribution of fertilizers. The seeds division deals with the overall organization of production, procurement and distribution of improved seeds of all crops and is administratively responsible for the National Seeds Corporation.

Plant Protection is dealt with through a Directorate of Plant Protection which is an attached office with a plant protection adviser as its head.

A machinery and supplies division of this wing is to be organized to deal with all matters relating to agricultural machinery and implements, coordination of demand, arranging the supplies of machinery needs from indigenous production or imports and also supplies of scarce materials like iron and steel, jeeps, etc.

The Lands Wing is to consist of three branches dealing with Lands, Soil Conservation and Agricultural Credit respectively. The first will deal with questions of acquisition of lands, land reform, utilization of uncultivated land, recommendations in regard to wastelands, survey and reclamation, resettlement of the landless, land development, the second with all matters connected with soil conservation, reclamation, water-shed management, and third with agricultural credit. The details of administrative organization for the last have not been worked out yet. A land administration section of this wing will deal with soil conservation research, land use and survey schemes, administrative matters relating to the Directorate of Agricultural Marketing, Agmark laboratories, grading and marketing.

The Special Development Wing is to consist of two sections, one dealing with the Agricultural Production Board, agro-industries and the other with the planning of the development of special areas like hill and desert areas, Chambal Valley, chronic drought areas, etc.

The Coordination Wing is organized in four divisions : Plan Coordination, Foreign Aid, General Administration and Personnel. The Coordination Wing obviously is in a key position in the Ministry as a whole. The Plan Coordination Division includes an expenditure coordination unit coordinating all grants-in-aid, loans and contributions to States and organization by the Centre and all short-term loans, it also effects budget coordination in relation to the ICAR,

Inspector General of Forests, Marketing, Delhi Milk Supply, etc., an economic policy section dealing with economic and statistical services, agro-economic research prices of essential commodities, farm management schemes and agricultural labour policy ; and a plan coordination section to coordinate plan schemes "progressing" the issue of payment, sanctions of central assistance to States, the coordination of budget work in respect of State plan and centrally sponsored schemes. This function is performed by the States' liaison unit attached to this division. A senior officer in each division of the Ministry has been named "progress" officer with the duty of collecting and analysing information from the States and submitting a monthly review of progress to the head of the division.

The States' liaison unit carried on the necessary correspondence with the States at the official level and deals with important problems affecting more than one state. To coordinate and expedite action in implementing agricultural programmes are its main responsibilities.

The foreign aid division deals with all aspects of foreign aid—bilateral technical aid of experts, economic aid, F.A.O. and U.N. Special Fund projects, deputations, etc.

The General Administration Division concerns itself with the house-keeping activities of the Ministry, budget and accounts, organization and methods and general coordination. The Personnel Division deals with all personnel management questions in the Ministry.

So far we have attempted an account of the main ministry, the top layer of the administrative organization at the Centre for planning agricultural activities. From the point of view of agricultural production there are some other agencies of the Ministry which play a vital role. These are the five specialized offices : the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Agricultural Prices Commission, the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, the Directorate of Extension and the Directorate-General of State Farms.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research was established in 1929 "to undertake, aid, promote, and coordinate agricultural and animal husbandry education, research and its application to practice", and to act as a clearing house of information in regard to research as well as to all other matters pertaining to agriculture and animal husbandry. Till 1964 it was headed by a civil servant. Under the scheme of reorganization it has been placed under a scientist designated,

Director-General. The ICAR is autonomous with its own governing body on which the Centre and States are represented. In the recent reorganization all central institutes of research in agricultural and veterinary sciences and education in these subjects have been brought under its administrative control. Functions which were not relevant to its central purpose of advancing research and education have been transferred to the ministry. It may be noted that the establishment of Agricultural Universities in the States duplicates the work of the ICAR in some ways, and may affect its ability to lay down the standards of higher agricultural education in the country. Research is basic to increasing agricultural productivity and the ICAR's role, therefore, is of vital importance.

The Directorate-General of State Farms headed by a Director-General manages the two largest State farms in the country at Suratgarh and Jetsar. These large sized wholly mechanized farms have perhaps a demonstration value but would appear to be irrelevant in the context of land reforms and ceilings.

The Agricultural Prices Commission is an autonomous body with a Chairman and two members and advises the Minister on price policy and price structure. It has to balance the interests of producers and consumers and recommend support and procurement prices for the principal food crops and oil seeds. To some extent market forces are sought to be utilized for increasing production by the Commission.

The role of the Directorate of Extension is, in the Indian context, of tremendous importance. Any agricultural programme for its successful implementation needs its acceptance by vast numbers among the sixty millions of farmers in the country who are largely illiterate. The message of the programmes of the Government for higher agricultural production has to be carried to the individual farmer and also the knowledge of the new scientific techniques and the results of research. An adequate extension organization is therefore a *must* if the agricultural revolution which is needed is to be brought about. The Directorate of Extension which is headed by an Extension Commissioner, an agricultural scientist, has been given the function of operating and supervising the implementation of programmes of agricultural production in the States, e.g., the Intensive Agricultural Development Programme and the High Yielding Varieties' Programme. The Directorate has a number of regional units for supervising programmes under execution in the States. The Directorate has to attend to the supply of needed inputs and the training of extension workers, until a separate training directorate is set up as has been proposed.

The Extension Directorate has within it a Farm Advisory Unit consisting of ten subject matter specialists who serve as a liaison between agricultural research on the one hand and extension on the other. It has a Farms Information Unit which produces the literature, audio-visual aids, etc., needed for, extension work. An Implements Unit serves to popularize improved implements and a Package Programme Unit attends to extension in the IADP districts. A Training Unit attends to extension training and the education of workers and farmers.

Extension work is essentially local and must be handled by the States themselves. But the stimulus and the greater knowledge that an extension agency at the Centre can bring to the task is necessary to activise the states and is invaluable.

The Planning Commission's role in agricultural administration needs to be examined. It is directly and intimately connected with agricultural development at all stages from policy formulation and planning to plan implementation and evaluation. The Planning Commission's concurrence is required for the Ministry's policies and programmes in this field and in detail. In fixing the targets of production, financial allocations in the five year plan and in the annual plans, in negotiations with the States, the Planning Commission plays a dominant role, often assuming to itself the powers of the cabinet to overrule the ministry.

Agriculture is the charge of a member of the Commission since 1960, and a division of the Planning deals with agriculture. It is headed by a Joint Secretary who is also responsible for coordinating the work of other agricultural divisions in the Planning Commission, i.e., Land reforms and community development. Some time of programme advisers is also given to agriculture.

The expert staff in this division consists of two chiefs one for food and one for agriculture, one director and one assistant chief, and half a dozen research officers at lower levels. From the point of view of technical expertise in the field of agriculture the Commission would seem to be poorly equipped for its functions.

Among the tasks of the Planning Commission is participation in the working groups of the Ministry in the initial stages of planning, in the discussions on the plans, their finalization, evaluation (carried out by the Programme Evaluation Organization and the Committee on Plan Projects) and participation in joint central teams visiting the States to review progress and advise the States.

The above is a brief and necessarily incomplete account of the central administrative machinery for agriculture. How far is it adequate to the achievement of the agricultural revolution that the country needs to solve its problem of food and industrial progress ?

The Central Ministry and other agencies such as the Planning Commission concerned with agricultural development have to function within the four walls of the Constitution which is federal and vests most powers in the field of agricultural administration in the hands of the constituent states. As Dr. Appleby pointed out "the principal tools of development administration are not national tools", though as has been pointed out in this paper the Central Government by virtue of its being the national attracts to itself the greater part of the responsibility for the development of the country. The Centre's powers are mainly those of assisting in plan formulation, deciding upon the strategy of plan implementation and disbursing grants and loans to the States.

Even in the reorganized set-up of the Ministry it would appear that the machinery of coordination has not been streamlined. Coordination will be weak unless the agricultural Production Board becomes an effective institution, or the Minister for Agriculture becomes an "overlord" over ministries closely related to agriculture like irrigation and power, and able to command the finances needed for his ministry without interference from the Planning Commission or reference to the Finance Ministry after the budget has been approved. The problem of coordination would seem to be unsolved all along the line from the Centre to the State and district levels.

The effective implementation of any development programmes would require "a consolidation of administrative responsibility" and the provision of the means of "actually directing and controlling action". It is to be seen whether such a result has been realized through the piece-meal reorganization of the Ministry that has been effected.

There is no doubt that a degree of rationalization has been effected in the division of responsibilities between different wings of the Ministry. But this has followed no scientific principles, such as is possible through systems analysis, and is largely *ad hoc* and empirical. It is not unfair to describe it as mere bureau shuffling. It is necessary to test the different divisions of the Ministry, sub-divisions and sections and its attached and subordinate offices, etc., for their suitability for the functions entrusted to them, if administrative reform is to be fruitful.

It was fondly hoped that through the reorganization of the Ministry scientists and technical personnel would come into their own. The hope has largely been frustrated. Only two scientists have been given secretariat status, which carried with it the power to decide questions and take on responsibility.

It was also one of the objects of the reorganization to equip the Minister and the Secretary with expert advisers both from within the Ministry and from outside so that they would be well advised for making policy decisions and in planning for development. This object has not been realized.

A planning cell at the highest level in the ministry to plan ahead its programmes for the future both for the short period and against a longer perspective has also not been provided. The task of planning has been left largely to subordinate levels of the administrative hierarchy and the technical officers of the Ministry.

The Ministry would seem to need a more thorough overhaul to achieve the agricultural revolution that is our aim.

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## ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY FOR FOOD PRODUCTION AT THE STATE LEVEL

*A. U. Shaikh*

IT would be admitted on all hands that the set-up of Agriculture Departments in the States and the Centre inherited from the British Raj was extremely archaic, but it has continued without much improvement or adjustments during the last 20 years. There has been neither science nor strategy in the set-up and both technology as well as administrative efficiency have been the casualties in the scheme of things for quite sometime past. The result has been that though the food production potential attained on paper due to the last three Plan investments, meagre as they have been comparatively, can be claimed to be impressive, in actual point of fact the pendulum of production has varied year after year with the vagaries of the monsoon and we have not yet been able to secure a strong control on the situation due to lack of technological improvements imparted to the soil and the peasants evenly in large measure.

The administrative divisions of the Department of Agriculture and interconnected departments have been maintained more or less on the basis of Commissioners' Divisions and Collectors' Districts without any agro-climatic considerations. The heterogeneous types of cropping patterns that we have in various areas within the same district or division are sought to be catered for by a sort of agricultural generalists who keep on shifting from speciality to speciality or from area to area without any regard to developing specialities and knowledge of details involved in these advisory services. Examples of this can be cited in that the Nagpur Division, for example, of Maharashtra State contains distinctly varied agricultural patterns of paddy and oranges in the C.P. districts and jowar and cotton in the Berar districts; or of the Bombay Division in which horticulture and paddy and forest produce predominate in the coastal belt whereas cotton, jowar, grapes, bananas and some paddy predominate in the Khandesh districts. But the self-same officers are supposed to administer package advice to the agriculturists on all the cropping patterns and varied agricultural economy. It is, therefore, obvious that by transferring people too often, valuable local experience and experience of important crops is lost and mere generalists begin to advise experienced devoted farmers of a life-time.

No wonder that they begin to laugh both at the Government and their immature services. It is, therefore, high time that in setting up administrative divisions for the Agriculture Departments, due care is taken to divide them into agro-climatic zones and to see that services are retained therein with emphasis on specialization in the regional cropping patterns. Not only that but the colleges, laboratories, and research stations also would have to develop special techniques to deal with the problems and cropping patterns of the area, and extension services will have to study the atmosphere and the soil for a long period before they can claim to have attained efficiency and experience. The farmers' forums, and farmers' as well as agricultural assistants' training institutes will have to be suitably reorientated.

When we talk of Agriculture Department set-up, we should necessarily consider the effectiveness of the set-up from the point of view of agricultural production as such. This should include normally production of food crops, cash crops, horticulture crops and even dairy, poultry and animal husbandry, provided we think of the problem in a comprehensive manner. From this point of view the divergent and the water-tight compartments in which the Irrigation Department people and the Agriculture Department people have lived and functioned so far is also an eye-sore and pulls down the advantages of planning and investment for production considerably. It is all right to talk of coordination committees, supervision teams, etc., of various departments but in practice it is found that the distribution work of irrigation water, if not properly timed and matched to the production schedules drawn up by the agriculturists and the Agriculture Departments, make nonsense of all production efforts and the irrigation potential created at very great cost gets considerably wasted. It is, therefore, necessary that after the headworks and channels are constructed, the distribution of water should also be the responsibility of the local agriculture officers who should be in charge of ensuring certain minimum production and more per-acre yields in a given region in their charge. It is obvious that it will not be possible for us for some time to have officers to man dairy and animal husbandry as well as poultry sections separately at the lowest rungs of the ladder and, therefore, the training imparted to the agricultural assistants at the lowest and the middle levels should be comprehensive enough to cover minimum basic knowledge of poultry, dairies, animal husbandry also, as the agricultural assistants are supposed to serve not a particular crop but the human being who is the agricultural producer in a multipurpose way.

The idea that we have borrowed, somewhat without proper appreciation, from the American set-up of community organizer in imposing

a village level worker or multi-purpose gram sevak of the Community Development Department has been perhaps responsible for the complete dilution and dissipation of agricultural expertise such as we face. The result has been that special packages of practices which require hard pushing as well as the supplies and services which have got to be provided in advance of each season, have been very much neglected and the agriculturists have failed to accept Government propaganda not being followed up by connected action. It must be remembered that in this country as distinguished from countries like America, as against 8 per cent of the population engaged in farming, we have to deal with nearly 50 to 60 per cent of our population engaged on the lands and, therefore, an army of agriculture assistants will be required to contact each farmer personally at least thrice during each cropping season; and to draw up his farming programme, protocols and budget, second time to advise him on inter-culturing plus plant protection measures, and third time to assess his success or failure from technical and marketing angle. He will, therefore, have to be given full-time charge of comprehensive agricultural development in a very manageable area rather than spreading out his activities over many villages and civic works and exhausting himself over multiplicity of functions and administrative tasks like births and deaths records, records of rights, collection of house taxes, etc., which must necessarily be got performed by a separate official. Another difference between our situation and that in the States and other countries is that our agriculturist is considerably tradition-ridden and to some extent unenlightened in modern techniques and means of agriculture, such as new seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, etc., and, therefore, it takes much more effort and time to carry conviction to him by word of mouth and by demonstration before he will adopt any of these packages of practices and apply them in growing these crops. He will not be convinced easily because first of all he is not in a position to risk a great deal in investment by taking somebody's word for granted, for agriculture in India continues to be a risky proposition all through due to vagaries of rains, and much more, due to uncertainties of prices.

Another thing in fashion now is to consider agriculture as a free enterprise by disregarding the presence of the village trader and money-lender, and taking for granted that agriculturists will adopt extension techniques just by precepts and pamphlets issued from Agriculture Universities, which are setting themselves up as the sole repositories not only of agriculture education at all levels and research but also of extension and supply services which are as important in our situation. The chances are that they will make a worse mess than the Agriculture Departments did by taking on too much on themselves even to the

exclusion of cooperative credit and marketing institutions and so on. We may have, therefore, to do some rethinking in restricting universities to higher and middle agriculture education in all its integrated and specialist faculties, as also for producing teachers for extension education, and in chalking out and conducting and coordinating research, fundamental and applied. But, they should leave agricultural extension demonstration work proper, and seed production and supply services as such, severely alone as the responsibility of the department of agriculture which should be completely in charge of field work, including farmers' training programmes plus operational research and coordination with irrigation, cooperation and allied departments and institutions.

The technical departments have all been crying hoarse of late regarding bureaucratic control by administrative generalists and many of them have thus drawn on themselves a large amount of non-technical, accounts and administrative routine and paper work, so much so that they begin to forget their science very fast and get involved in administrative politics. A large army of staff produces paper work of extraordinary dimensions by way of leave, recruitment, salary, pay scales, pensions, appointments and transfers, departmental enquiries, not to speak of filling of forms, reports, V.I.P. movement sheets, etc. The result is that they are having far too little patience or time to meet the farmers on their fields or meet and discuss with demonstration farm officers or seed and crop and pests specialists their day-to-day problems and strategy of production. It is essential that they are relieved of administrative and paper work as much as possible without sheering them of their decision-making authority. This can be done by appointing I.A.S. officers and accounts and statistics officers and office superintendents or general duty clerks at lower levels who will take on the burden of running the department in respect of routine and paper work, as distinguished from technical inspections, planning, implementation and guiding of technical personnel and co-ordinating with institutional leadership, farmers' forums, etc., to inspire confidence all round.

With democratic decentralization, the Zila Panchayats (at the district level), the Parishads (at the block level) and the Village Panchayats have become the repositories of agricultural production. Planning and implementation of production programmes and control and direction of the agricultural extension personnel(except irrigation personnel) is their responsibility. It, however, appears to be true that modern and new means of production have to be propagated and supplied from higher technical and administrative echelons, in spite of all the

spacious talk of planning from below. Local resistance to new ideas, seeds and insecticides and know-how sometimes gets accentuated to the point of open public controversies and adverse propaganda. Failures in coordinating with other important functionaries, such as cooperative departmental personnel and self-propelling parallel economic institutions, such as cooperative banks and societies, result in chaos curtailment, and even vitiation of the entire production programme, particularly as cooperative leadership and District Panchayat leadership very often belong to warring political parties. Since cooperative movement has been "deofficialized" and Panchayati Raj does not give any scope for mere underlings of officials to "run the show", the fate of all production effort hangs in the balance unless very superior top political and administrative leadership in the State personally inspire confidence and egg on all concerned to put in their very best. It thus becomes most important to the political and administrative plane to coordinate the efforts of all concerned at the State and district levels by getting them to discuss very often plans, resources, and time-schedules and their respective responsibilities. High level committees presided over by the Chief Minister and the President Zila Parishad or the Collector of the District have, therefore, become the *sine qua non* of Production Programmes. If they are effective and efficient, the programme will be successful. Else, all these self-sufficiency slogans are sound and fury signifying nothing.

Honest, independent evaluation and appraisal of the programmes and their implementation with a view to finding out the causes of shortcomings and failures is also essential. Technical people in the field sometimes cavil about with the statisticians and evaluation officers, and even with progressive and observant farmers regarding the yardsticks adopted and detailed enumeration of the package of practices adopted or neglected. They must remember that frank criticism leads to perfection of techniques and correct timing of supplies and know-how. Farming being so tradition-ridden in our country, idle administrative highbrows will abound, if ruthless evaluation and statistical analyses do not repeatedly hold the mirror to them and contrast the same by the best results achieved by healthier practices. Bench Mark Survey and operational research and evaluation teams thus acquire great significance in production programmes. Along with them, of course, must be mentioned the Demonstration and publicity as well as Farmers' Training Programme Units. Without their ceaseless work, selective and intensive cultivation programmes would slip into a wasteful paper ritual.

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## **ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AT THE DISTRICT LEVEL**

*R. N. Chopra*

THOUGH science and technology in the sphere of agricultural production are advancing very fast in India—as would be evident from the new hybrid varieties of seeds recently introduced, and what has been prescribed to go with them in the shape of inputs like water, fertilizers and pesticides, etc.—the administrative machinery for agricultural production has not yet been properly geared to the new task, neither at the Government Headquarters' level nor at the District level. This article relates mainly to the District level machine.

### **NEED FOR A COORDINATED SINGLE-LINE CONTROL**

Let it be cleared at the outset that “Agricultural Production” is something much more than mere “agriculture” and what the conventional type of Agriculture Department could perform by itself is not adequate for increasing Agricultural Production by leaps and bounds—an object so desirable and actually possible today. When credit—short, medium or long term—is in the hands of the Cooperative Department and the Governments are withdrawing from taccavi loans for lack of funds; when the extension machinery in the field is controlled by the Development Department and the Panchayati Raj institutions; when the supply of essential inputs is, by and large, arranged by the State Cooperative Supply and Marketing Federations or the State Agro-Industries Corporations, and; lastly, when the agricultural research and education, including extension education, belong to the domain of the autonomous State Agricultural Universities—then what really is left with the Department of Agriculture as such except perhaps the custody of technical “know how”, the running of a few seed farms, man-management and self-administration? It is when all these different requirements, *viz.*, factors of agricultural production, are coordinated and controlled by a single Head, both at the political as well as the service level in the Secretariat—that Agricultural Production will get a move on in real terms. Such a Head at the service level may be called the Development Commissioner or the Commissioner of Agricultural Production and Rural Development (C.A.P.D.) according to Ram

Subhag Singh Committee of 1963—or it may be a Board of Directors dealing with the operations of the Agriculture, Development and Co-operative Departments in the State. Experience has shown that the best arrangement is the C.A.P.D., who, apart from being the conventional Development Commissioner, is also Secretary to Government in the Departments of Agriculture, Cooperation and Development—all concerned with Agricultural Production. Such an arrangement exists in many States today.

#### PANCHAYATI RAJ CANNOT HANDLE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Experience of the last 5-6 years, since the introduction of Panchayati Raj (P.R.) has shown that agricultural production, as a function, is neither the direct responsibility of the departmental officials, nor have the P.R. institutions, who were given this task by law, been able to perform it in actual fact, for reasons which need not be gone into. The general feeling is that the Raj has failed to make good. Improvements are being suggested now in the shape of the "Maharashtra Pattern" of Panchayati Raj—which reminds one that when the Community Development programme was gasping for breath in the late fifties, the P.R. idea was trumped up with the object of keeping the pot boiling and the hope shimmering on the horizon of our political mass. The fact of the matter is that agricultural production cannot be linked with the slow-moving Panchayati Raj institutions coming to maturity at their own pace. Time has come when we have to choose an agency which would yield results more expeditiously, for the sake of the nation's survival. This work can be handled with success only under a system of single-line control and responsibility. Let us then take away this work from the P.R. elected bodies, who need not meddle in the task of extension, distribution of seed, fertilizers, minor irrigation loans, grants and pesticides, etc.—for reasons of democratic ills still persisting in their functioning. Moreover, in the ultimate analysis, agricultural production in our country will move forward only through the decisions of individual farmers and not by the collective will, wisdom or resolution of the community. Let the P.R. bodies be available for consultation in the planning and programming of agricultural production, their other main activity being to ensure rural municipal welfare and amenities and execute connected scheme requiring collective effort. Let the C.A.P.D. be squarely held responsible for the work of agricultural production and given full authority for the discharge of it. The Departments of Agriculture, Cooperation, Minor Irrigation and Extension will have to be put under his control, subject only to the direction of the Minister-in-Charge of Agricultural Production. In short, a single-line administrative framework has to be created, such

as is capable of proper definition of functions at all levels and the fixation of responsibility, when necessary.

#### IMPRATICABILITY OF "MAHARASHTRA PATTERN"

Before we proceed with the administrative machine at the District level, it is necessary to say a few words more regarding the "Maharashtra Pattern" of P.R. which, as indicated already, is supposed to be the greatest panacea for our ills. The Chief Executive Officer (C.E.O.) of the Zila Parishad in that pattern will be the executor of all developmental schemes, coordinating the work of so many Departments, including Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Forests, Irrigation, Electricity, Cooperation, Extension, and Development. It is difficult to visualize how a single officer will be able to manage all this in practice. Certain arrangements are rather easily visualized, but when we come down to the grass-root realities of life, a contrary picture emerges. What, for example, will be the link between the district departmental officers (all lumped under the control of C.E.O.) with their Heads of Departments at the Government Headquarters? "Planning from below" is a pet phrase but in reality it is a Pandora's Box and for a long time to come schemes under the Five Year Plans will continue to be formulated at the Headquarters, and supplied down to the districts. The whole administrative machine has yet to travel a long way, and along with that the individual official and non-official's coefficient of ability, application and purposefulness—before a pattern of democratically decentralized local authority can work successfully. We should not be a party to introducing this "Maharashtra Pattern" on the wave of another sentimental escape from reality, merely because the local politicians vote for it, some in the hope of a fixed monthly salary for the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen.

#### THE PRESENT DISTRICT SET-UP OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Usually, the Agriculture Department is represented in the District by a District Agriculture Officer (D.A.O.) who belongs to Class II of the State Agricultural Service and has a contingent of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors under him including the Extension Officers (Agri.) at the Block level—the latter being under the administrative control of the B.D.P.Os./Block Samiti Chairman and the technical control of the D.A.Os. The D.A.O., in addition, may be assisted by 3 or 4 Subject Matter Specialists, appointed by the State Agriculture University for Extension Education and effecting co-ordination between the Research Organization of the University and the farmer's problems in the field. He may also have Inspectors incharge of the departmental

demonstration farms, seed farms and nurseries, etc., which may not have been transferred to the P.R. institutions. The Co-operative Department, similarly, is represented in the District by an Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies (A.R.C.S.), who has a contingent of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, at the Block level (though for some reasons the Cooperative Inspectors may not have been placed under the administrative control of the P.R. institutions), to ensure control and supervision of the Cooperative institutions in his area. It is to be noted that the supply line of inputs—including the most important component of rural credit in all shapes—has come to be controlled directly by these institutions. The State Cooperative Marketing and Supply Federation may be dealing with the entire fertilizers—their procurement, supply and distribution, and also that of pesticides, seeds and pumping sets, etc. The State Cooperative Banks/Central Banks may be distributing a major portion of the rural credit; similarly the State Land Mortgage Banks may, directly or through its Primary Banks, be dealing with the medium and long-term credit for the purchase of tractors, sinking of tube-wells and land reclamation, etc. Even the Agricultural Refinance Corporation would enter this field only through the Land Mortgage Banks.

Lastly, the head of the field extension agency in the Block, *viz.*, the Block Development Officer (B.D.O.), is to look after many more tasks today than mere agricultural production, and has to please many more masters than the D.A.O. or the Chairman of the Block Samiti. Torn between many equally “pressing” loyalties, he is the most harassed official, who in his efforts to please all, has perhaps succeeded in pleasing none and achieved only a little of the task. The D.C. and the S.D.Os. (Civil) remain responsible on paper for the task of agricultural production in their jurisdiction, with the remote hope, and some possibility, of their “marginal” control, interference and direction, bearing fruit in the desired direction. By definition, the D.C. may have the authority to write the annual confidential reports of the district officials, only insofar as their reputation for honesty and relations with the public are concerned. The S.D.O.(C) may not have even that much given to him and yet he may be meddling in the coordinational aspect of agricultural production in his Sub-Division.

#### A DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AGRICULTURE SHOULD BE INCHARGE OF THIS WORK IN THE DISTRICT

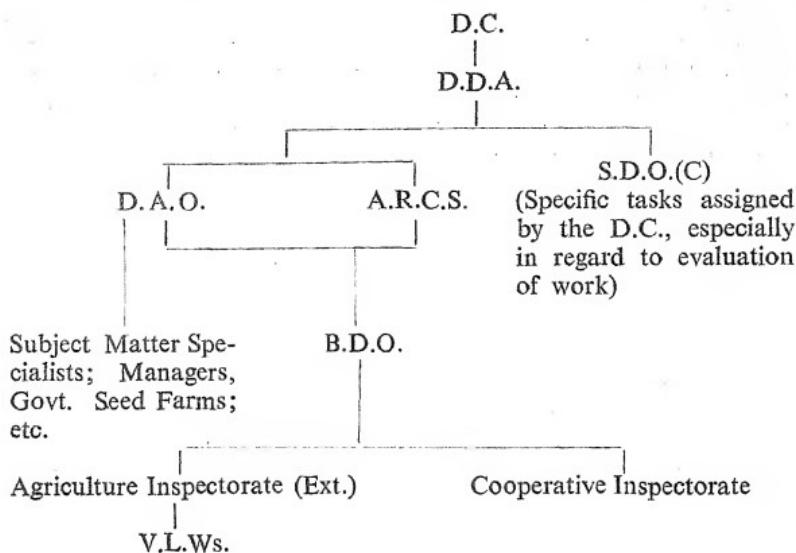
It is not intended that the D.C. may be made directly and wholly responsible for the work of agricultural production in his District and that all the authority may emanate from him, whether administrative,

technical or financial. This functionary has to perform other hundred and one jobs and in multifarious spheres, on behalf of Government. The economic development generally, and agricultural production in his district particularly, may be entitled to receive only some of his attention but not entire or main. All the same, his interest in the task of agricultural production must be retained, however marginal and on the fringes it may be, and his local prestige as well as his link with the officers at the Government Headquarterns must be utilized to the maximum. To him would soon be available—if not already be the case because of either I.A.D.P., or H.V.P. and similar other programmes—an officer of the rank of a Deputy Director, Agriculture (D.D.A.) to be entrusted squarely with the task of agricultural production at the District level. It is now seriously suggested that the work of agricultural production be taken away from P.R. institutions and the entire agricultural extension agency, including the B.D.O., Agricultural Inspectorate and the Village Level Workers as well as the Cooperative Department officials in the District must be placed under the control of the D.D.A. (assisted by a D.A.O.), who will be responsible to get work from all the three agencies—agriculture, development, extension and cooperation—coordinate their respective functions in the field, subject to the overall control, direction and guidance of the Deputy Commissioner. A broad-based District Agricultural Production Committee (A.P. Committee), presided over by the D.C., and consisting of 20 or 30 non-officials of the District, including the Chairmen of Zila Parishad and Block Samitis, should assist in the programming and planning of agricultural production for the District, and later in evaluating the actual work. This Committee will have nothing to do with the actual implementation of the programme. That will rest squarely with the D.D.A./D.C., with the respective roles of their subordinates properly defined.

#### THE PROPOSED ORGANIZATION

The organizational picture, at the District level, briefly will emerge as shown on next page.

Of course, through the Agricultural Production Committee mentioned in the preceding para, the D.C. will ensure proper coordination with the other allied Departments, like Irrigation and Electricity. The problems needing such coordination will be thrown up by the D.D.A., who will not only plan the overall agricultural programme for his District in consultation with the Agricultural Production Committee, but also pick up the problems from the field by intensive touring, with a view to getting them sorted out and the bottlenecks removed.



It hardly needs to be mentioned that the District programme, in its broad outlines, will be derived from the overall State Plan of Agricultural Production, chalked out by the Director of Agriculture (D.A.)/Commissioner, Agricultural Production and Rural Development, in consultation with the State Planning Department and the Government of India—the initial formulation of it having been after discussion with the Deputy Directors, Agriculture in the Districts.

#### LINE OF COMMAND

The channel of writing the annual confidential reports of the officials concerned with Agricultural Production in the District, will be as indicated below. It is important to mention this, so that it becomes clear as to who works under who and the line of command becomes clear:

- |                        |                                                         |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (i) V.L.Ws.            | Agri. Inspectors/B.D.O./A.D.O.                          |
| (ii) Agri. Inspectors  | B.D.O./D.A.O./D.D.A/D.A.                                |
| (iii) Coop. Inspectors | B.D.O./A.R.C.S./D.R.C.S./R.C.S.                         |
| (iv) B.D.Os.           | D.A.O. (jointly with A.R.C.S.)/<br>D.D.A./D.C./C.A.P.D. |
| (v) A.R.C.S.           | D.D.A. (in consultation with<br>D.R.C.S.)/D.C./R.C.S.   |
| (vi) D.A.O.            | D.D.A./D.C./D.A./C.A.P.D.                               |
| (vii) D.D.A.           | D.C./D.A./C.A.P.D.                                      |

[This set-up need not be spelt out further nor an effort need be made here to define precisely the tasks of each functionary in the proposed chain. All this can be the subject of another article. Suffice it to say that the main object of the above proposals is to ensure a single line of command. The officials of the Cooperative Department may not relish this, but there is no alternative. Moreover, they represent a service agency mainly.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

Summing up, the suggestions are:

- (i) That a Class I officer of the Agriculture Department (D.D.A.) assisted by a D.A.O. should be made incharge of the Agricultural Production work in the District, under the direction, guidance and control of the Deputy Commissioner. The latter advised by an Agricultural Production Committee and assisted by S.D.Os. (Civil) in the evaluation and execution of specified tasks only.
- (ii) The staff of the Cooperative Department and the Extension Agency of the District must be placed squarely under the D.D.A.
- (iii) The task and responsibility of Agricultural Production in the District should be taken away from the Panchayati Raj institutions.

It will be a mistake to introduce a new "carrot" under the name of Maharashtra Pattern of Panchayati Raj. The work of Agricultural Production cannot afford the luxury of a slow-moving and cumbersome machinery.

- (iv) All the same, it will be necessary to consult the grass-root leadership in planning and programming of agricultural production. (Bodies like the Agricultural Production Committee at the District level may be appointed at the Block level also.)
- (v) The Block as a unit of administration for agricultural production must be retained and not replaced by a Tahsil or a Sub-Division level.



## PERSONNEL FOR AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION

*Raja Surendra Singh of Nalagarh*

IT is indeed a sad fact that despite the so called "supremacy" of Indian Agriculture, which has been broadcasted by all sections in our Society for the last 20 years, Agricultural Administration and personnel have yet to earn the importance due to it.

The necessary change of heart, to streamline Agricultural Administration and mobilize existing scientific personnel as an effective striking force at field level, has just not come about.

That Science is the only hope which can come to the rescue of Indian Agriculture, is a fact far too well established to need elaboration. In order to make such a scientific impact effective enough, the quality of the scientists, their morale, service conditions and training naturally follow as vital programmes. Before he can be expected to roll up his sleeves and get his hands dirty, the Agricultural Scientist has to be convinced that the effort and sacrifice involved are worth their while. It is also important to ensure that when asked to swim, his limbs remain unfettered, and thus streamlined agricultural administration assumes the highest importance.

As early as 1928, the Royal Commission on Agriculture made important recommendations with regard to service conditions of officers of Agriculture Departments but unfortunately most of these recommendations were not implemented. Thirty years later, the Agricultural Administration Committee (Nalagarh Committee 1958) again reported that technical departments like the Departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, etc., had not been developed to the same extent in the past as general administrative services and the reason why the technical services had not been able to deliver the goods was their "cinderella" existence and the unsatisfactory conditions in which they worked.

This Committee concluded that a streamlined agricultural administration is an urgent necessity and the food situation of the country can be appreciably eased if positive steps are taken to achieve this

objective. Administrative lapses have universally contributed towards shortfalls in implementation of agricultural schemes and have thereby directly caused shortfalls in production. The picture is indeed bleak enough to justify that drastic measures be immediately taken, not merely to retrieve the situation but even more, to make up for the time already lost. A change of heart, and of purposes and of leadership in the field of agriculture is of national importance. A bold attitude to see "new wine in new bottles" has to be developed towards reforming Agricultural Administration in India.

The committee observed that time and again, it has been pointed out that India has the know-how for increasing its food production. The crux of the problem now is one of gearing up its administration to get the food produced.

It further observed that if India is going to mobilize itself for food production, the agricultural departments in both Centre and States must frankly face up to the fact that the whole administration in its objectives, its procedures, its rules, its staff assignments, needs reorientation to an impact programme for increasing food production in the fields of each of over half-a-million villages. It made exhaustive recommendations for improving the conditions of service and other cognate matters.

The recommendations of the Committee can be divided into two categories:

- (i) Recommendations with no financial implications; and
- (ii) Recommendations with financial implications.

The recommendations falling in the first category relate mainly to procedural matters, delegation of powers to various officers, implementation of budgetary procedures, revision of service rules, etc. By and large, such recommendations, have been implemented by the State Governments concerned. The recommendations involving financial implications aim at effective material improvement in the morale, status and service conditions of the Agriculture Departments in the States.

One of the most important recommendations of the Nalagarh Committee related to the constitution of an all-India Agricultural Service with the scales of pay and prospects on par with other All India Services, like the Indian Administrative Service, etc. A detailed scheme for the formation of this service has been drawn up and circulated to all the State Governments. The consensus is in favour of the

formation of this service. It is estimated that for full implementation of the proposals involving financial implications made by the Committee would involve an expenditure of about Rs. one crore per annum for all the States. Thus, in the Fourth Plan, it would require an investment of Rs. 5 crores which has got to be provided.

The Committee had also reported upon the measures necessary for achieving coordination within the entire administrative and organizational structure. This aspect has recently been reviewed by the Working Group on Inter-Departmental and Institutional Coordination for Agricultural Production, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, formerly Minister of Agriculture. The recommendations made by the Working Group are mostly procedural and do not involve much additional outlay. It is, therefore, hoped that the recommendations made by the Working Group will be implemented by the concerned authorities in the near future.

The worsening food crisis of the under-developed nations in general and of India in particular was never more apparent. A large majority of our world population is having difficulty in feeding itself. In regions where most of humanity lives, ancient methods of agriculture have been unable to keep pace with the swelling demands, resulting from the twin pressures of the population explosion and rising industrial incomes. Agriculture has lagged behind industry, and in several countries it is now acting as a brake on economic growth.

A decade ago, it appeared to us that the agricultural technology of developed nations could be quickly transplanted in the under-developed world, where it would produce rapid increases in food production. This hope has failed to take root, and the gap in per acre yields between developed and under-developed nations is not narrowing but widening. Ten years ago, it was widely believed that one or another single technique (Community Development is an example) could solve the organizational problem of bringing new technology to millions of individual farmers. Many promising techniques have been tried in many places, but the record of recent years is one of general failure and only rare success. Industry has advanced in parts of the under-developed world, including India but agriculture is not providing enough quantity, to say nothing of the higher levels of nutrition.

Agriculture is a peculiarly difficult subject to grapple with. It presents two basic difficulties. First, it involves the interaction of multiple factors as different and as hard to compare, as crop responses

to fertilizer and the cultural values of the farmer. Second, the almost infinite variety of local conditions, compounded by the interaction of these varying factors, make any generalization hazardous. Thus, organizational problems and personnel needs of agriculture are far greater than those of industrial development. The introduction and operation of modern industrial plants depend on the decisions of relatively few people. The large scale of operation can support the cost of personnel in the specialized functions of integrating production, supplying inputs and marketing. The tasks to be learned by a new labour are standardized, relatively simple, and not substantially different from production tastes in the same industry anywhere else in the world.

On the other hand, improving the efficiency of agricultural production depends on the decisions of millions of small peasants. The tasks are not standardized, conditions vary from area to area and even between fields on the same farm and account has to be taken of the weather and occurrence of losses through diseases, pests, faulty storage and transport. Even the smallest farmers usually diversify their production. The supply of inputs and marketing of products have to be organized to serve the many producers spread over the land, and requirements are usually seasonal, provision of credit is also complicated by the need to serve many producers and by the seasonal character of income and production expenses. The poverty of most rural people increases the risk of experimenting with new practices. Lack of transport and communications makes it difficult to reach the dispersed millions of the farming population. Roads are few. The multiplicity of language impedes communications, cultural differences between educated elites and farmers hinder effective communication even when a common language exists.

Evidently, if our dependence on imported foodgrains has to cease, it is necessary to make far greater use of modern methods of production and to bridge the gap between demand and production by the application of the latest advances in the science of agriculture. A new strategy or approach is needed if we are to achieve results over a short span of time. This strategy aims at securing rapid increases in food production in the shortest possible time and lays down certain priorities amongst the measures being taken under the comprehensive agricultural development programme. This new strategy requires the massive and close support of science and technology. It requires a level of services not so far contemplated in our agricultural programmes.

The most important of the programmes under the new strategy are the High-Yielding Varieties Programme, Multiple Cropping

Programme, Subsidiary Food Crops Programme, New Concepts of Irrigation, Ayacut Development and Water Management, Organized Provision of the Main Inputs, Farmers' Training and Education and Applied Adaptive Agricultural Research.

Naturally, for the purpose of getting all these things done at the farmer's level, for science-based agriculture, the requirements of India for trained personnel are colossal. For meeting the expanding requirements of trained village level workers, agricultural extension officers, subject-matter specialists, agricultural research workers, the programme of education and training have to be vastly extended.

The new programme places much greater burdens on the extension organization. Briefly, these are high levels of technical guidance in the field of quality seed production, pest control, soil analysis, fertilizer application, water management, improved machinery, short, medium and long term credit and demonstration. These are specialized fields and the scientific and technical competence required are of a much higher standard than has been available in the past. The major problem here is: can the basic extension service of Village Level Workers and Agricultural Extension Officers meet the needs of the situation.

The present system of generalist extension worker at the village and block level with some orientation training in particular disciplines, supported by specialists at the district level, will not be able to administer the new programmes. In many of the disciplines, it is found that a far higher degree of technical competence is required at levels lower than the district than is now provided. A generalist with some orientation in a specialized discipline will not be able to deal with the technical and scientific problems that are bound to arise in many disciplines. The administration of the programmes requires subject-matter specialists at levels lower than the district.

Although a strong cell of subject-matter specialists has been formed at the Centre to support the programme, the basic field staff still continues to be the Village Level Workers and the Agricultural Extension Officers drawn from the lower cadres of the State Agriculture Department.

While we have to utilize the existing extension personnel to the best advantage possible, we have to make the existing Village Level Worker a better instrument with better training. A phased programme will have to be drawn up for improving the quality of the existing Village Level Workers. We have to see that we do not produce

hereafter ineffective Village Level Workers without adequate training. Therefore, their initial training programme will also have to be organized in such a way that it is not necessary to give them a retraining later on. It should correspond to that in engineering polytechnics. After the diploma, the best of them should be selected and should be allowed, after four or five years to go for a degree course so that they get a better qualification and are equipped to fit into higher posts. Selection of these men on the basis of their performance will give them an incentive, a competitive spirit also, to work better to get a chance to obtain higher qualification and to get opportunities for promotion to higher posts.

It is not merely, the Village Level Workers, the Extension Officers and the District Level Officers whose training programme is important but the training of the actual farmers is also very important. Therefore, a comprehensive mass training programme for the farmers must be undertaken. Even general education should become more agriculture-oriented. Unfortunately, we are not laying sufficient emphasis on agricultural aspects in our general education. Those in charge of policy making on education should give more emphasis on agriculture in our elementary and secondary schools.

According to the existing staffing pattern one Agriculture Extension Officer looks after farming enterprises of approximately 12,000 farmers. The need for strengthening of the Extension set-up at different levels was examined by the Agriculture Personnel Committee of the Planning Commission set up in March, 1958. The Committee laid stress on the need for giving adequate training to the Village Level Workers, reducing his jurisdiction to a smaller area, and providing effective technical guidance to the VLW by the addition of our agricultural graduates with some special training in selected subjects (in addition to the one AEO who existed even in the Second Plan). The level of VLWs should be raised to an agriculture graduate over a period of time. These suggestions could not be implemented in the Third Plan on account of paucity of resources, both manpower and financial. At one stage, the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation gave an indication that the staff-pattern contemplated under the schematic budget of the Block consisting of 10 Village Level Workers and 8 Extension Officers (Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Panchayat, Rural Industries, Rural Engineering, Social Education & I.S.E.O.) at the Block level be headed by the Block Development Officer will probably continue in the Fourth and subsequent plans. This group recognized that in view of the overwhelming importance of agricultural production in the rural development programme, not

only the VLWs and the AEOs but even the Block Development Officer would focus his attention principally on agricultural programmes. The question, however, arises, whether the present type of VLWs would be able to disseminate knowledge effectively and carry to the farmers with confidence the recommended methods spell out to him improved methods of farming and inspire his confidence. I feel that the present VLW does not possess the necessary technical competence to carry the programme to the farmer. He serves at present more or less as a man responsible for "supplies" and cannot be expected to serve as an effective "Extension" man who can comprehend and help solve the problems of farmers. Merely reducing the area of jurisdiction would not, therefore, offer an adequate remedy. Something more is required to be done. The VLW is, in most cases, a Matriculate (in some States even non-Matriculates have been selected as VLWs) and they have been given training ranging from 6 months to 2 years. They are unable to organize demonstrations effectively and to inspire confidence in the farmer. It was felt that more technically qualified men should be provided for Extension work in the Blocks.

It will be observed that the Agricultural personnel Committee had recommended after careful consideration that the level of VLWs should be raised to agricultural graduates over a period of time. It may not be possible during the Fourth Plan to fix any target for providing agricultural graduates at village level on a large scale. The idea of providing graduates in agriculture at the village level might, however, be tried in a few Blocks by way of experiment. During the Fourth Plan the VLWs should be replaced by graduates in some or all of the IADP Districts which number 15 in all. These Districts cover 308 Blocks. The general staffing pattern in these Blocks is 20 VLWs and 5 Extension Officers. It has been suggested that instead of this pattern, 10 of the VLWs may be replaced by graduates in the Fourth Plan and in the Fifth Plan all the VLWs should be replaced by Graduate AEOs. Provision for this may be made in the Plans of the States concerned. This point has also been examined in detail by the Working Group on Intensive Agricultural Areas and necessary provision made by that Group. The number of additional graduates required for this purpose will be 1,550 during the Fourth Plan period and 3,050 in the Fifth Plan.

To guide, supervise and help the Village Level Workers in other Blocks a team of 3 to 5 Extension Officers should be provided at the Block level in addition to an Extension Officer (Veterinary and Animal Husbandry) not attached to the dispensary. This number may have to be supplemented by additional 5 graduates in the Fifth Plan. The

Extension Officers (Agriculture) should be graduates with specialization in different branches of agriculture, such as plant protection, agriculture engineering, agronomy, horticulture, soil conservation, etc., according to the needs and potentialities of each area. The entire Block should be divided into as many areas as the number of Extension Officers (Agriculture) to fix territorial and functional responsibility. The Extension Officer should be functionally responsible for their respective field of specialization for the Block, as a whole, where the programme should be carried out in collaboration with the other Extension Officers in agriculture. They should also be territorially responsible for all agricultural programmes in their respective portions of the block. There is already one Agricultural Extension Officer in each Block. If, therefore, on an average 3 additional graduates are to be provided in each of the Blocks other than the IADP areas, it would require, 14,700 additional agricultural graduates for manning 4,900 Blocks. The additional personnel requirement for the Fifth Plan on the basis of 5 additional AEOs in each Block other than the IADP areas would be approximately 24,500 graduates.

The general level of technical competence of VLWs will also have to be raised through specialized refresher courses. Those VLWs who are in a position to take up higher education in agricultural colleges should also be provided necessary facilities.

At present, about 1500 Blocks are proposed to be covered by intensive work. In the case of Blocks in the IADP areas the general staffing pattern provide for 5 Agricultural Extension Officers. It has, however, been suggested in the preceding paragraph that in all the IADP Blocks the general staffing pattern should be raised to provide 10 Agricultural Extension Officers in each Block. In the case of other Intensive Areas, there are generally two Extension Officers at present. A considerable expansion in the Extension Programme may take place in the Fourth Plan, but insofar as the staffing pattern is concerned, the requirements have generally been taken into account in the preceding paragraph in which 4 Agricultural Extension Officers have been proposed in each Block. Thus, there will be only two staffing patterns in the Block instead of three prevailing at present, i.e., the IADP Blocks in which there will be 10 AEOs and the rest in which three to five agricultural graduates will be provided as Extension Officers according to the needs of each Block and the areas in which intensification is proposed to be introduced. In the Fifth Plan also the two separate patterns for the IADP Blocks and other Blocks will be retained and by the Sixth Plan they should all be brought at par, i.e., 20 graduates should be provided in each Block by the Sixth Plan.

The Working Group on Plant Protection has estimated that 7,200 graduates will be required for plant protection work during the Fourth Plan. Of these, 5,000 are proposed to be provided in the Blocks and the balance in Intensive Areas Programmes and at District level, etc. As explained in the two preceding paragraphs, this requirement has also been taken into account in computing the staff requirements of Blocks on the basis of an average of 4 Agricultural Extension Officers per Block.

The Working Group on Improved Seeds has suggested the following additional posts for the Fourth Plan which require a degree in agriculture as the basic qualification:

|                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| (1) Deputy Directors (Seeds)            | 15  |
| (2) Special Officers                    | 9   |
| (3) District Seeds Development Officers | 308 |
| (4) Senior Farm Managers                | 363 |

Out of the above, the District Seeds Development Officers will be accounted for in the proposals for the staff at the District level and need not be taken into account under this paragraph. Excluding these, 400 graduates would be required for the improved seed programme. In addition about 2,000 Assistant Farm Managers are required in the Fourth Plan programme. The post of the Assistant Farm Manager will be a training ground for the Senior Farm Manager. Hence, it is advisable to recruit agricultural graduates in these posts also. However, by recruiting them so it may be completely blocking the way of trained matriculates. At least 25 per cent, *i.e.*, about 500 Assistant Farm Managers may be agricultural graduates in the Fourth Plan programme and an equal number in the Fifth Plan. The total number required for this programme in Fourth and Fifth Plan will be 900 and 500 respectively.

At the district level, there should be an experimental farm which should have 4 to 5 subject-matter specialists in plant protection, agricultural engineering, horticulture, etc. Specific needs of particular districts have also to be provided for. This is on the lines of the recommendations made by the Agricultural Personnel Committee of the Planning Commission and should have been achieved in the Third Plan. This will give an additional 1,500 vacancies to be filled by the end of Fifth Plan. The specialists will have to be of the post-graduate degree level and to this extent training facilities for post-graduate studies will have to be found. The Working Group on Improved Seeds

has suggested 300 District Seed Development Officers. There is no doubt that this requirement will have to be met from within the 1,500 officers proposed above.

The research worker has to be closely involved in the field programme in order to reduce the period of transition from ordinary agriculture to agriculture based on science and technology. The scientists in India has so far been working as an individualist. Rapid scientific advancement today is dependent on cooperative effort. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has taken up the responsibility for coordinated research in the country. When coordinated research leads to significant findings, these need to be quickly taken to the field. It has been accepted recently that all the Research Institutions in the country should involve themselves in field work by way of nationwide trials of the facts established by research and in national demonstrations of accepted findings. A link has to be established and a meeting ground found between the generalist field worker at the Block level and the top scientific research at the national level.

Apart from the Experiment Stations dealt with under the heading "District Level" there would be need for setting up Regional Research Stations, for each agro-climatic region. It is estimated that approximately 50 regional or State-level stations may be required in the whole country. These need not necessarily be new stations. It has been suggested that more emphasis should be laid on upgrading and strengthening selected existing research stations rather than starting new ones. In each Regional Research Station, there may be need for 3 Class I, 6 Class II and 18 Class III appointments with agriculture degree as the basic qualification. In addition, staff will be required for specific research schemes, etc. This would give a total requirement of 700 graduates out of which about 300 will be post-graduates and the balance degree holders. In the Fifth Plan the number of research stations and the staff should be doubled.

The Central institutions and commodity institutions may also require further development and strengthening and this may require about 600 graduates during the Fourth Plan and 600 in the Fifth Plan.

Agricultural college education, both under-graduate and post-graduate must be improved in quality. Existing conditions are partly due to the disparity in service conditions of agricultural scientists and others like engineers and doctors. Most of the existing institutions have very inadequate teaching staff and cannot reach the minimum teacher-student ratio of 1 : 12. Assuming that in the Fourth

Plan the annual enrolment of students will have to be increased to 10,000 for under-graduate courses and 1,450 for post-graduate courses, the total number of students in four-year degree courses, and two-year post-graduate courses, would be 40,000 and 3,000 respectively. About 1,500 new teachers with post-graduate qualifications will be required during the Fourth Plan. Assuming the same rate of growth in the Sixth and subsequent Plans the same number of fresh teachers may be required in the Fifth Plan as well. For higher secondary schools, the position at present is that even in the institutions where agriculture has been introduced as an optional subject, agricultural graduates are not available for being appointed as teachers. Roughly, about 1,800 agricultural graduates may be expected to be employed as teachers in higher secondary schools during the Fourth Plan and about 2,400 in the Fifth Plan. For Intermediate Colleges (279 in U.P. alone) post graduate-trained teachers will be required. This number is estimated at 400 in Fourth Plan and 600 in Fifth Plan.

The requirements of personnel have been spelt out broadly. Specialist field staff is required in addition to the generalist staff that has been used so far. The number of specialists required will increase as the programme advances. During the Third Plan, Agricultural Universities and Colleges have begun preparing experts in the Field of pest control, soil analysis, better agronomy and in other areas. The programmes have to be stepped up. Field orientation of these experts and in-service training for selected specialists in carrying out the new programme in the field has to be organized. Meanwhile, the in-service training organized during the Third Plan for VLWs and AEOs requires concentrated attention to enable a rapid transmission of the message of science and technology to the field. These generalists have to imbibe a new approach to their work. The involvement of these individual and the private sector, providing services to the agriculturists requires continuous emphasis. The Extension worker must be made aware of this need and has to learn the methods of achieving there objectives. The research worker has to get down to the field. In their training programmes and curricula, the Agricultural Universities have adopted this approach in the United States. Many of these ideas are not new. Both the Union and State Governments have been fully aware of the requirements of a scientific approach to agriculture. What has been lacking is a streamlined administrative instrument and procedures which are capable of realizing such objectives.

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## **FOOD STATISTICS AS A TOOL FOR ADMINISTRATION**

*J. S. Sarma*

THE statistics needed for food policy and administration cover both the data needed for administration of food distribution and those needed for implementation of food production programmes. Keeping in line with the general theme of the Special Number, we confine our attention in this article mainly to statistics that are relevant to decisions regarding food production.

In recent years, particularly in the post-Independence era, considerable improvements have been effected in coverage, quality and content of food statistics. Through progressive extension of the system of complete area enumeration and introduction of sample surveys where complete census of area is not at present in vogue, almost the entire area under food crops has been brought under the purview of regular crop estimation. The scientific method of random sample survey for estimation of yield has been extended to all food crops, though some gaps still remain in respect of pulses and small millets. Uniform concepts and definitions have also been progressively introduced to ensure inter-State comparability. Though the past achievements have been significant, yet there are a few gaps and lacunae in the existing statistics. We propose to focus attention on the more urgent and immediate problems of improvement of these statistics.

### **TIMELINESS**

The basic data on foodgrains relate to area under crops and their production, but these estimates are not available sufficiently in time. There is considerable time-lag between the dates of sowing and harvesting of the crops and the availability of the crop estimates. The due dates of release of all-India Crop Estimates have been fixed in relation to the date of completion of sowings and harvestings on an all-India basis. Where the same crop is sown in more than one season, the Crop Estimate is scheduled to be issued after the second or third crop also is harvested. There is also considerable time-lag between the due date prescribed for the release of the Crop Estimate and the date of its actual release. In some States, the sowing and harvesting

operations take place much earlier than in others and it is important that the Central Government should get an idea of the estimates of area and production of each principal crop in the State as soon as the sowing and harvesting are completed. For each State, a calendar of operations needs to be drawn up for each principal crop and the State Governments should report the estimates of area as soon as the crop is sown and those of production as soon as it is harvested. Where the crop is grown in more than one season in each year, each season's crop should be treated separately for purposes of crop reporting.

These advance estimates of crop acreages may be based on complete field-to-field enumeration carried out soon after the completion of sowings in one village selected on random sampling basis within the *patwari* circle. Where this is not feasible, rough estimates of crop acreages may have to be framed in relation to the actual acreage in the previous year and the likely variations expected during the current year. The estimates of production have to be based on crop-cutting experiments and steps have to be taken to ensure that the crop-cutting returns are despatched by the field agencies immediately after the experiment is carried out and that they are expeditiously analysed thereafter. Estimates of acreage and production are needed separately for irrigated and unirrigated areas for these crops for which irrigation plays an important role. Also, separate data are needed for the high yielding and the other varieties of crop.

Proposals for ensuring timely reporting of estimates of crop area and production are being implemented on a pilot basis in two States, *viz.*, Maharashtra and U.P. and will be extended to other States progressively. The system of collection of agricultural data is proposed to be so reorganized as to obtain independent crop estimates, at the all-India and State levels considerably in advance of the current estimates. Measures for introducing supervision over acreage estimates and for strengthening of supervision over crop-cutting surveys by the Central agency are under consideration.

#### PLANNING AND FIXATION OF TARGETS OF PRODUCTION

The approach to agricultural planning in India has so far consisted mainly of setting up of targets of production for different crops and other agricultural commodities at the national and State levels. In the absence of detailed data on available and potential resources for agricultural production for individual development blocks and farm units in these blocks, allocation of national and State targets to the different development regions within the State often lacked scientific

basis and was in many cases done arbitrarily. Since agricultural production depends on numerous factors, these targets in the very nature of things could at best be tentative working estimates. Yet, in order that they are meaningful and have any value for being indicated as goals before the farmers in a planned development of agriculture, they should be based on a detailed technical examination of the available resources and their potentialities at the operational level. A proper link between the targets of production for individual planning units and the programmes for their implementation by farmers should be ensured. This calls for a variety of statistical data at the level of operational units.

In order to plan optimum utilization of the resources available in the various planning units, we should thus have, on the one hand, information detailed enough to build up realistic targets for the various development blocks, and on the other, equally detailed information on the number of farms within each block classified by type and the planning technique appropriate for each. Only then would the extension staff be in a position to advise the farmers effectively on the measures to be taken to fulfil the targets. The farms may be classified by size, (i) by pattern of land-use, *i.e.*, whether growing predominantly foodgrain crops or cash crops or whether land is devoted to feeds and fodder for development of animal husbandry, irrigated or dry, (ii) by resources in human, animal and mechanical power, capital, etc., and (iii) by specific proposals regarding planning technique recommended for each farm type. A breakdown of the production targets for each planning unit by farm types and their contribution to the total target is necessary for fuller and efficient use of the facilities made available under the plan. Unfortunately, detailed holding-wise information is not available for lower geographical units. The opportunity provided by the next World Census of Agriculture sponsored by the Food Agriculture Organization of the United Nations should be taken to collect the requisite information on the basis of complete census. The scope of the Census in India may be wider than the F.A.O. Programme in order that the data so collected may serve adequately the purpose of planning and at the same time serve as benchmarks for evaluation of the progress of the Plan.

For formulation of targets of food production, the basic information that is needed is an assessment of the demand or requirement of food which depends mainly on the rate of growth of population and per capita income and income and price elasticities of food consumption. As the food habits differ from region to region and between rural and urban areas and the price and income elasticities of

consumption vary for different commodities and for different income groups, for the purpose of estimating demand for food, it is necessary to have the breakdown of the projected population and national income estimates by States and by rural and urban areas and the estimates of income and price elasticities of consumption for different food articles, and preferably for the different income groups.

#### ESTIMATES OF PRODUCTION POTENTIAL

Fixation of targets of production is one of the important tasks in our planned economy. The method consists in collecting information on the different material inputs going into production and working out production capacities or production potentials anticipated from them. The estimates of additional production expected from each unit are worked out on the basis of average expected response or "yardsticks" which are, in effect, nothing but simple input-output ratios related to a specific dose of an input. The yardsticks presently in use in respect of irrigation, fertilizers and other inputs are of a rough nature, and comprehensive studies are needed to put the production potential approach on a sound basis. All available scientific data on responses of different crops to various inputs need to be examined.

Individual yardsticks of production are at present available for certain food crops like rice, wheat, ragi, maize and pulses only in respect of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers at the State level. In view of the emphasis on planning at lower levels, there is urgent need for formulating yardsticks of production for each developmental measure at district or lower levels based on intensive experimental work in cultivators' fields.

There is immediate need to organize experiments for estimating response to irrigation for different crops. Data on the yield per acre obtained from crop cutting surveys may be tabulated separately for irrigated and unirrigated fields for each crop so as to supplement the information on irrigation yardsticks. It is also necessary to assess through sample surveys, additional area and production benefits resulting from irrigation works. Results of studies undertaken by different research organizations for assessing the effect of irrigation on cropping pattern in different areas could also be consolidated to give information on response to irrigation.

The results of the pilot studies initiated by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in various States, to assess the benefits from soil conservation measures, should provide adequate data for formulating

yardsticks in this sphere for different agro-climatic regions. Large-scale trials on improved varieties should be carried out on cultivators' fields so as to throw up adequate data for working out the yardsticks of additional production from improved seeds. Adequate work relating to assessment of the benefits from plant protection measures, has not yet been done, although some investigations are under way at the Institute of Agricultural Research Statistics to assess the incidence of pests and diseases on rice, wheat, maize, etc., and the consequent loss in yield that can be saved by taking appropriate control measures. Such investigations will provide reliable yardsticks of additional production from plant protection measures and they should be organized on a wider scale.

Data available at present for formulating composite yardsticks are more limited as compared to those available for evolving individual yardsticks. The Institute of Agricultural Research Statistics has initiated studies on a limited scale to formulate combined yardsticks for seeds, cultivation practices and fertilizers for irrigated and unirrigated areas separately. Factorial experiments are being carried out with seeds, improved cultivation practices and fertilizers alone and in various combinations, in randomly selected fields, as part of the scheme on coordinated agronomic experiments. In order to estimate composite yardsticks for different agro-climatic regions, adequate number of experiments in cultivators' fields should be organized in different regions on an extensive scale to get reliable estimates of benefits.

#### **DATA NEEDED FOR NEW STRATEGY**

A development of major significance in the field of agriculture in India in recent times is the introduction of High Yielding Varieties Programmes in respect of paddy, wheat, jowar, bajra and maize. This programme plays a major role in the achievement of food production target and consequently in the drive for attaining self-sufficiency in foodgrains in the country.

Adequate and reliable data on the spread of improved seeds including high yielding varieties, their requirements of different kinds of fertilizers and other inputs like irrigation, pesticides, doses and timings of their application, additional cost involved in adoption of improved practices, and additional production expected, etc., are necessary for planning and executing the High Yielding Varieties Programme and for assessing their efficacy. The production potential from the High Yielding Varieties Programme has to be estimated on the basis of a

composite yardsticks taking into account the package of practices. Reliable yardsticks have to be determined for each crop and for each area using all the available data.

In addition to the adoption of high yielding varieties, the new strategy for agricultural production also envisages intensifying double and multiple cropping in areas enjoying assured, though not altogether adequate, irrigation and programmes of agricultural development in other irrigated areas as well as in unirrigated areas. For planning these programmes and estimating the additional food production to be obtained therefrom, estimates of the quantities of the various inputs required and the response in terms of output to these inputs have to be framed.

For devising suitable cropping patterns under the programmes of multiple cropping, data on meteorological conditions, such as rainfall, temperature, number of hours of sunshine, humidity, wind velocities, etc., are necessary over a long period for compact areas. Attempts are being made to organize systematic collection of these data and their dissemination to research centres and extension agencies.

#### REPORTING OF PROGRESS AND FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAMME

Proper and timely appraisal of the progress of individual schemes of food production and achievements thereunder is necessary for locating the bottlenecks, and taking measures to remove them. For such an assessment, periodical progress reports on the individual schemes are essential. The progress reports required primarily for the use of administrative agencies to watch the progress of schemes with a view to removing bottlenecks, might be obtained on a monthly basis, while the reports needed for appraisal or assessment of the programme may be called for every quarter or twice a year, or on annual basis, depending on the nature of the programme.

In the interest of uniformity and accuracy of data, standards have to be laid down in respect of concepts, coverage, methods of collection and agencies to be employed for collecting the data. Duplication of reporting agencies also needs to be avoided and information on any one item collected by any agency should be supplied to others. In respect of physical programmes taken up on Block basis, data on the progress of different schemes might be collected through the Block agencies. State Governments should prescribe in respect of each programme and each item of information the agencies responsible for collecting and compiling the needed information so that the line of

responsibility is clearly laid down from the primary level to the State level.

Thus, improvements are necessary both in the basic data relating to area and production of crops and in the other related data needed for assessing the progress of different plan schemes. Further, reliable information regarding technical coefficients is vitally needed for formulating programmes of food production on a realistic basis. A good statistical base is an essential prerequisite for sound administration of food production programmes.

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## MARKETING AND STORAGE OF FOODGRAINS

*S. C. Chaudhri*

**M**ARKETING occupies an important place in the programmes of agricultural development. It is no less crucial than the timely provision of adequate inputs. Inputs call for investment; marketing decides the possible level of it. The return that the farmer gets from his produce determines his ability to expand output and continue to do it year after year. Thus, inputs initiate agricultural improvement, while marketing sustains it.

To be able to perform the role set for it, marketing should be orderly and efficient : the disposal of agricultural produce should be so organized that the sale proceeds accruing to the producer are maximized within the limits of his cost of production including normal profits on the one hand, and the ability of the ultimate consumer to pay on the other. The inexorable laws of supply and demand no doubt lead to market equilibrium ; the objective of proper marketing should, however, be to keep this equilibrium relatively stable. Prices should certainly reflect secular changes in costs of production and in consumer incomes, but they should be held in check from fluctuating violently over space and over seasons. Quite often this objective is sought to be achieved through State intervention which takes various forms, in the ultimate analysis it is a question of improving the structure of marketing itself.

Structural improvement in marketing should aim at integration of markets, so that while sale and purchase operations are carried on in a number of places in the country, price changes occurring in one place are transmitted at once to all others. For the markets to be so sensitive, several conditions have to be satisfied. The very first is that marketing should be institutionalized. The produce should be brought for sale to specified and known assembling points, rather than being collected by peripatetic dealers from the farms or being delivered by the producers directly at the premises of the millers or traders. That is to say, all produce must pass through recognized marketing places. Then, the task of providing all those facilities that go to make marketing orderly and efficient would be rendered relatively easy. Sellers and buyers would assemble there in large numbers;

they would be in free competition with each other and decide the price by open' bid; market news service would bring to them the knowledge of prices ruling elsewhere; goods will be available for inspection by the intending buyers; it would be possible to enforce grades and standards; there would be no scope for any arbitrary deduction in prices; correct weighment would be ensured; market charges would be standardized; price will be paid to the producer-seller on the spot; provision of storage and warehousing facilities would become economically feasible. Regulated markets in India represent a step in this direction.

A regulated market is not one where prices are controlled. In it, only the market practices are regulated. The regulation is undertaken under the relevant law, generally designated as the Agricultural Produce Market Act. Particular assembling points are notified, to each of which growers within a certain radius of that point bring their produce for sale. At each assembling point there is a market yard, where the produce is heaped in individual lots and sold by open auction. The market has an elected Market Committee representing the growers and traders. The Committee lays down the market practices, fixes the remuneration of the market functionaries, and licences the commission agents and other dealers who are then authorized to bid and buy the produce. The auction is held under the supervision of the Market Committee's Secretary, who obtains the concurrence of the producer-seller to the final price bid before closing the transaction. If the price is not acceptable to the farmer he can leave his produce in the storage godown provided at the market rather than taking it back home, and sell it on some other day. The Secretary sees to it that malpractices, like under-weighment or unauthorized deductions from the price payable to growers, are not resorted to, and that the farmer is paid the same day or within the period prescribed by the Committee. Knowledge of price ruling elsewhere is imparted to the sellers and buyers in a variety of ways. The regional stations of All India Radio run a market news service under which they broadcast market prices in the evening programmes; the Market Committee maintains a black board on which it displays the quotations of key markets; in quite a number of regulated markets these quotations are even disseminated through loudspeakers before the market opens. The Market Secretary maintains a complete record of market transactions, including the quantities arriving for sale, the areas from which they are brought, the prices bid and the quantities sold.

Administrative support for regulation of markets was provided as far back as 1886 when the Karanja Cotton Market, the first to be regulated in India, was established under the Hyderabad Residency

Order. Eleven years later, the first law, known as the Cotton and Grains Market Act, was enacted in Berar, then known as the Hyderabad Assigned District. In 1927, the Bombay Cotton Markets Act and in 1932, the Central Provinces Cotton Markets Act were placed on the statute Book. Thus, regulation of markets in India began largely with the anxiety to make cotton available at reasonable prices. As the utility of the measure was proved, State Governments started enacting the Agricultural Produce Market Acts, enabling them to bring any Agricultural commodity under the orbit of regulation by issuing the necessary notification. Legislation for setting up regulated markets now exists in all States except Assam, Kerala, Jammu & Kashmir and Nagaland. This, however, does not imply that there are no non-regulated markets in the States which have the legislation for regulation. In Punjab and Haryana all the wholesale markets are regulated, while in Madras only 85 out of 270 markets are regulated and in Uttar Pradesh they are barely 7 out of 425. By about 1950, the number of regulated markets in India had come up to only 300. Thereafter, the progress was rapid. In all, there are about 1,550 regulated markets in the whole country now. But approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times that number still consists of markets which meet regularly but are not yet regulated. In order that the basic requirement of proper marketing is fulfilled all over the country, it should be the endeavour to regulate these markets too as quickly as possible.

It has been experienced that as a result of standardization of the market charges and of prohibition of unauthorized appropriations, there is a considerable reduction in the payments that are made by the producer-seller while marketing his produce. Studies have shown that after regulation the payments so made have been up to 70 per cent less than those made before regulation. This is a visible and assessable benefit of regulated markets. In many areas, institution of regulated markets has also helped in bringing about a progressive reduction in the sales in villages or directly to millers or traders, as the farmers are assured of a fair deal in such markets. Studies have revealed that whereas prior to regulation in some markets only 20 per cent of the market arrivals were being directly assembled by the producers themselves, the proportion steadily increased after regulation to as much as 90 per cent. This again indicates that a considerable part of the margins appropriated formerly by the intermediaries has since gone to augment the farmer's income. Apart from these monetary gains, regulation has conferred several social and other benefits on the producers. It has developed a marketing sense among them. They now have a voice in the Market which they never had.

The basis for administration of regulated markets is furnished

by the rules framed by the State Governments under the relevant law and by the bye-laws of the market committees finalized with the concurrence of State Governments and enforced by the Market Secretaries. In this context, proper training of Market Secretaries and of State Government officers assumes considerable importance. The Directorate of Marketing and Inspection under the Union Department of Agriculture has, therefore, rightly attended to this need. It is running training courses for Market Secretaries at three centres ; at Sangli since October 1957, at Hyderabad since April 1958, and at Lucknow since November 1963. The duration of each course being five months, two courses are run at each centre in a year. About 900 Market Secretaries have been provided training so far. Emphasis in this training is laid on the scope and purpose of regulation, the interpretation of bye-laws of market committees and the functions of Market Secretaries. The Directorate is also running a one-year training course for officers of State Governments at its headquarters, *viz.*, Nagpur. This training has so far been imparted to some 300 officers, including a few from foreign countries. This course covers the principles and practices of agricultural marketing, conduct of marketing surveys, grading and standardization, regulation of markets and improvement in agricultural marketing.

A regulated market has to have a market-yard where the producers bring their carts and assemble the produce before bidding starts. The layout of the market-yard has to be planned and standardized, so that enough space is available for conducting the essential activities of the market and for other amenities. The Indian Standards Institution has done a good deal of work in this direction. It has prescribed layouts for four categories of market-yards, categories being determined by the daily number of carts arriving. For each category, the standard layout provides for appropriate size of shops-cum-godown, platform for the growers to dry, clean and display the produce, auction hall, parking place for carts and trucks, storage godowns, market committee office, bank, post office, gate check-post and fire-fighting arrangements. It also provides for amenities, such as water wells or taps, water trough for animals, canteen, rest house for cartmen, cattle shed, roads, lights, arrangement for dissemination of market news, urinals, etc.

Grading of farm produce according to recognized standards goes a long way in bringing to the farmer a price commensurate with the quality of his produce. Legal basis for introducing grading and standardization in the Indian marketing system was provided as early as 1937, when the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act was enacted. This is an enabling Act, empowering the Government

of India to fix grade standards, prescribe designation marks and provide facilities to those who desire to undertake grading. Grading, under the Act, is voluntary. The idea is that the farmer should himself experience monetary gains from selling his produce in graded rather than unassorted form. Grading would then stay more firmly than with legal compulsion. The Directorate of Marketing and Inspection has since 1962 been assisting the farmers in the grading of practically all foodgrains. A grading service has been established in every State under which 350 units for grading of produce at the farmer's level have by now been set up; a Central Cell in the Directorate coordinates the activities of the State units. Grading at the trader's level is also being encouraged to provide the consumer with quality goods. These grades are popularly known as Agmark grades. Agmark specifications have been fixed for rice, wheat, *atta*, ghee, butter, edible oils, honey, fruits and eggs. For rice, they cover as many as 66 varieties. Incidentally, grading of some commodities entering our export trade has been made compulsory under the Sea Customs Act, 1962, with a view to establishing the reputation of Indian products in the international markets.

For successful prosecution of the grading service, trained graders and assessors are required. To meet this need, the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection is running one training centre at Nagpur since January 1962 and another at Madras since September 1964. Some 600 candidates have so far been trained at these centres.

Scientific storage of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities is as important as their proper marketing. An Expert Committee of the Planning Commission has recently estimated that the post-harvest loss of foodgrains in storage and handling amounts to 7.3 million tonnes or 9.3 percent of the average production in the triennum ending 1964-65. Of this, the loss at the threshing floor is put at 1.3 million tonnes or 1.6 percent, loss in transport and processing at 0.8 million tonnes or 1.1 percent, and loss due to bad storage at as much as 5.2 million tonnes or 6.6 percent of the production. To the extent that these losses can be reduced, the availability of foodgrains from out of domestic production would increase, and so would the sale proceeds. With proper storage, the quality of foodgrains and their nutritive content can be maintained. Besides, instead of unloading his produce immediately after the harvest and thereby creating a glut and depressing the prices for himself, the producer will be enabled to stagger his sales and thus improve his total earnings. It is, therefore, necessary that provision is made for suitable storage structures at the farm level and also for the stockists. The Indian Standards

Institution has laid down Standards for: (i) rural foodgrains storage, (ii) bulk storage of foodgrains, (iii) bagged storage of foodgrains, and (iv) aluminium bins for storage of small quantities of foodgrains. The aim is to provide standard layouts for structures which would protect the foodgrains from damage caused by insects, rodents, birds, moisture and seepage.

It is not enough to provide standard layouts for storage godowns. It is equally necessary to organize continuing research on the forms and methods of storage of foodgrains suited to different climatic conditions and the efficacy of different pesticides. Also, for ensuring that storage of foodgrains is undertaken along recommended lines, it is necessary to provide trained personnel. The Grain Storage Research and Training Institute set up by the Union Department of Food at Hapur in 1958 fulfils some of these needs. The Institute undertakes research in storage and imparts long-term and short-term training in modern techniques of handling, preservation, grading and inspection of foodgrains to persons from Government as well as private institutions. It also arranges demonstrations on methods of scientific storage in important foodgrain markets for the benefit of the farmers, dealers and others. The Directorate of Plant Protection, Quarantine and Storage under the Union Department of Agriculture also gives training in storage of foodgrains. The Central Warehousing Corporation too has been sharing in this task by organizing short-term courses in different parts of the country for training of warehousemen and other technical personnel belonging to the Central and State Warehousing Corporations and private institutions. The Corporation has so far imparted training to about 1,000 persons. .

One important deficiency in the foodgrains marketing system in India has, until recently, been the lack of organizations which would combine scientific storage with provision of credit to the farmer against the foodgrains stored. This lacuna is being made up through the agencies of the Central and State Warehousing Corporations. They have their warehouses set up in, or close to, the assembling markets where one can deposit his produce and get financial accommodation from the banks against the warehouse receipts. The underlying idea is to enable the farmer to spread the disposal of his produce over a longer period than he would do in the absence of this facility, and thus take advantage of higher prices later in the season. The Central Warehousing Corporation had 40 warehouses in 1960-61; the number doubled by 1965-66. The new warehouses being large-sized, the storage capacity with the Corporation increased by four times during the five-year period to 3 lakh tonnes. The utilization of the storage

capacity improved steadily from 64 per cent in 1960-61 to 87 per cent in 1965-66. In the initial stages, not much of the utilized capacity was occupied by the producers and cooperatives; practically one fourth of it is now being availed of by them, the rest being shared by Government and traders. The State Warehousing Corporations have also made good progress. The number of warehouses and sub-warehouses with them increased from 370 in 1961-62 to 570 in 1965-66, raising the storage capacity from roughly 4 lakh tonnes to 9 lakh tonnes. About two-thirds of this space is now being utilized, of which some 30 per cent by the producers and cooperatives.

One important measure taken to wean the grower away from having to bargain with someone who commands the money, commands the credit and commands the market is to encourage cooperative marketing and processing. The National Cooperative Development and Warehousing Board plans and promotes programmes for the production, processing, marketing, storage and warehousing of agricultural produce through cooperative societies with financial assistance from the Union Government. Official encouragement has been given to cooperatives in several ways, including the conferment on them of privileged status by deliberate State policy and State contribution to their share capital. There now exists a net-work of 3,200 primary marketing societies at the *mandi* (assembling market) level, 21 apex marketing societies at the State level and the National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation at the all-India level, besides 160 district or regional marketing societies spread over a few States. The value of agricultural produce marketed by the cooperatives in 1960-61 was estimated at Rs. 174 crores, of which only Rs. 24 crores were accounted for by foodgrains. In 1964-65, the amounts reached were Rs. 300 crores and Rs. 100 crores respectively. Of the latter, the share of the cooperatives in the States of Assam, Madras, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh where they served as agencies for Government procurement was around Rs. 17 crores each.

In the context of the sustained efforts that are being made to expand foodgrains output so as to attain self-sufficiency by 1970-71, it becomes necessary to ensure the farmer that for the additional investment that he would have to make and the risks that he would have to assume, he would not be left high and dry; that the market prices of foodgrains would not be allowed to fall below certain specified minimum levels; and that the Government would be ready and willing to buy any quantities that are offered at these minimum prices. Such an assurance now constitutes a cardinal feature of the country's agricultural price policy. The Union Government have set up an Agricultural

Prices Commission to advise them, on a continuing basis, on the price policy for agricultural commodities, especially foodgrains, and the levels of minimum support prices. The Union Government have been announcing these prices annually since 1964-65. Wherever necessary, they have also undertaken price support purchases. Assured of a certain minimum price, the cooperatives have been able to enlarge the scale of their operations in recent years.

The Union and State Governments are also undertaking procurement of foodgrains with a view to distributing them, along with the imported quantities, among the vulnerable sections. The systems of procurement vary from the intensive form of State monopoly to the relatively loose form of open market purchases. The procurement prices are fixed on the advice of the Agricultural Prices Commission. For the high-yielding varieties of wheat and paddy these prices include a premium over the prices for the corresponding indigenous varieties. The Food Corporation of India acts as the procurement agency on behalf of Government in many States now. It is, intended that the Corporation's sale and purchase operations should, in time, set the norms for the private trade.

It is obvious that the impact of the various measures of State support to marketing and storage of foodgrains in India would be proportional to the extent to which they are availed of. There is no doubt that regulated markets have exercised a wholesome influence on the system of agricultural marketing and have generally raised its efficiency, but 60 per cent of the wholesale markets in India are still unregulated and, therefore, a considerable leeway is yet to be made up there. Even where the markets have been regulated, the benefit accruing to the farmer has been a function of the extent to which the change has been real. In a number of these markets, malpractices still exist, since personnel and enforcement are two great problems, not always sufficiently attended to, training courses for Market Secretaries notwithstanding. Unwarranted market charges, unjustified trade allowances, adulteration, lack of grading, absence of open bid, manipulation of weighing scales, and delayed payment of sale proceeds are as much to be met within some regulated markets as in most unregulated ones. Many farmers still continue to sell their produce in the village or *hats* to bigger farmers or agents of millers and traders, at prices lower than the market prices. They derive little benefit from the grading or warehousing services or from the minimum support prices. Rural storage has yet to show itself up, though bagged and bulk storage facilities with the Union Department of Food and the Food Corporation of India have improved considerably. The

cooperatives are still to make a dent into the foodgrains trade. Most of the societies that undertake marketing operations do so as commission agents, affording no particular advantage to their members over the private traders. Even the limited progress they have made in a few States is due mainly to State patronage in entrusting procurement of foodgrains to them; outside these few States their contribution is negligible. To the extent Government procurement operations are accompanied by restrictions on movement of foodgrains from one place to another, they tend to stand in the way of integration of markets and result in price disparities. This tendency is, however, attempted to be countered by judicious public distribution and measures to discourage hoarding. Under the system of monopoly procurement, even the regulated markets cease to function for the foodgrain concerned and the entire farm disposal takes place at a uniform price in all places and throughout the year, so that the principle that marketing adds place utility and time utility to the commodity traded ceases to be operative. On the other hand, the system of pre-emptory procurement, under which the State has the first right of purchase of a portion of arrivals at the price settled by open bid among the traders in a regulated market, retains many of the ingredients of a good marketing system. Thus, the different systems of procurement and controls on movement and prices are pulling the marketing of foodgrains into different—even opposite—directions, with other measures of administrative support to improvement of marketing and storage thrown temporarily into the backyard. In the interest of transformation of Indian agriculture, it seems necessary to dovetail and harmonize the various policies and programmes affecting the return to the farmer from his produce.

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## ADMINISTRATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION

*Organization of Agricultural Services Branch  
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

IN a speech presented to the National Convocation on World Hunger held in New York in September this year, Dr. Sen, the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, stressed that capital investment of almost staggering proportions will be needed if the poor countries of the world are to raise their food production to meet the needs of growing populations in the "critical" next two decades.

Billions of dollars have been spent on foreign aid; millions of tons of food have been shipped free or on concessional terms to hungry nations; voluntary groups have made herculean efforts; some of the international organizations have made the attack on hunger and allied problems their principal concern. Yet there are more hungry mouths in the world today than ever before in history.

There is growing evidence of a conviction that bolder measures are necessary if our civilization is to survive. The huge amounts of capital investment would have to go hand in hand with efforts to create the institutional and organizational structures required if developing countries are to exploit their available natural resources and achieve the doubling or tripling of their agricultural production which is deemed essential to meet the needs in 1975 and 1985.

The Director General pointed out that most developing countries were unable to produce these "production requisites" at the necessary levels, nor were they able to afford the foreign exchange needed to buy them and, therefore, he proposed a Food Production Resources Program of £500 million per year, most of it to come through bilateral arrangements on a country-to-country basis, but £50 million per year to be channelled through the Food and Agriculture Organization.

However great the aid in food supplies from individual countries and from international organizations to the developing countries, this can only supplement and not replace the food production of the countries themselves. The purpose of this paper is to describe some of the administrative aspects of increasing food production in the developing countries, not only in quantity but in quality. The Food and Agriculture Organization assists the developing countries in many ways to organize and administer increased food production programs and has an Organization of Agricultural Services Branch specializing in this subject.

Until recent years, the developing countries concentrated agricultural research and development on crops for export, such as cotton, coffee, rubber and tea, in order to build up the national economy; food production was generally given scant attention. The advent of independence, the phenomenal increase in population and an increasing awareness of the needs and aspirations of the rural population have together led to greater attention being given to the increase in food crops and the improvement in nutrition level, particularly in proteins.

The factors limiting increased food production are sufficiently recognized in most developing countries and much of the technical knowledge necessary to remove these restraints is available. Research stations in developing countries can show crops yielding several times the average of the peasant farmers' crops just outside the station fence. The knowledge is available but is not being utilized by the farmers. What is chiefly lacking is the provision of teaching, farm services and institutions to put the knowledge into practice —what we may call the administrative aspects, as opposed to the technological aspects of food production.

The bulk of food in the developing countries is produced by millions of peasant farmers, who are, by and large, inefficient food producers in terms of size of production in relation to the time and work spent in producing it. Many are scarcely able to feed themselves and their families and have little and uncertain surplus to feed the town population and still less to export. At the opposite extreme, the average farm worker in the United States is able to feed 39 people at a high nutritional level. The big problem is to build up the effectiveness of the peasant farmers to allow them, firstly, to be able to provide for themselves and, secondly, to have surplus to provide for the non-farming population.

The economic position of the average peasant farmer in a developing country is usually precarious. He is subject to the vagaries of the weather, he is often the victim of pests and diseases of his crops and stock, he suffers from lack of capital and may be obliged to sell his crop at the time of lowest prices and to pay an exorbitant rent or share of his crop to the landowner and interest to the money-lender. He is frequently untaught in the techniques of modern agriculture and follows traditions which are sometimes detrimental to production. Anything that can be done to improve the institutions and services to the farmer and to teach him improved methods and give him the incentive to produce more, can improve food production, though often a carefully planned co-ordination of several factors is necessary.

So important is this aspect of incentives (and disincentives) to the farmers in developing countries, that a large section of the 1967 report of FAO, "The State of Food and Agriculture", is devoted to this subject. The conclusions of this section are so relevant to the subject of administration of food production that they are worth quoting in full.

"The farmer's incentive to produce and sell more is affected by a wide variety of things, in fact by the whole economic and social environment in which he lives and works. In attempting to highlight a few points that may be of assistance to governments in determining their agricultural policies, it is necessary first of all to draw attention to the need for measures to be taken on a wide front.

"Sometimes, action in one field may be largely cancelled out by action taken in another, as when the effect of an incentive price policy is blunted by taxation. More often, however, it is inaction that is the culprit, for incentive measures taken in one field can rarely be fully effective unless complemented by measures in one or more other fields. A price increase may result only in a windfall for merchants or landlords, with no effect on the producer's incentive, if steps are not taken to improve the marketing and land tenure systems. Subsidizing fertilizers is obviously of no use if their supply and distribution are inadequate, or if farmers do not know how to use them properly. Even if adequate supplies of fertilizer are available at a reasonable price, this will have little effect on production if farmers do not have easy access to credit, or if there is no system of guaranteed prices to assure them that the increased production resulting from fertilizer use will not simply lead to lower prices.

"This complementarity of measures in such spheres as price policy, marketing, land tenure, credit and the supply of farm requisites, and

the consequent need for action on a broad front, has obvious implications for the cost of an effective program for the provision of incentives to farmers. Fears about what it might cost, in terms both of finance and scarce administrative resources, have in fact been one of the chief reasons why many governments have hesitated to embark on such a program.

"The implications of the need for all-embracing programs should not, however, be exaggerated. Most countries have made some progress in at least some of the fields involved, and what is primarily required is the reinforcement of the weakest parts of their programs. Similarly, most programs can be introduced gradually. The coverage of marketing schemes, for example, can be increased as finance becomes available and administrative resources improve. Even land reforms have often been implemented in several stages, though so fundamental a change in a country's economic and social structure as a major land reform can hardly be expected to be carried out without considerable cost.

"There are a few data, unfortunately, to indicate the likely cost of the measures that are required to provide adequate incentives for farmers. There is in fact a serious lack of all types of information on this subject. At the heart of this discussion have been the prices actually paid and received by farmers, but very few reliable series of such prices are available. Similarly, all too few surveys have been conducted of the day-to-day needs and reactions of farmers at different stages of development. Information of this kind is essential if more effective policies are to be devised for the provision of incentives to farmers in developing countries and for the removal of disincentives, and if the cost of such policies is to be kept to a minimum.

"Such cost data as are available refer mainly to developed countries and give a misleading picture of the costs to be expected in developing countries. The cost figures of the guaranteed price scheme in Ceylon are far from typical, since the scheme involves a substantial transfer of resources to rice producers (in this case from elsewhere within the agricultural sector) such as is not feasible in most developing countries.

"The cost of establishing and operating a buffer stock is often thought to be very high in relation to the financial resources of a developing country. Here again, few cost data are available. It was suggested above that operating losses in price stabilization can be largely or completely avoided by preventing an excessive accumulation of stocks, limiting storage losses, and stabilizing prices at an

appropriate level, all of which mainly implies efficiency and integrity of management.

"The establishment, as opposed to the operation, of an adequate buffer stock is bound to be costly. Even if the initial stock of grain or other commodity can be obtained under concessional terms, considerable expenditure on storage is necessary. Expenditures designed to provide farmers with the incentive to increase their production and sales of badly needed commodities cannot, however, be considered solely as an item in the government's budget. They must be assessed in terms of their effect on the national economy as a whole. A major consideration of this kind is that most of the measures discussed (with the main exception of imported supplies of fertilizers and other farm requisites) involve little or no expenditure of foreign exchange, while they can themselves lead to substantial savings in the foreign exchange that now has to be devoted to food imports. Furthermore, expenditures on the provision of incentives to farmers may be the only way to impart the necessary momentum to the many economies that are stagnating at present because of the failure of the agricultural sector to contribute fully to their growth.

"Another fear on the part of governments has been that measures to provide incentives to farmers may cause undue increases in food prices, bringing hardship for the poorer consumers as well as inflationary rises in prices and wages in general. This is of course a basic consideration. However, food prices have generally risen anyway. It would seem better for the government to provide for an orderly rise in prices now, so as to give farmers sufficient incentives, rather than risk the development of severe shortages that would inevitably bring much steeper price increases.

"In addition, raising consumer prices is not the only way of increasing farmers' returns. Improvements in marketing and in land tenure can both increase the share of the consumer price that goes to the producer. Farm costs per unit of production can be reduced by improved production methods, including the use of fertilizers and other modern inputs. More stable prices, without any increase, at least remove a disincentive, even if they do not act as a positive incentive.

"Another objection that has often been raised to incentive programs is that producers in developing countries do not respond positively to price changes. However, the intensive investigation of this subject in recent years has revealed fairly clearly that, while there are subsistence farmers whose sales respond inversely to prices, and while such

farmers may even be quite numerous in some countries, they rarely contribute more than a small fraction of the total marketed surplus of food. This is relevant to the all important question of cost, for it should, therefore, be possible, at least in the initial stages, to concentrate incentive programs on the more progressive farmers who react directly to price incentives and who would generally be found within easy access of urban markets. Later, when the more backward groups will also be required to contribute substantially to the marketed surplus, they will anyway have spontaneously moved further into the market economy and will probably have begun to respond directly to price incentives.

"While the governments of developing countries were initially often reluctant to undertake incentive policies, their attitudes have been changing in recent years, and they have increasingly realized that production cannot be expanded sufficiently unless the self-interest of the millions of individual farmers can be engaged.

"A main influence has been the sudden change in the present and prospective supplies of food aid. It is often argued that food imports, whether commercial or not, reduce the incentive for domestic producers by keeping down prices. This is debatable, for the incentive that ought to be generated by the pressure of demand rarely seems to penetrate to the producer level in developing countries, which is the reason why comprehensive measures are necessary. What does seem certain, however, is that the ready availability of food imports on concessional terms, involving little or no expenditure of foreign exchange and providing counterpart funds for development purposes, has enabled the governments of developing countries to neglect the need to provide incentives for their own farmers. The recent running down of surplus grain stocks has helped to bring a new awareness of the need for such measures.

"Another recent change is in the services available to farmers. In many developing countries, for example, supplies of farm requisites are at last increasing rapidly, even though they are still far from adequate. This increase had brought a realization of the need for greatly expanded credit facilities, which are now regarded as the principal bottleneck in a number of countries. It also means that, as farmers use more purchased inputs, price relationships become increasingly important and the need for price guarantees more crucial.

"A number of developing countries are at present passing through a period of severe food shortage, when minimum guaranteed prices

set by the government are of little more than academic interest since actual market prices are so much higher. There is thus some danger that the importance of minimum prices may be overlooked. However, as fertilizer and seed of high-yielding varieties increasingly become available and are put into use by the farmer, the likelihood of a bumper harvest, or at least of local surplus pockets, becomes much greater. In these circumstances, the effective implementation of a support price policy becomes essential, if the confidence of farmers is to be gained and if they are to be rid of the fear that increased production will bring them smaller returns."

The rapid increase in the role and duties of the ministry responsible for agriculture in many countries has led to its structure and administrative procedures becoming outmoded and unsuited for the functions it must now perform. Whereas in the past the ministry may have been largely concerned with export crops and with regulatory functions, it has now become more concerned with development and may have wide responsibilities for increasing farm production, improving the standard of living of the farmers, land development, settlements and so on. It becomes a matter of decision whether such functions should be the responsibility of an expanded and re-organized ministry, divided among several ministries, or partly undertaken by autonomous or semi-autonomous bodies, such as regional development authorities on an area basis, or as development authorities for one or more crops. There are arguments in favour of each method, though there is little in favour of fragmentation of responsibility for agricultural development among several ministries.

FAO studies in many countries indicate that best results are obtained when there is one central authority responsible for food production—whether in one ministry or in a council of the ministers concerned. If *ad hoc* development boards are set up either on a regional or crop basis, it is advantageous to have sufficient control by the Minister of Agriculture or Council of Ministers to ensure the Board's compliance with government policy and national development plans. Several countries have been given assistance from FAO in reorganizing the structure of the Ministry of Agriculture, or parts of it, to make the best use of limited trained manpower, avoid overlapping of functions, improve the machinery of co-ordination within a ministry or department to make the organization and administration of agriculture more in tune with modern development needs. Such countries as Brazil, Guatemala, Chile, Libya, Sudan and Kenya have taken advantage of this service provided by FAO.

Administrative problems of food production play an important part in many projects, financed by the UNDP Special Fund and administered by FAO or organized by the World Food Program, Freedom From Hunger Campaign and other agencies to assist developing countries to overcome food shortages by increasing crops, stock and fish, by improving nutrition standards of humans and their animals, and by reducing crops and stock losses from pests and diseases. A very large proportion of the FAO projects at present in operation have as one of their main aims, the increase of food production.

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## THE ADMINISTRATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN DEVELOPED NATIONS: THE UNITED STATES—A CASE STUDY

*Nathan M. Koffsky*

THE objectives of agricultural policy in the developed nations are to raise agricultural incomes to comparability with incomes in other sectors of the economy, and to increase the contribution of agriculture to national economic growth.

Agriculture contributes to economic growth primarily by providing abundant food at prices which permit real incomes and the level of living of the total population to rise and by releasing resources, particularly manpower, for industrial expansion.

There is, of course, an inconsistency as between these objectives or goals at least in the short-run. If, for example, programs successfully raised agricultural incomes to the levels prevailing in other sectors, the flow of resources including agricultural manpower, to other sectors would be impeded, food prices would cut too heavily into urban purchasing power or the transfer of income to agriculture from public funds would subtract from other more productive investment.

The task of agricultural policies and programs, therefore, is to find the middle ground which enables progress toward the dual objectives of rising agricultural incomes and a satisfactory rate of economic growth.

The experience of the U.S. will serve as a case study. The objectives are generally shared by most developed nations and many of the instruments, such as price supports and direct income supplements, are widely used.

### EVOLUTION OF U.S. PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURAL INCOMES

#### *The Formative Years*

Before World War II the main emphasis of farm programs in the U.S. was to put a floor under agricultural prices. The great economic depression of the early 1930's had witnessed a collapse of prices of

farm products and a sharp drop in farm income to less than a third of the level of the late 1920's. A system of price supports for major crops was established at levels which appear low by recent standards, but at that time were above prevailing market prices. The Federal Government stood ready to take over from cultivators all of the major crops offered to it at the price support levels. Thus, prices rose to the price support levels. At the same time, because supplies were in excess of demand, reflecting a slack economic situation, mandatory acreage restrictions were imposed on cultivators for supported commodities, primarily the grains, cotton, tobacco and peanuts.

#### *World War and Post-war Period*

With the coming of World War II, demands, both domestic and foreign, strengthened and it was evident that a large increase in agricultural output would be required. Price support levels were increased by 50 per cent relative to the prices farmers had to pay for commodities they purchased, and acreage restrictions were lifted. The increase in price incentives brought a rapid acceleration in output. Total farm production rose 22 per cent in 5 years and grain output rose 33 per cent. A sustained period of high production, strong demand and high prices continued into the early 1950's. Prices were generally above support levels, but the existence of price supports gave cultivators confidence that their increasing production could be marketed at favourable prices.

Developments during this war and immediate post-war period were of great importance in shaping U.S. agriculture in its present form. Farm incomes rose rapidly providing the financial base for adoption of new technology. For example, the consumption of nitrogen rose three-fold in the 10-year period between 1945 and 1955; the number of tractors on farms doubled; and other farm machinery, such as grain combines and corn pickers, increased even more rapidly. The scarcity of farm labour brought about by expanding employment opportunities in industry was an additional factor in promoting heavy investments by cultivators which increased their capacity to produce.

In the 20-year period 1945-65, crop production per acre rose  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times faster than during the preceding 20 years. Crop yields of some commodities rose even faster. Yields of corn per acre increased from 27.6 bushels in 1925 to 32.6 in 1945 and to 73.1 bushels in 1965. Yields of cotton per acre rose from 173 pounds in 1925 to 254 pounds in 1945 and 526 in 1965.

*The Imbalance of the 1950's*

With productivity in U.S. agriculture rising very rapidly in the 1950's, it became clear that farm programmes needed to be reshaped. The extraordinary demands from abroad subsided with the reconstruction of European agriculture. Further, the increase in domestic demand for food slowed as rising consumer incomes were channelled largely to other goods and services. Even with enlarged shipments of commodities under the Food for Peace programme government stocks of grains, cotton and other commodities rose to record heights by the end of the decade and the costs of accommodating and maintaining such large stocks were an increasing burden on the public treasury. Further the pressure of stocks held prices down to support levels, and with increasing production costs farm income was reduced.

*The Program of the 1960's*

The present farm program, inaugurated in the early 1960's, was designed as a more sensitive instrument to tailor supplies of farm products more effectively to demand and to improve agricultural income. Just as incentives were used to increase production during the war years, incentives were used to reduce production of grains and cotton on a voluntary basis below disappearance so as to reduce heavy stocks to desirable levels. Price supports were lowered toward levels prevailing in world markets so as to make exports easier and expand demand from that source. For those farmers participating in commodity acreage restriction programs, direct income payments more than made up the loss of income resulting from the lower price support levels and reduced acreage. Enough farmers representing a substantial block of the total production of these commodities, did participate voluntarily so as to bring down the heavy stocks to desirable levels in the last few years. In fact, in 1966, it was considered that carryover stocks of grains should be increased to provide a more adequate reserve for contingencies of weather and fluctuations in demand. Consequently, the incentives for participating in the wheat and feedgrain programs were slightly reduced, acreage expanded in 1967 and production increased over the level of disappearance so as to raise the level of carryover stocks at the end of the 1967-68 season. For 1968 crops, acreages are again being reduced so as to maintain the proper balance for the grains.

For some commodities, the level of price supports without accompanying output restrictions is used as the instrument to expand or contract production. For example, higher price supports have been used in the past year to stimulate milk production and soyabean output.

## ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE U.S. PRICE SUPPORT SYSTEM

To operate successfully a price support program which has specific targets of agricultural income and commodity supplies requires a considerable degree of precision. The first essential is an independent data reporting system which provides up-to-date accurate intelligence on commodity stocks, acreages, yields, production, utilization (including exports), and prices. In addition, it is necessary to know from economic research, the production response of cultivators to price and other factors, the effect of supplies on prices, and of prices on consumption, exports and commodity inventories. Of particular importance in making program decisions is the estimated cost of alternative programs to the Federal Treasury. One must know how to get the desired changes from the present to the targets of next year and beyond.

A second essential to operate the system efficiently and equitably is that it takes place in a national market for the commodity which makes the benefits available to all under the same price conditions, allowing for differences in transportation costs. Thus, the cultivator remote from central markets can put his commodity under price support with the same convenience and under about the same conditions as those close to large market centres.

Third, the operating unit—in the U.S. the Commodity Credit Corporation—must be in a position to provide loans to cultivators covering all of the commodity offered to it by the cultivator and to provide storage space. Usually, at peak harvest times, the Commodity Credit Corporation accumulates under such loans to farmers more of the commodity than is needed to strike a balance between production and consumption for the entire season. Later in the season when prices have risen, the farmer either redeems the commodity under loan to the Corporation and feeds supplies back into the market or turns the commodity over to ownership by the Corporation. This has two effects: (i) it reserves for the cultivator any gains in prices that may occur as the season progresses; and (ii) it levels out appreciably the large seasonal market fluctuations to which agricultural commodities are subject. The Corporation does not take possession of the commodity under loan during the crop year except as the farmer finds it in his interest to discharge his obligation in that way. The Corporation has the authority to sell commodities it owns at prices slightly above the price support levels.

Fourth, a widespread information service through the State Extension Services, the local representatives of the Federal Department, the

farm press, radio and television informs farmers about the program and the changes in the program from the previous year.

Finally, and perhaps most important, the price support level (including the income supplements) and the terms of the programme for each commodity for the coming season is announced prior to planting time for the commodity. This makes it possible for the cultivator to adjust his acreage plans and for the program to have the desired result from the national viewpoint.

#### *Agricultural Income Policy*

Developed nations protect their agriculture with price supports, income supplements and trade restrictions. As noted previously, the problem is to find the appropriate balance for protecting and improving agricultural income while at the same time encouraging a rapid rate of economic growth.

The problem of appropriate income policy is made difficult for several reasons. First, in a developed economy aggregate agricultural income rises much more slowly than non-agricultural income. Income elasticity for food is low because most families have the diet they wish to have. This is particularly so in the United States. Increases in consumer incomes, therefore, tend to be spent on other things than food. Demand for food rises about in line with population growth, in the case of the U.S. less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent a year. With per capita incomes in the non-agricultural sector rising at the rate of 3 per cent or more a year under conditions of a high employment economy, average incomes in agriculture cannot keep pace or begin to close the income gap unless there is a continuing outmovement of workers from agriculture, or government subsidies are increased, or both. While government income transfers to agriculture have increased over the years, they have not been—or are they likely to be in the future—large enough to increase per capita incomes in agriculture as fast as in the rest of the economy without substantial reductions in the agricultural working force.

Second, agriculture in the U.S. is marked by extreme variations in size and productivity. A substantial group of farmers receive satisfactory returns, quite comparable with returns in other sectors. But a larger number have relatively low farm incomes resulting in an average for all of agriculture below that considered as a socially acceptable level. In the U.S. per capita incomes in agriculture average about 60 per cent of the non-farm average. In the 1950's the ratio was about 50

per cent and before World War II about 40 per cent. Much of the gain in the relative income position of agriculture has come from a restructuring of farms into larger more efficient units on the one hand and a rapid decline in the number of small units with insufficient resources to obtain a satisfactory income. Even very high prices for their produce would not help the latter much since they have little to sell. A substantial bloc of operators of small farms no longer depend on income from the farm for their livelihood but increasingly are turning to non-farm activities.

In recent years, agriculture in the U.S. has fallen into three groups.

Group I consists of about 1,000,000 farms of larger size and efficient organization which account for over 80 per cent of all farm products which are marketed. Many of this group receive returns for their capital and labor comparable with returns in other industries. This group is increasing in number and in the proportion of total agricultural production which they represent. Output per manhour in this group is high and is rising even more rapidly than in industry.

Group II includes about 800,000 farms which account for less than 15 per cent of total farm product sales. Their productivity and incomes, which are largely derived from agriculture, are substantially below Group I. The number of farms in this category and their contribution to farm output is declining quite rapidly and in fact in 10-15 years will largely disappear. To a large degree, this is a transition group either moving up to Group I or out of commercial agriculture.

Group III which is also declining in number, presently including about 1,700,000 farms but accounting for only about 5 per cent of total farm production. Increasingly, farm families in this category are turning to non-farm work for their major source of income. To a large extent, these are residential farms providing a way of rural life but not dependent on agricultural income.

Thus, agriculture in the U.S. is becoming polarized into two groups, a highly efficient commercial agriculture on the one hand and on the other, a residential group oriented toward non-farm economic activities. It is clear that agricultural policy leading toward an income objective based on the average for all U.S. agriculture would be representative of neither group. Since, agricultural price policy is largely oriented toward attaining appropriate commodity balances, it is largely directed toward the income needs of those in the top group and for those in Group II who have the potential for moving up. These

groups have practically all of the production. For the remainder, general economic policies to maintain high employment and specific programs to widen opportunities for rural people engaged in non-farm activities by better education and training are the appropriate instruments to improve incomes and standards of living.

Perhaps one measure of whether agricultural policy is more or less balanced toward the dual objectives of agricultural income maintenance and a high rate of national economic growth is the rate at which non-farm employment opportunities become available. The fact that the level of unemployment in the U.S. has remained fairly low in most of the 1960's is one indication that on the whole agriculture in the U.S. is not seriously out of line with its objectives.

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## SUPPLYING AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY AND IMPROVED IMPLEMENTS FOR AGRICULTURE

D. N. Kherdekar

Since Independence, a number of factors have cropped up which make it necessary for the farmers to use improved agricultural implements and machinery. One of the main factors is the utter necessity of increasing agricultural production. A number of programmes for this purpose have been taken up, such as the Intensive Agricultural District Programme, popularly known as the Package Programme, the High Yielding Varieties Programme and the Hybrid Programme. Some of the programmes have given good results and farmers are willing to expand the cultivation of these varieties. With the growth of industries, labour is becoming scarce in the rural areas. The wages have also increased. Even the farm labourers want to keep up to certain timings during their daily work. All this has compelled the farmers to look for the improved agricultural implements and machines to help them. Such machines not only increase the yield by properly carrying out agricultural operations at correct time but also help the farmers in reducing the labour and thereby the labour charges.

In the present article we will consider this subject more from the point of view of administration. Here, we will see what an administrator should know so that he has the necessary basic knowledge.

### SPECIAL FEATURES OF AGRICULTURE IMPLEMENTS

Before an administrator is told as to what he should look to when supplying improved agricultural implements and machines, it is necessary that he clearly understands certain *special features* which distinguish industrial machines from agricultural machines. That may be enumerated as follows:

- (a) For industrial machines or for domestic machines, such as ceiling fans, sewing machines, radios, lathes, and the like, whether they are used in the home or in the factory there is a fair amount of continuous work which is obtained from them. In the case of agricultural implements and machines, however, in most cases, there is a *short duration* work. For instance, a thrashing machine or a winnowing machine could be used by the farmers only for a period of about 15 days in a year, for the rest of the period the machine lies idle. Taking this fact into consideration such machines are to be designed which are useful for short duration and which could be stored in small space.
- (b) The demand of agricultural machinery again is of a *seasonal nature*. Prior to ploughing season there would be a big demand for

improved types of ploughs. After the ploughing season is over there would hardly be any demand. Whereas for industrial goods, such as bicycles, there is a fairly even demand throughout the whole year.

- (c) In some of the improved agricultural implements and machines like the manually operated and bullock driven, the *degree of precision* in manufacturing is very much less than that of the degree of the precision required in industrial machines, such as crawler tractors, air conditioners, motor cars, etc. If a manufacturer tries to be precision-minded in manufacturing agricultural implements he would increase his cost of production and would not be able to compete in open market. This, however, does not mean that there is no precision required for manufacturing agricultural implements. This only means that the degree of precision is much less.
- (d) Since most of the farmers are still illiterate and the farm labourers are also in the same category, it is necessary that new and improved agricultural implements should be of *simple design* so that they can be handled and repaired by such people.
- (e) The majority of farmers using manually operated and bullock-driven implements would require machines that *cost less*. They can not afford to purchase most modern tractors costing say 20,000 to 25,000 rupees. Big farmers, government estates and farms worked on Cooperative basis could use such tractor-drawn machines. For the 80 per cent farmers in India, however, simple machines that cost less would have to be used for at least two or three decades more.
- (f) It must be ensured that the implements which we are trying to introduce are *significantly more efficient than the ones* which farmers already possess.
- (g) Many other facilities which the farmers require, such as storage, repair and maintenance facilities, availability of spare parts, would have to be taken into consideration when new implements are to be supplied to the farmers.

#### SUBSIDY AND CREDIT

During the Third Five Year Plan the improved agricultural implements were purchased by the Block agency and they were distributed among the farmers on subsidy basis. During the Fourth Five Year Plan it was thought that the funds could be better utilized if they are used for actual field demonstrations instead of giving subsidy and as such the subsidy has been minimized. Only in exceptional cases, such as in the case of Union Territories, subsidy is agreed to after examining each case separately. With the withdrawal of the subsidy naturally there will be reduction in the sale of improved agricultural implements. In some cases this reduction will be considerable. It will, however, be offset by the sale of implements through

the Agro-Industries Corporations and the Agricultural Finance Corporation. These corporations would give loans at reasonable rates to the farmers for purchase of costly implements and thus the demand for implements is likely to go up during the Fourth Five Year Plan. Non-availability of credit is one of the most important bottlenecks in the spread of improved agricultural implements and machines. The total amount of loan given by the State Governments through their Taccavi Loans Schemes or through the Cooperative Societies has not been effective because the amounts set aside for this purpose were small.

The prices of some of the machines have risen during the last five to six years. For instance, the price of a tractor that was costing Rs. 15,000 in 1960-61 is now Rs. 22,000. The loan for the purchase of tractor should be nearly Rs. 22,000 to 30,000 so that the farmers can purchase not only the tractors but also matching implements with it. Without the purchase of the matching implements, such as ploughs, harrows, trailors etc., it is not possible to use the tractor for a maximum period. The loan amount, therefore, should be adequate for the purchase of the machines concerned. Similarly, the percentage of interest also should be reasonable from farmer's point of view. At present, the cooperatives give loans at 7 to 9 per cent interest. It is necessary to reduce this interest to the minimum. Another important point is the instalments in which the loan is to be repaid by the farmers. It is advisable that the loan for the purchase of power equipment should be repaid in 7 to 8 instalments, each instalment covering a period of one year. For the bullock driven implements, the instalments may be 4 to 5 as the price of bullock driven implements is less.

#### INSPECTION AND QUALITY MARKING OF THE IMPLEMENTS

In the scheme of distribution of agricultural machines and implements to the farmers, it is essential that the implements purchased from the manufacturers should be inspected and quality marked. In some cases, the quality of the implements purchased by the farmers was not up to the mark and, therefore, agricultural operations were also affected. The Government of Punjab have taken a lead in this respect and have formulated a scheme for quality marking and inspection of agricultural implements. Thus, the Punjab farmers have been assured of good quality implements. With the assistance of the Indian Standards Institution concerted efforts are being made for standardizing agricultural implements and their parts. About 34 Standards have been published by the ISI so far. Government of India are persuading the manufacturers to adopt these Standards and also take up the *ISI Certification Mark*. When certain important parts of agricultural implements are standardized<sup>1</sup>, then it will be possible for them to be used on inter-changeable basis.

<sup>1</sup> The following implements have been standardized by ISI:

|                                                            | Price |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| (1) IS: 619-1961 Pruning Knives, Hooked & Curved (revised) | 2·50  |
| (2) IS: 621-1957 Forks for Plantations and Estates         | 2·00  |
| (3) IS: 1511-1959 Chaff Cutter Blades                      | 1·50  |
| (4) IS: 1973-1961 Sugarcane Crusher, Bullock Driven Type   | 2·00  |
| (5) IS: 1976-1961 Paddy Weeder Rotary Type                 | 2·00  |
| (6) IS: 2192-1962 Mouldboard Plough, Turnwrest Type        | 2·50  |
| (7) IS: 2226-1962 Mouldboard Plough, Fixed Type            | 2·50  |
| (8) IS: 2230-1962 Transplanting Spade & Seprang            | 2·00  |
| (9) IS: 2559-1963 Garden Rake (With amendment No. 1)       | 2·00  |

### THE IMPORTANCE OF TIMELY SUPPLY AND REPAIRS

Agriculture being a seasonal profession, it is very important that implements and machines should be supplied at the farmer's door at least 15 to 20 days before the actual season starts and preferably even earlier than that. The farmers will have to be trained in the use of these machines and hence they should reach the farmer's door about a month before the training programme is undertaken. The supplies will have to ensure that the machines are sent to the farmers before the agricultural operations start. The problem of repair and maintenance of improved implements is one of the most important. The indigenous agricultural implements, such as ploughs, bladed harrows, bullock carts, etc., have been repaired by the village artisans on yearly payment basis in kind. This system is now slowly changing because new machines and implements are gaining ground in the villages and cash payment for repairs and maintenance has to be made by the farmers. There is lack of trained mechanics and artisans for repairing such machines. In order to overcome this difficulty the Directorate of Extension in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture has established over 40 Workshop Wings attached to the Extension Training Centres for the training of village artisans for repairing and maintaining agricultural machinery. The village artisans, when trained, go back to the villages and help the farmers in getting their implements in good shape and in repairing them.

### MANUFACTURE OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

On the manufacturing side the majority of the indigenous implements are manufactured by village artisans. These implements are mostly made up of wood with soil working parts made of steel. Steel in such cases is used for soil working parts, such as shears, blades and tynes. Wood is usually

|                                                                                 | Price |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| (10) IS: 2563-1963 Hedge Shears, Straight Edge Type                             | 2·00  |
| (11) IS: 2564-1963 Blade Harrow, Guntaka Type                                   | 2·00  |
| (12) IS: 2565-1963 Ridger, Animal Drawn                                         | 2·50  |
| (13) IS: 3092-1965 Rubber Draining and Tapping Knife                            | 1·50  |
| (14) IS: 3093-1965 Dah, Jungle Cutting                                          | 1·50  |
| (15) IS: 3094-1965 Bill Hook                                                    | 2·00  |
| (16) IS: 3108-1965 Pruning Saw, Straight & Curved                               | 1·50  |
| (17) IS: 3122-1965 Budding & Grafting Knife, Combined                           | 1·50  |
| (18) IS: 3159-1965 Thresher Cload Type                                          | 2·50  |
| (19) IS: 3185-1965 'V' Blade Hand Hoe                                           | 2·00  |
| (20) IS: 3292-1965 Three Tined Hand Hoe, Fixed Type                             | 1·50  |
| (21) IS: 3293-1965 Levelling Karaha (keni), Animal Drawn                        | 2·00  |
| (22) IS: 3301-1965 Green Manure Trampler, Animal Drawn                          | 2·50  |
| (23) IS: 3310-1965 Single Row Cotton Seed Drill, Animal Drawn                   | 2·00  |
| (24) IS: 3327-1965 Paddy Thresher, Pedal Operated                               | 2·00  |
| (25) IS: 3342-1965 Triphali (Three-Tined Cultivator) Animal Drawn               | 2·00  |
| (26) IS: 3350-1965 Three Tined Cultivator with Seeding Attachment, Animal Drawn | 2·00  |
| (27) IS: 3360-1965 Soil Scoop                                                   | 1·50  |
| (28) IS: 3363-1965 Harrow Patela                                                | 2·00  |
| (29) IS: 3369-1965 Puddler, Animal Drawn                                        | 2·00  |
| (30) IS: 3372-1965 Bund Former                                                  | 2·00  |
| (31) IS: 3467-1966 Wheel Hand Hoe                                               | 2·00  |
| (32) IS: 3494-1966 Pruning Secateur                                             | 2·00  |
| (33) IS: 3606-1966 Disc Harrow, Animal Drawn                                    | 2·00  |
| (34) IS: 3939-1967 Hand Maize Sheller                                           | 2·00  |

supplied by the farmers who get it from the trees in their field. The payment to the artisans is made in kind at the time of harvest. With the spread of improved agricultural implements mostly made up of steel the manufacturing has shifted to fabricators at block or taluk level and big manufacturers at town and city level. At present, there are approximately 120 organized industries which are manufacturing agricultural implements. A list of these has been published by the Directorate of Extension under the title "Agricultural Implements: Where to Buy Them From". Amongst these organized industries, there are half a dozen public sector factories established by the State Governments. They are:

- (1) Government Agricultural Workshop, Lucknow (U.P.),
- (2) Government Agricultural Workshop, Jaipur (Rajasthan),
- (3) Nahan Foundry, Nahan, (Himachal Pradesh),
- (4) Government Industrial Workshop, Tiruchirpalli, (Madras),
- (5) Government Central Workshop, Nagpur (Maharashtra), and
- (6) Government Workshop, Nilokheri (Haryana), and

The manufacturing capacity of these workshops is pretty big. For instance, the Government Agricultural Workshop, Lucknow, manufactures implements worth Rs. 12 to 20 lakhs per annum. Some other State Governments are also shortly going to establish workshops for this purpose. The cooperative sector has also come forward in manufacturing agricultural implements in a small way. The cooperative workshops at Pravara Nagar (Maharashtra), Mandya (Mysore) and Etawah (U.P.) are good examples of the workshops established in the cooperative sector.

The machines, such as plant protection equipment, tractors and oil engines are manufactured in private sector in fairly big sized factories.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The following is the representative list of agricultural implements and machines that are being manufactured in India:

#### *Seed Bed Preparation Ploughs:*

Sr. Gane plough; Maston plough; Shabash plough; U.P. No. 1 plough; Melur plough; Monsoon plough; Kirloskar No. 9, 8, 100 ploughs; Punjab plough; Disc plough; Improved Desi plough; Double Mould Board plough; Dhangu plough; Jr. Care plough; Wah Wah plough; Praja plough; D. O. No. 2 plough; Watt plough; Victory plough; Bakhar or Guntaka; Turnwrest plough; Ridger; Plough and Plough Points (share).

#### *Harrows:*

Disc Harrow; Spring Tooth Harrow; Triangular perf Harrow; Spike Tooth Harrow; ACME Harrow; and Singh patola.

- (1) Green-manure Trempler, Puddlers and Burmese Satoon
- (2) Seed-cum-Fertilizer Drills, Maize Planters, Paddy Planters and Sugarcane Planters
- (3) Tyned Cultivators, Triphalies and Akola-hoe
- (4) Hand-hoes, Hillers and Earthing Machines
- (5) Sprayers, dusters, Flame Throwers, Seed Dressing Drums
- (6) Reapers, Olpoor Thresher, Maize Sheller, Wheat Thresher, Winowers and Winnowing Fans
- (7) Paddy Shelling Machines and Polishers, Sugarcane Crushers, Groundnut-Decorticators
- (8) Bund Formers, Levelling Karha and Soil Scoop
- (9) Wheel Barrows, Bullock-carts, Pneumatic Tyre Carts
- (10) Water lifts, Centrifugal Pumps and Persian Wheel
- (11) Horticultural tools, such as Secateurs, Shears, Pruning and Budding Knife.

For some of the implements that are manufactured in India there is a good demand overseas in East Africa and South East Asia where Indian manufactured oil engines, pumps, ploughs and plough parts, and plant protection equipment have found a good sale. Since earning of foreign exchange is very vital for our economy it is necessary to encourage export of such agricultural machines.

There has been a steady increase in the use of Agricultural implements during the last 20 years. The following tabulated statement shows this clearly. The figures for 1945, 1951, 1956 and 1961 have been taken from the census. The figures for 1966 are estimated ones.

| S.<br>No. | Implement or Machine                  | Based on livestock Centres |         |         |         | Esti-<br>mated 1966 |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------------------|
|           |                                       | 1945                       | 1951    | 1956    | 1961    |                     |
| 1.        | Wooden Desi Ploughs (in thousands) .. | 27,306                     | 31,796  | 36,615  | 38,324  | 40,000              |
| 2.        | Iron Ploughs (in thousands)           | 481                        | 931     | 1,367   | 2,299   | 5,000               |
| 3.        | Persian Wheels ..                     | N.A.                       | N.A.    | N.A.    | 600,106 | 630,000             |
| 4.        | Electric Pumps ..                     | 8,661                      | 26,174  | 46,930  | 160,154 | 550,000             |
| 5.        | Oil Engines ..                        | 12,062                     | 82,477  | 122,230 | 299,944 | 400,000             |
| 6.        | Tractors ..                           | 4,524                      | 8,535   | 20,980  | 31,005  | 50,000              |
| 7.        | Bullock carts (in thousands)          | 8,483                      | 9,862   | 10,991  | 12,071  | 18,000              |
| 8.        | <i>Sugarcane Crushers</i>             |                            |         |         |         |                     |
|           | (a) Power operated                    | 8,950                      | 21,310  | 23,291  | 33,210  | 50,000              |
|           | (b) Bullock operated ..               | 480,571                    | 540,720 | 540,478 | 589,378 | 620,000             |
| 9.        | <i>Oil Extruding Ghansis</i>          |                            |         |         |         |                     |
|           | (a) 5 seers or more ..                | N.A.                       | 242,660 | 96,338  | 77,692  | 60,000              |
|           | (b) Less than 5 seers ..              | N.A.                       | 204,050 | 219,166 | 172,032 | 150,000             |

In 1956 the percentage of iron plough to wooden ploughs was 3.8. This percentage increased to 6.4 by 1961.

With the steps that are being taken by the Government for provision of credit facilities to the farmers for purchase of agricultural machinery and the programmes for popularising these machines the use of improved agricultural implements is bound to increase in further years.

For the success of any programme, however, cooperation of various agencies is required. For the supply of improved agricultural implements and machines both administrative as well as technical personnel will have to cooperate. A judicious combination of the technical talent and the knowledge of the Agricultural Engineers and the administrative capacity and experience of the Administrator would have to be made to make this vital programme a success.

## INDIAN FAMINES IN RETROSPECT—A CHALLENGE TO ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

J. G. Kunte

Even a cursory look at the table of the worst famines of history in the world discloses the particular vulnerability of our country to crop failures on account of drought, deepening into famine on many occasions. This has been due to our tropical situation and dependence on the rains to a great extent. Moreover, the distribution of rainfall every year has been so uneven and so uncertain that there always remain some scarcity pockets somewhere in the country. The proverbial dependence on agriculture of a large majority of the people further means that in such situations, besides lack of food, there is lack of employment and consequent lack of purchasing power to buy the foodgrains at the enhanced price level. Besides, the natural causes of scarcity of rainfall or at times crop failure even due to excess rainfall also, ravages of insects, etc., there are artificial factors as well like war and economic errors in the production, transport and sale of food stuffs, etc., which can be responsible for famine. In tropical country like ours drought has been the commonest cause of a failure of harvest. In any eventuality the administrative apparatus and personnel do assume a crucial role in the combat of famine. The human distress and sufferings during famines have always posed a serious challenge to the administration, more so to the present development and welfare oriented administration.

The Indian famines particularly in the 2nd half of the 19th century had a great significance for some of the economic policies adopted and the building up of a well-codified system of famine administration based on the findings of the Famine Commissions. There was a quick succession of famines during this period, namely, the famine in North West India in 1861, the famine in Bengal and Orissa 1866, the intense famine in Rajputana of 1869, the Bihar famine of 1874, the famine of 1876 to 1878 in Bombay, Madras and Mysore and, again, the famines in 1897, and 1899 to 1901. The modern methods of famine relief were first put into practice on a large scale in the Bengal-Bihar famine of 1873-74. The terrible loss of men and cattle in Rajputana and Orissa famines had resulted in relief-oriented famine administration. The expenditure on famine relief was generous with the result that there was no death from starvation in the famine of 1873-74.<sup>1</sup>

The rainfall in the tracks affected by famines had been short and irregular for several years before the actual drought occurred, resulting in depletion of the foodgrain reserves besides entire unpreparedness on the eve of

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Indian Famine Commission, (1880), Part II "History of Past Famines". *The Industrial Evolution of India* by D. R. Gadgil, Chapter II "The Agriculturist 1860-1880". Also see *The Economic Development of India* by Dr. Vera Anstey.

famines. The miseries of the people were further aggravated by the fact that the usual feature of famines in India has been complete lack of fodder. Until there was a net-work of railways, transport by bullock-cart during famines posed insuperable difficulties since the bullocks die of starvation. It has been mentioned that "Cases have been known, when famine has occurred in areas remote from the railway, of great stores of rice rotting in the station yards for want of bullocks to remove them; when bullocks are available, they had to be fed from the loads they carry simply because there is no fodder to be got and not a blade of grass to be seen".<sup>2</sup> The loss of cattle life had a further significance for the Indian peasant whose substantial proportion of capital is usually invested in his cattle.

The consequences of the famines of this period were economically very significant for India. The measures by which the Government endeavoured to reduce the liability of the country to famines were the promotion of railways, the extension of canal and well irrigation, the reclamation of waste lands, establishment of fuel and fodder reserves, the improvement of agriculture and, where necessary, improvement of the revenue and rent system. The railways and canals particularly added to the resources of the country and strengthened the power of resistance to famine. A definite administrative policy was formulated during this period, e.g., famine codes were compiled in the different provinces, famine programmes of works to be executed in times of scarcity kept in readiness for execution and financial provision for famine made in advance in different provinces. The protection against famine was one of the main reasons for railway extension in the country which considerably helped to mitigate the effects of famine. It was the finding of the Famine Commissioners of 1880 that the greatest mortality due to famine was found in the tracks where the transport facilities were worst. The railway extension helped in levelling of foodgrain prices throughout the country. While the construction of railways was one plank of fighting famines, irrigation was an older established method to reduce vulnerability to scarcity. The old anicuts were already there and this particular period witnessed the construction of a number of irrigation works in different parts of the country. Amongst these the development of the Punjab canal colonies is of particular significance from the point of view of the imaginative vision and the administrative leadership displayed.

Whatever might have been the story of the Bengal famine, some of the famines in the late 19th century, in spite of alien rule, do contain thrilling accounts of administrative leadership and even of sacrifice of life by the officers concerned with famine administration. In the administrative history of this period codification was extensively being applied to various branches of administration in the form of manuals and rules. The duties and responsibilities of officers of different categories were laid down in the famine codes. It is, however, the dynamic, intelligent and devoted administrative leadership which has to infuse zest and life in the administrative action based on the guidelines mentioned in the code. Elaborate codification has the advantage of simplifying works by prescribing and indicating the line of action or procedure to be followed by an officer in certain circumstances. Care, however, has to be taken to ensure that the administrator does not

<sup>2</sup> *The Indian Civil Service 1601 to 1930* by L.S.S.O'Malley.

become merely a fossilised interpreter, line by line, and precept by precept of rules and regulations. The rules and procedures will provide the guidelines for ensuring propriety but certainly cannot provide ready-made answers to all probable and possible eventualities and contingencies. In the words of O'Malley "the art of administration cannot be codified and work in India now, as always, calls for qualities of leadership and resource. At no time are these qualities more essential than during a famine. It has been well said that a famine campaign can no more be conducted by famine codes than a battle can be fought on the instruction in a military manual. One of the finest, if not the finest, of the administrative achievements of this period is the way in which famines have been prevented or mitigated, a triumph all the greater because it followed a lamentable failure—the Orissa famine of 1866". Of this Orissa famine O'Malley has later added "the rice crops failed and what drought had spared floods destroyed".<sup>3</sup>

The catastrophe of Orissa famine of 1866 did remain a monument to the failure of the then Government but from the deplorable evil lessons of value were learnt and subsequently an era of famine involving starvation was attempted to be replaced by an era of relief. In the earlier periods food, enough to feed the people, could not be had for money or the people had no money to buy food. In the relief programme, however, food was sought to be made available and destitutes supported by means of work, food or money provided by Government. In the words of O'Malley again "for the local officers the famine means a time of immense labour, long wearing anxiety and constant exposure—the subordinate staff has to be improvised, instructed, stimulated and kept up to the mark by constant inspections".

Of the great irrigation schemes, those in Punjab, namely, the Chenab and Jhelam schemes can be mentioned as an example of unique work<sup>4</sup> done by the civil servants. Millions of acres of waste and deserted lands were converted into canal colonies, each one in the charge of a colonisation officer, the civil servants appearing on the scene for monumental achievements after the engineers had done their work.

There is also an inspiring and thrilling account of energetic and devoted work done during the period of Bihar famine of 1874 by Herman Kisch, the son of a London surgeon, who arrived in India in 1873 and in March 1874 was posted to famine duty in Tirhoot. He was barely 23 years old, and was conscientious and sensible young men. Kisch was for some time a Circle Officer to begin with and later on was posted as a Sub-Divisional Officer.

<sup>3</sup> *The Indian Civil Service 1601 to 1930* by L.S.S.O'Malley. Chapter IV, pp. 97-98 (1931 edition).

<sup>4</sup> We get a picturesque description of this in following words:

"It is an idea to stir the dullest—a desert ready to be peopled, a Utopia waiting for its architect and there is something staggering about its success. Before the water flowed, a plan was made, a whole countryside was designed, roads, railways, railway stations, market-towns, villages, the mosque, the temple, the village school, the pond, the side road, the little bridge, the grove of trees for shade, fire wood and timber, the meeting place, the Magistrate's court, the Police station. Every one has seen the model village in an exhibition, with men an inch high, little cows and hens and horses, shop, church and cinema. But this was real and it was not a village but a district with millions of acres of fertile land made fertile by canal water." *The Men Who Ruled India—The Guardians* by Philip Woodruff, Chapter V on famine.

It was during this famine that large scale attempts had been made to deal with the emergency and a basic model of work and organization built up, the liberality of this period being due to the mistaken optimism of 1866. "Whatever Commissions reported, whatever codes were written, the district officer had as usual to do the work."<sup>5</sup>

The administrative apparatus has to rise to the occasion for meeting several eventualities like floods, epidemics, law and order, etc. Famine is one such eventuality which throws a formidable challenge to the administrative apparatus, in general, and the administrators, in particular. It also provides an opportunity for serving the humanity, in distress. It brings forth the heroic qualities of leadership, dynamism and devotion and shows the capacity of human nature for self sacrifice and a sense of duty and purpose. The test of an administrative organization and the individuals manning it is the extent to which it stands up to the challenges of exigencies like famine. Administrative acumen and leadership are put to test at all levels. The *ad hoc* instrument and apparatus built up with relief organization as well as the various schemes and works can be imaginatively put to use for securing a lasting prosperity for the region. It obviously calls for an administrative leadership of the highest order, since the organizational morale will depend upon the dynamism of leadership. It is only then that the organization can be infused with a sense of duty and devotion and can be geared up with a singleness of purpose. Administration has and will certainly meet the challenge of the day.

The account will not be complete without stating, at least in broad outline, some of the special aspects of administrative problems arising out of famines. Even in normal times there has to be a continuous process of collection and interpretation of statistics and intelligence about rainfall and other crop conditions, availability of foodgrains and their prices, employment, etc. The maxim "forewarned is forearmed" is of special significance in this context. When scarcity is apprehended this helps the local administration to initiate action by way of test schemes, distribution of foodgrains, other legal and administrative steps to hold the price line, etc. When scarcity has deepened into famine, streamlining of the administrative machinery becomes further imperative. The district officer as usual assumes a pivotal role. Besides the usual problems of coordination, many new dimensions get added to the problem. There is the problem of coordinating the work of the normal administrative apparatus and personnel with the *ad hoc* relief organization and personnel of different categories—both general and specialised—who are posted to the area. The Agriculture, Public Works, Irrigation, Medical, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, etc., are some of the more important departments which have to be specially geared up for relief administration. In addition to these problems of horizontal coordination there would be special problems of vertical coordination as well both through the channel of general administration and various agencies of the technical departments. For ensuring planned movement of foodgrains and other essential articles the transport net-work under different operational controls has to be properly coordinated for a common purpose. Various non-official charitable, philanthropic organizations and agencies volunteer for different types of work in the famine areas.

<sup>5</sup> The Man Who Ruled India—The Guardians, *op. cit.*

Besides such organizations of our own country, many foreign and international agencies also volunteer help. This involves regional and functional coordination amongst the various agencies themselves and with that of the Governmental agencies engaged in similar types of activities. According to exigency of work and problems the military agencies also are pressed into service of various types like engineering, transport etc. Moreover, these days drilling operations for getting water have to be undertaken through some sophisticated and effective engineering techniques. The Famine Code provides extra powers to the Divisional Commissioners and the District Officers in matters of finance, sanctioning of schemes, appointment of staff etc. Execution of a very large number of schemes of different types requires streamlined organization for supervision, measurement, checking, disbursement of funds and other accounting work, etc. Publicity has to be properly informed which would be realistic without being panicky, and would boost up the morale of the local people through various publicity media. These are only some of the special problems of supervision, coordination, public relations, etc., to which the administrative apparatus and personnel will get exposed in the period of famine. The administrative leadership on all these counts is put to test even in normal times, much more so in an emergency of famine. Proper marshalling of resources—men and material—for the greatest benefit of the region and the people calls for functioning of the administrative organization on a war footing —of course a war against poverty and distress for the relief of the affected people. Besides administrative leadership and efficiency, this calls for a human and sympathetic understanding and a devotion to work.

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The Indian Society of International Law has published a book on **The Arab-Israeli Conflict** (a collection of documents with comments). This is a collection of the more important documents, and includes texts of Agreements, Exchanges of correspondence between various Powers, Declarations, Resolutions of the various organs of the United Nations and other relevant documents. Comments are also added. The price of the publication is Rs. 15/- (\$4.00 or 30s.)

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# THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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## HINDU VALUES AND ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOUR

*V. Subramaniam*

ADMINISTRATIVE Behaviour in any society is influenced to a greater or a lesser extent by the values cherished by that society. The extent of this influence would depend on the relative strength of the special values developed by the administrative structure, *vis-a-vis*, the values of the surrounding society. In some cases these two sets of values may reinforce each other and, in other cases, they may be in conflict. Has an Indian administrative tradition developed its own system of values with more influence on its practitioners than the values of the enveloping society? Conversely, what are the relevant values of Hindu society which have a bearing on administrative behaviour for good or evil? These are interesting questions.

Scholars, both Indian and foreign, have over the last fifteen years asked these questions in regard to Indian economic behaviour and have tried to find out whether the values of Hindu society were compatible with economic growth. The early investigators in the field attributed India's slow economic growth to the lack of motivation resulting from the inhibitory other-worldly values of Hindu society. More recent workers, like Milton Singer, feel that there is nothing in the Hindu system of values against economic motivation.<sup>1</sup> There has been, however, no such debate in regard to efficient administrative behaviour.<sup>2</sup> This paper makes an attempt to start one.

One might dismiss the first question off-hand with the assertion that there is no society in which administrative behaviour is so specialized and compartmentalized as not to be influenced by the values of

<sup>1</sup> Milton Singer, *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Quite recently a conference of American and European Scholars was held in Belagio, North Italy, to discuss among other things the *use of traditional values in helping development administration in Asia and Africa*. This is of course just a beginning.

the society. Administration has no meaning except in the context of administering the affairs of a society through government or private enterprise and administrators are after all drawn from the wider society. However, where an organization like that of the Turkish Janissaries is recruited young and trained in isolation from the rest of society it can develop its own value system quite different from, and stronger than, that of the parent society. There are also cases, where an administrative institution, without isolating itself from the enveloping society had developed so much autonomy as to exercise some influence on social values even as social values exercised some on administrative behaviour. This was probably true of the Chinese Mandarinate during its heyday. In India, however, the course of history did not allow that sort of development. As pointed out in an earlier article, the so-called Indian administrative tradition is essentially a patchy continuity at a low level of organization.<sup>3</sup> The three major constituents of this tradition are paternalism on the part of the rulers, indifference to government on the part of the ruled and an ivory-tower unrealism on the part of writers on administration. All these traditional values developed inside administration are not conducive to efficient administrative behaviour.

As for general Hindu social values outside the administrative tradition, a clear distinction needs to be made between those values which are prescribed in standard Hindu texts and treatises and values which are actually cherished today by the Hindus. Anthropologists, like M. N. Srinivas, have demonstrated clearly that actual social institutions differ considerably from prescribed ones.<sup>4</sup> In the same way, Professor D. D. Kosambi has shown how a good number of rituals in Hindu society have little authority in the standard texts.<sup>5</sup> Hence, a research worker in this field should first investigate the actual values held in Hindu society before turning his attention to prescribed values. But as we have very little published empirical research in regard to actual values having a bearing on administration, the author is confining himself to some prescribed values in this paper.

A study of such values can be defended on two more grounds. For centuries, the lower groups in Hindu society have been trying to imitate the modes of the group above them through a process of Sanskritization and this process was given a twist and a push through British rule through its creation of an All-India middle-class and the

<sup>3</sup> V. Subramaniam, "The Indian Administrative Tradition—Myth and Reality", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, April-June, 1967.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding 'Varna' and 'Jathi' see M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952.

<sup>5</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1962.

codification of Hindu laws. In the latter process, laws from texts and treatises which were limited in their application to the upper castes were extended to the whole of Hindu society. As a result of this, several prescribed values acquired wider currency than earlier. Secondly, the bulk of the higher civil servants of India, both in the Union as well as State Governments, come from a middle-class which is acquainted with, and respects, prescribed values more than the rest of the population.

The Hindu values that relate to the two broad areas of administrative behaviour, namely, decision-making and its execution are in general not conducive to effectiveness or efficiency. This statement will immediately provoke a strong retort to the effect that the Karmayoga of the *Gita* is the most effective and efficiency-oriented value anywhere in the world's history. This belief is widely held by a section of administrators and managers in this country—witness how both the National Academy of Administration and the National Productivity Council have chosen the same motto from the *Gita*—that yoga is efficiency in action (योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्). Indeed the popular interpretation of Karmayoga in this century almost equates it with the Western worship of efficiency. How far is this correct?

Some of the key passages in the *Gita* do glorify action without thought of reward. The essence of Karmayoga in the words of its author is: "You have power over only your actions not over their fruits. Therefore, do not take any great interest in the fruits, nor sink into inaction".<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere in the *Gita*, Lord Krishna explains how even He, the Great Lord, continues to work hard though He needs nothing. But Karmayoga as popularized in this century by Vivekananda, Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi took on a more precise social meaning and was made to look as an equivalent to the Weberian Protestant ethic of doing one's work and expecting no immediate reward and of sowing without turning one's back regularly to see whether the seed has sprouted.<sup>7</sup> This interpretation was used as a weapon in India's freedom struggle by Tilak and Gandhi and in India's general resurgence by Vivekananda.

The question which naturally arises in an intelligent inquirer's mind is this: If something equivalent to the Protestant ethic—which brought forth modern capitalism, industrialism and bureaucracy in Europe existed for centuries in India, enshrined in one of her holiest

<sup>6</sup> *Bhagavad Gita*, Chapter 4.

<sup>7</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated from German by Talcott Parsons, New York, Scribner, 1958.

books, why did it not produce a similar result in the Indian context and why indeed did it produce the opposite result ? The answer to this question (though somewhat surprising to 20th century Westernized Hindus) is that the Karmayoga as traditionally interpreted till the last century did not have the same meaning as that of the Protestant ethic and did not form the centre of the *Gita*. The *Gita* discusses three types of yoga, namely, Karmayoga, Gyanayoga or Sankhyayoga and Bhaktiyoga and the traditional interpreters of the *Gita* have always stressed the latter two. Thus, Sankara stresses Gyanayoga or the path of knowledge and self-realization while Ramanuja and Madhwa stress Bhaktiyoga or the path of devotion and surrender to the Lord. Karmayoga was held by traditional Hindus till the last century as somewhat secondary to the other two even though the author of the *Gita* explicitly says in a particular context that it is superior.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, in traditional Hindu parlance Karma did not again have the meaning it acquired after contact with the West, namely, that of striving hard in this life in a social context.<sup>9</sup> Rather, it meant a large mass of rituals of the sympathetic magic type under the classifications, of Nitya, Naimithika and Kamya Karmas, the former including daily rites, such as Sandhyavandana, Agnihotra and Vaishvadeva, the last including special sacrifices, such as Somayoga and Vajapeya.<sup>10</sup> The effort of Sankara was directed towards weaning Hindus away as much from this ritualism as from Buddhist nihilism.

The equation of the Karmayoga ideal with the Protestant ethic of lay monasticism is clearly the result of Western education and example on the Hindu mind. It is clear that watching the Western worship of work for a social purpose as carried out by a foreign missionary or an official, fired the imagination of Hindu idealists who saw in the emulation of it the only hope of national salvation. Liberals, such as Gokhale, openly advocated straightforward emulation<sup>11</sup> but revivalists, such as Tilak sub-consciously wanted to draw exactly the same inspiration from their own past and fell back on the *Gita*. When they came to the book emotionally out of tune with its traditional interpretation, they could easily read into its Karmayoga the Protestant worship of work.

<sup>8</sup> *Bhagvad Gita*, Chapter. 3.

<sup>9</sup> For the traditional meaning of Karma, see D. Chattopadhyaya, *Hindu Philosophy*, Bombay, People's Publishing House, 1965.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, Sankara lists and classifies the Karmas of the Mimamsakar. See *Extracts from Sankara's Writings*, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

<sup>11</sup> G. K. Gokhale, *Speeches and Writings*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1966.

This leads us to the next question. Can we use Karmayoga as interpreted by these Western-inspired Hindus as a basis of administrative efficiency? It is clear that the new interpretation served for a time to enthuse the newly awakened middle-class of India to some selfless action, though the bulk of the working-class, the peasantry and the Marxists derived no inspiration from it. The middle-class groups, however, seem to set less store by it now.

In fact, the Westernized interpretation did not always do the trick even when it was accepted in general and its sponsors commented on this somewhat ruefully and comically. Thus, Vivekananda wailed that the only people who followed *Gita* were the Europeans as the only people who followed Christ in his unconcern for tomorrow were the Hindus.<sup>12</sup> Jayakar after a brief visit to Britain during her finest hour confessed that the truest followers of the *Gita* were the Englishmen.

The chances of resurrecting the Tilak-Gandhi interpretation of Karmayoga are, therefore, slim. It worked in their case chiefly because they were unaware of the influence of the West on them in that regard. It may be even dangerous trying to revive it for we do not know how many obscurantist values we may let loose in the process.

So much for Hindu values relating to executive action. As for decision-making, we can locate at least three elements in the Hindu tradition which work against rational decision-making. In the first place, a decision is basically choosing between a number of mutually exclusive alternatives and the basic Hindu approach is to deny the existence of such alternatives. Right at the earliest stages of their history, the Indian Aryans are reported as having already parted company with their Persian cousins on this question.<sup>13</sup> Since then a basic syncretism which denies the existence of mutually exclusive alternatives has characterized most Hindu philosophy. Secondly, a decision means a choice of a course of action with a view to taking that course of action immediately. It is also implied in the Western meaning of decision that the difficulties in that particular course of action have all been taken into account in making a decision in favour of it. The average Hindu idea of a decision is, however, more akin to the English phrase "pious resolution". The continuous and undignified wailing we hear in India from planners, politicians and administrators alike about policies being good and their execution being bad is essentially a product of a particular

<sup>12</sup> Swami Vivekananda, *East and West*, Calcutta, Advaita Ashrama, 1965, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *The Continent of Circe*, Bombay, Jaico Publishing House, 1965, p. 47.

Indian meaning attached to the term decision.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the average Hindu mind is so thoroughly reconciled to an impossible distance between precept and practice and between ideal and reality that it naturally imports this distance to separate decision and execution, a distance which does not exist in Western interpretations of the term. Thirdly, a decision or choice means listing the various alternatives in a particular order of preference and if possible converting this ordinal list of preferences into a cardinal list of quantified values for each. The Hindu mind always indulges in talking of very large numbers, such as Yugas, aeons and crores. By using such large numbers casually the small differences which are most important in day-to-day decisions are made to look meaningless.

So much for prescribed values; but we can derive some consolation from the fact that the little empirical work available on the actual values cherished by the Indian middle-class seems to suggest that they are not so different from the values of the Western middle-class.<sup>15</sup> We will, however, have to wait for a lot more empirical work to take such a conclusion seriously. It would be equally hasty to derive propositions about Hindu administrative behaviour from very general observations on the Hindu psyche, interesting though they are. However, as there has been quite a bit of serious speculation on this subject in recent years the following paragraphs are offered very much in an exploratory spirit to see where such assumptions lead us in regard to administrative behaviour.

Philip Spratt offers a self-consistent and consolidated image of the Hindu psyche as essentially Narcissist.<sup>16</sup> Spratt's Narcissist type would at its worst ignore the external world and all Western norms of objectivity. At his best he would be an outgoing and hard-working philanthropist through projective extroversion of his perfected self. Perhaps, Asoka and Nehru belonged to this type. But the Narcissist bureaucrat who is in-between would be continuously offering lip sympathy and imagine himself as the grand benefactor. The percentage of projective extroverts in a Narcissist society is likely to be very low

<sup>14</sup> Within a single month in July, 1967, the Congress Working Committee, a spokesman of the Planning Commission, and some administrators all talked the same language of 'good' policies and 'bad' implementations.

<sup>15</sup> This is just a tentative conclusion from what little has been published in this regard which includes: (a) Prof. H. C. Ganguly, *Industrial Productivity and Motivation: A Psychological Analysis*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961; and (b) Dr. H. G. Maule and Dr. T. Ganguly, *A Study of Management Morale in a Private Industrial Undertaking*, New Delhi, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India, 1965.

Author's own limited survey in this regard confirms this; see V. Subramaniam, *The Social Background of India's Administrators*, New Delhi, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1967, Chapter 7 (forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup> P. Spratt, *Hindu Culture and Personality*, Bombay, Manaktalas, 1966.

and that of the megalomaniac benefactor is likely to be low too. The large majority of Narcissists would belong to a class quite insensitive to social needs.

But this picture need not worry us very much partly because the evidence presented by Spratt for his thesis, though substantial and interesting, is not conclusive. Secondly, every social phenomenon in Western society flowing out of a basic non-Narcissist or punitive psyche can be reproduced in a Narcissist society under a suitable stimulus. Thus, the extraordinary activity of the Protestant as a capitalist based upon his Puritan ethic of lay monasticism can be reproduced by the projective extroversion of the Narcissist. Similarly, the worst excesses out of guilt feeling in the punitive psyche can be reproduced by inducing fears of violation of the self in the Narcissist.

As against Spratt, Nirad Chaudhuri offers the picture of the unhappy Hindu who has not made peace with his environment for twenty centuries.<sup>17</sup> Unable to conquer its merciless climate and surroundings, he either defied it by self-punishment or sought an anodyne in sex. Either way, the reaction was subjectively rational when the resources of human organization were powerless against the environment but it has stratified itself and produced a basic inertia even after human resourcefulness elsewhere has shown the way to the conquest of environment. On a mass scale this type of behaviour would lead to half-hearted struggles against problems and a basic disbelief in success. In administration, it produces a type combining timidity in the presence of power and contempt for rational scholarship. While this picture seems to suit recent administrative failures in India, it is a bit too tidy. Nirad Chaudhuri's stratified psyche can possibly be released from its self-imposed bondage. If a critical number of such psyches are so released the chain reaction is likely to be tremendous.

However, both Chaudhuri and Spratt deal at a level of generality from which *any* conclusion can be derived in regard to the limited field of administrative behaviour. We need a lot of carefully structured empirical investigation on individual and social psychology before we can say anything about the compatibility of the Hindu personality and efficient administrative behaviour.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Any study of civil servants and other professional groups to be meaningful should include at least: (a) A study of attitudes to work, leisure and authority through interviews and questionnaires and more indirect techniques; (b) A study of achievement motivation through indirect techniques, such as CAT and TAT; and (c) A study of the distribution of personality types on the extrovert-introvert and stable-unstable continuum.

## DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION : AN OBJECTION

*W. Wood*

SO significant for the well-being of the world is the present development era and so important for the success of this development are the processes which are involved in its administration, that the present concentration of support for the concept of development administration as a special, and peculiarly relevant, type of public administration is understandable.

The general argument is as follows: "Development then, can be defined as the dynamic change of a society from one state of being to another. Regardless of the objectives of the country or of the scope and character of plans and programmes an essential to development is administration.... Broadly, development administration is concerned with achieving national development.... The goals, values and strategies of change may vary but there always are generic processes through which agreement on goals is reached and plans, policies, programmes and projects (the four 'p's) are formulated and implemented.... Development administration, therefore, is concerned primarily with the tasks and processes of formulating and implementing the four 'p's in respect to whatever mixture of goals and objectives may be politically determined."<sup>1</sup>

This is useful as a general concept. However, the argument has tended to become more rigid, and here is where the trouble arises. What is suggested is that: (a) there are two "states of being" which can be contrasted, the second arising by "dynamic change" (in development) from the former; (b) development is identified with the development plan; (c) the development process calls for a type of public administration called "development administration"; and (d) its "development administration" is distinct from the type of administration encountered in the former state and classed as "traditional" or "law and order revenue collecting".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Donald C. Stone in the Introduction to *Education for Development Administration*, Brussels, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1966.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, George F. Gant's chapter in *Education for Development Administration*: "As countries progress, or desire to progress, from traditional agricultural societies to modern industrial societies, their governments and their administrative structure become larger and more complex. This change is more than a change in degree; it is a change in kind. Public administration in a complex society requires more than additional law and order.

The distinction would not be invidious if it were employed only in some introductory course of study of public administration just as "Crusoe economics" was a convenient starting point in the examination of economic theory and practice. However, this is not the case for the distinction is made in that literature which may fairly be called "manuals of procedure", and its significance has, therefore, more directly practical effect, for those who work in the public administration of developing countries (and those who train them) are being led to oversimplify the variety of administrative practice and to oversimplify the historical process of succession from the "law and order" state to the "development" state.

There are three, at the least, disadvantages which seem to flow from such a specialized concept of development administration. One is that those government servants who are not fortunate enough to be classed among the "developers" may be written off as being unproductive in the development process, and may come to be regarded, indeed, as passengers, if not brakes, on the development machine, with a loss of esteem and morale which ultimately seem destined to defeat the whole purpose of public administration.

A second disadvantage is that study of the machinery required for development becomes concentrated on innovation and raw design, with consequent neglect of the possibility of adaptation of existing institutions; indeed, there is often an assumption that what exists in an "law and order and revenue collecting" state is *ipso facto* unsuited to the development state.<sup>3</sup>

A third disadvantage is that the term "development" as a description of what is taking place in the real world, is insufficiently analysed. On the one hand, for example, it comes to be treated as something additional to what occurs in the alleged "law and order and revenue collecting" state, while on the other hand it appears as having special

It requires more and different kinds of agencies whose functions and relationships are quite different from those of police and regulation.... This dimension of public administration, as a matter of convenience, can be called "development administration". Nsilo Swai, in the same publication, as a Tanzania Minister with responsibilities for development planning, is more precise: "The administrative system must be transformed from a *laissez-faire* and law-and-order type to a service and welfare type of administration".

<sup>3</sup> In an interesting review of the concept of development administration prepared for the Second Conference of Directors and Principals of Institutes of Public Administration in the Commonwealth, held at New Delhi in January, 1967, and subsequently published in the Jan.-March 1967 issue of this Journal, Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, makes the observation that "Some of the attitudes developed during the law and order state are equally relevant to the new responsibilities. This is a special area for research." The present article seeks to examine some of the implications.

relationship with independence and post-colonialism (so that, in effect, colonial government is identified with the "law and order and revenue collecting" state).<sup>4</sup> Again, "development" is increasingly identified with that which is (or should be) in the development plan, while that which is in the development plan is (or should be) that which is arrived at by the application of economic analysis and projection.

We are oversimplifying, of course, but this may be excused, perhaps, if, as a result, we can provoke some re-thinking of the re-thinking that has stimulated the development administration philosophy. For all is not well with either development or development administration, neither being as easy to achieve as our first re-thinking led us to believe. The Alliance for Progress programme, and the experience of Latin America, is a prime example of a development administration approach which has failed, so far, to translate plans into action. The paraphernalia is all there, development plans, modern budgeting techniques, O & M units, civil service classification schemes, and yet not only is development slow in coming, but these administrative innovations seem to be impotent to cure the ills of the existing system and indeed seem to make them worse, for instead of one method of administration proving itself to be inadequate for the needs of development there tend to be at least two, the old and the new, at loggerheads.

Therefore, perhaps, we should make sure that we know what we want development administration to do.

We have noted already some typical definitions of development administration. There are two main choices. The first is well expressed by Leslie Fainsod: "Development administration is a carrier of innovating values. As the term is commonly used, it embraces the array of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernization and industrialization. Development administration ordinarily involves the establishment of machinery for planning economic growth and mobilizing and allocating resources to expand national income. New administrative units, frequently called nation building departments, are set up to foster industrial development, manage new state economic enterprises, raise agricultural output, develop natural resources, improve the transportation and communication net work, reform the educational system, and achieve developmental government."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For example, see Everett Hagen's Comment: "Colonial governments performed largely caretaker and welfare functions", Chapter VII of *Development Administration: Concept and Problems*, edited by Irving Swerdlow, Syracuse University Press, 1963.

<sup>5</sup> Irving Swerdlow, *Ibid.*, Chapter I.

Thus development administration is seen very largely as the new apparatus required in a situation where the government is involved in development planning and assuming a preponderant role in achieving the aims of the plan, development itself being closely allied to, but not necessarily restricted by, economic growth.

A second definition would be wider: "There are, or should be, many important, clearly recognizable differences between public administration in a poor country striving to attain self-generated economic growth and public administration in high income countries".<sup>6</sup> Again, the background is economic growth, but the concept of development administration is wider in that there is no specific emphasis on development planning structures and methods. Swerdlow goes on to say that "officials must make enough different decisions, adopt enough different policies, and engage in enough different activities to warrant the distinctive designation". The distinction is between what poor countries should do and what rich countries may do.

A third definition could be "good public administration of developing countries" but here the danger is felt to be that the special problems of development and of developing (or under-developed, or poor) countries may not be sufficiently pinpointed, and the need for new structures and methods may be under-explained. In the end, however, this may be the most practical and realistic definition.

All these definitions, however, require us to understand what development is, and what development plans are.

Development, in the context of "developing countries", is defined, generally, as an increase in social and economic betterment, involving pronounced government intervention and planning over wide areas of social and economic activity. This broadly is the basis on which governments prepare their development plans, the overall and specific targets and time-scale varying, in the best plans, according to local circumstances. On such a basis, development administration becomes either the overall machinery of government adapted to the process of social and economic development or, more selectively, it can be those activities of administration which are related directly to the development process.

Here is where, commonly, the distinction arises between the "law and order and revenue collecting" state of affairs and the development

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<sup>6</sup> Irving Swerdlow, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

state, or between the law and order and revenue collecting activities and the development activities.

Even if such a concept of development were sufficient to describe what is really happening in developing countries it would be necessary to guard against such clear-cut distinctions, as will be argued later. But what is happening to "developing countries" is not just a process of trying to get on with promoting social and economic betterment. Nor can their development plans be so simply identified with social and economic betterment. For many of them—the majority perhaps—social-and-economic development programmes have coincided with political (and in this sense social) development programmes brought into being by independence. This, however, is not the same as saying that the social and economic programmes are a product of political independence, or that they are to be treated simply as taking place against a background of changed circumstances resulting from independence. Both of these views are held but they are, I suggest, over simplifications, which among other things operate against a realistic appreciation of the situation and a realistic assessment of the needs of development administration.

The coincidence of independence and development is well illustrated in the introduction to the Three Year Tanganyika Development Plan published in 1961. Tanganyika became independent in December 1961 and the Plan was, therefore, prepared "in a momentous period of Tanganyika's history—the period of transition from the colonial type of administration to independence. The rapid political development of the country, the realization of new, far-reaching responsibilities, the new feeling of national awareness and its expression in many forms make a background to this plan. It is not surprising, therefore, that the requirements arising from the new political status of the country, such as the need to establish a foreign service, to accelerate certain training programmes, and to build up security forces have had to be considered alongside the purely economic objective."<sup>7</sup>

These circumstances are recognized by responsible investigators but difficulty arises, and not only in connection with the concept of development administration, because it is not apparently accepted that: (a) "development" was not a process brought into being solely by independence, and (b) that the factors mentioned in the quotation from the Tanganyika Plan are not so much a "background" to development as

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<sup>7</sup> Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64, Dar-es-Salaam, Government of Tanganyika.

a parallel and sometimes competing, sometimes causal activity. Whether competing or causal activities, however, their significance for the administration of the countries in question is such that it is unwise to treat development administration as being a matter only of "new" structures and processes geared to the development plan, or to see a difference between "the law and order and revenue collection" activities and the "development" activity. Security forces may fall within the one, but security forces designed to acquire or defend national water resources, for example, affect the latter. Moreover, is it not necessary to ensure law and order before any "development" can take place? Further, is it not important to ensure that the administration of law and order (and revenue collection!) change to meet the needs of the developing nation? Law and order and revenue collection can no more be static than any other aspect of administration in a development era. Indeed, their improvement may be one of the most significant "developments" which a developing country should plan. And quite apart from this consideration the general change in the situation which is brought about by independence (even where it does not call for special emphasis on the improvement of "law and order and revenue collection" activity) creates, not so much the background for "development", as the conditions; the administration relevant to the charge is, therefore, relevant to the conditioning of development.

Much of this is recognized and accepted. It is less generally recognized, or emphasized, that development does not begin with independence. It may begin before, and it may not begin afterwards. The over-identification of development with independence, therefore, creates dangers. We may accept that independence gives additional impetus to some aspects of development, creates additional opportunities in some cases, and creates additional demands (not least through the "demonstration effect" which follows from participation in international and multi-lateral activity). Yet, however, much we recognize the legitimate, and indeed, historical needs, for the new political leaders, to identify themselves and their policies with development, nevertheless in the long run over-indentification of independence with development may restrict development by forfeiting support, among the public, the government service, and even among some of the political leaders, though appearing to produce no significant change from what was achieved in colonial times. What developing country of this sort has not heard (and not only from the "dispossessed") the complaint: "We were better off under the colonial power"?

If the motives of "colonial" development may be suspected (and this article is not concerned with the motives), the fact should not be

overlooked, indeed suppressed. This size of the development may have been inadequate in the then circumstances, or inadequate when viewed against present needs, but development implies growth and if development was of modest size in colonial times, where else was it more impressive and had the process not at least been begun?<sup>8</sup> Roads and railways were built in colonial times; they did not have to wait to be classified as "infrastructure" in latter day development plans before beginning to serve the purposes of social and economic betterment. If formal development planning became "popular" (outside Russia, Germany and Italy) towards the end of the 1939-45 war, colonies did not, in most cases, have to wait until independence before they experienced development planning. The pre-planning began during the war, and the plans started to be published very soon after its end, and if they were not as thoroughgoing or imaginative as more modern conceptual thinking and research have made later plans, they realized, in the main, their targets and formed the foundation and the framework for later plans, including post-independence plans. Many of the "development" structures and processes were in fact introduced in colonial times; they have had to be modified, sometimes radically, to suit the changed nature of political control and national aims, and availability of staff, subsequent to independence, but essentially "independence" development has been built upon "colonial" development and it has not had to be introduced to fill a vacuum.

Of course, such a "defence" of colonialism is not intended to imply that the developing countries would be better developed if they were colonies of "good" colonial powers. Nor is it intended as an interpretation of the relationship of development to independence in countries like India (though it should be noted that pre-planning of development in the sub-continent began before partition and was overtaken by the dislocation caused by the disturbances which followed partition) or those countries, particularly of East Asia, where independence came at a time when the disruption created by the war still persisted. Nor does it apply to the countries of Latin America where independence has preceded the development plan by over a hundred years.

Yet, so much does perhaps apply, namely, that independence is not, historically, the sole begetter of development; and the institutions and processes required for development do not have to be exclusively

<sup>8</sup> It should be made clear that the author is referring to British colonial development, not because he believes that the argument would not apply in the case of other colonial powers, but because he confines his argument to the processes of which he has experience.

creations of newly independent countries but may in many cases survive, validly, from colonial days or be built upon what existed in colonial days. Also, to the extent that self-government and development are related, historically or causally, the administrative system must relate to both, and development administration should be as preoccupied with "law and order and revenue collecting" as with development planning.

If we have now given some consideration to the nature of development, as it is taking place, in relation to independence and "nation building", what other aspects of development should we consider ?

We should next recognise that a development plan, aimed at promoting social and economic betterment, can hardly take shape in a pure form. Here is one defect of many attempts at planning, and particularly of central planning institutions. The models for development planning announce too readily that what goes into the plan will be justified in terms of its contribution to social and economic betterment, the whole being an exercise primarily for the economist. (It is even necessary to emphasize that the subject-matter is social and economic development in order to combat the tendency to call it "economic development".) Thus the group of experts convened by the Secretary General to the United Nations in 1962 to make a study of the planning of economic development by different countries begins its report "The purpose of formulating a plan is to identify and define the policies best calculated to achieve general economic and social objectives. A plan provides guidelines for policy through the translation of these general objectives into physical targets and specific tasks for particular economic and social activities. Everywhere, in the formulation of plans, decisions have to be much about the pattern of revenue allocation which appears to be the most efficient in relation to general objectives. At the same time, the targets set for output and economic allocation have to be consistent with economic and technical possibilities and not place greater demand on the community than it has the capacity to finance."<sup>9</sup>

But in fact this is only part of the plan which a developing country finds itself drawing up (or if not drawing up, attempting to implement). Some "development" cannot be determined on internal grounds. For example, a country has very little choice about the international class airport or airports which it has to provide, or indeed little choice, in practice, whether to have one or not. Yet in terms of social and economic priorities the country's resources may be such that the airport ought to have little priority and its standards may be quite out of

<sup>9</sup> *Planning of Economic Development*, United Nations, 1963.

relation to anything else which the country can afford to provide. But what country can effectively resist giving the airport a first priority? Again, a developing country has to take into account what foreign aid is available for, and mould its plan accordingly. This is not to suggest that aid, being made available for purposes which satisfy, in part at least, the criteria which are attractive to the donor, must necessarily be available for purposes which do not satisfy the recipient. It is simply that there is inelasticity in the criteria (and the processes) relating to the provision of aid, and a recipient country (and all developing countries are would-be recipients whatever their aversion to the conditions which make aid necessary or to the conditions of aid) must frame its priorities accordingly. The distortion of the development plan—not of course necessarily a reprehensible distortion—takes various forms. In one African country a programme of feeder roads was prepared, to serve agricultural areas whose production had reached a stage where significant exports from the areas could be foreseen. The trunk route programme, in terms of the financial and human and equipment resources available, was to be restricted *pro tanto*. Aid became available, however, for further trunk routes, but not for feeder roads. It would require the greatest exercise of will power to refuse such aid, so the programme was re-designed to allow the aid to be used for the purpose for which it was available, despite the inconvenience of foregoing some of the feeder road programme.

This is a minor example of the circumstances in which a development programme is prepared. We know that the model planning process requires us to formulate objectives and programmes, then to assess the resources available, and then to modify the plan accordingly. What is forgotten at times is that we are not free agents in respect of such modifications, but may be specifically controlled by the conditions of aid.

Other controls exist in respect of the planning process. One of these is allied to the foregoing circumstances. It may be best expressed by saying that a development plan must also be a shopping list. It must throw up items which aid organizations can "buy", given the difficulty of obtaining "budget" or "across the board" assistance. We may not like this situation, but if we cannot dictate the situation we have to accept that the situation will dictate our plan, or at least the eventual programme. Planning in this sense goes beyond economics (and unfortunately it may go beyond economic common sense) but any planning officer or Finance Minister soon learns that when he shops for aid the plan is a shopping list, and if he has sense (and the Finance Minister generally has) he tries to ensure that the items shown on the shopping list are well marked and can be separately wrapped up.

A further condition attached to the development plan is that it has to have the nature of a diner's club card. The reasons are similar to those which apply to the need to observe aid criteria and the need to prepare the plan (in some respect at least) as a shopping list. Aid (including loans) is increasingly being administered, not only in respect of items, but also in respect of the whole package. To put it bluntly you have more chance of interesting X country or Y organization in your agricultural co-operatives if you can show that the Z Survey Mission has approved the "balance" of your plan and this can mean inclusion in the plan of projects, or "weighting" of projects, otherwise than in accordance with your initial programme. Also, to put it more bluntly, the ideological approach revealed by X item of your plan (or by the whole plan) may effect your chances of obtaining aid for Y item. Similarly, the plan itself does not in fact cover all your development, whether that which you propose or that which is proposed to you. The plan tends to be concentrated, in the first place, on those programmes which have a financial cost. This is not unreasonable because costs, despite their vagaries, are the only aspect which can generally be quantified. Significant improvements in this respect can be made through the use of cost-benefit analysis and input-output techniques, but even so, it is the cost or input side which will receive most attention for being more predictable. The cost of your government financed tourist hotel (for all that it will rarely fail to exceed the estimate) becomes a concrete amount, met somehow from revenue or loans; your receipts from tourists are less sure. Your plan is, therefore, having to "balance" items whose degree of predictability is different.

But more important than this (for you can arrive at sensible input-output assessment of projects) is the fact that some items of your development are not costed in this way. As a result, though they may receive mention in the plan, such mention tends to be incidental and the items in question are rarely programmed.

Reform of the administration, of taxation structure, of investment loans, of legislative procedures, of land, or profits regulation, and the like, are cases in point. Such predominantly "administrative" development, cannot be worked out in the development plan in the same way that a road programme can be computed and it cannot be quantified in terms which have any claim to realism. As a result it tends to be treated as the "background" or "basis" for the development plan, though it may be a condition precedent or an integral part of the development.

We may look at this point from another angle, namely, the importance of relating development programmes to current programmes. There are many facets. One is that the development project will eventually

have to be "maintained" as a recurrent commitment; the more the development programme is presented, or administered, separately from the current (this applies particularly to the cost of personnel) the more care is needed. Another facet is to be seen in, say, measures adopted to stimulate new industry; these may be less significant to potential investors than the basic measures applicable to all industry; equally the effect on established industry of stimulus given to "new" industry must be borne in mind. Again, the efficient operation of existing services (such as, posts, telephone, railways, water supply, refuse collecting, etc.) may control the feasibility of development projects. Development, in other words, is more than the development plan.

A development plan has other features which relate to the development process but which are not covered in "model" concepts such as that already quoted. It has, for example, high political significance, and as a result its preparation, its content and its administration have political implications. Not only will it have to reflect the overall political philosophy of the government, but it may be expected to contain programmes and projects whose justification is mainly political rather than social or economic, and in any case the execution of some part at least of it will have to take account of political pressures, national, local and personal. Any development plan which assumes that "a good politician will not interfere with operations while engaging in his citizen-action and legislative roles"<sup>10</sup> is defective.

A development plan is also, or should be, a manual of development, in the sense that having set out the development which is proposed, it can, and should, be used as a check list against which progress can be noted. Too much should not be made of the point, but it is worth noting that participation in the development process (on the part of the public, and of the civil servant) requires that the development plan should be capable of being understood by those who are being "developed". This goes beyond saying that it must be intelligible. It is desirable that the civil servant (and the public and press)—and not just the planners—should be able so to identify projects that realistic progress reports can be prepared and compared. Indeed, the good plan will, wherever possible, be an accounting document whose items can be referred directly to items in the annual budget, and the administration of the plan should include such reference.

With this examination of what development and the development plan are, it is time to consider once more the concept of development

<sup>10</sup> Donald C. Stone, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

administration. Is there some type of administration which is specially related to promoting development as opposed to "maintaining law and order and revenue collecting"? Are there some administrative structures and processes which, because they relate so closely to the development process, require special consideration against, as it were, a background of "general" or "traditional" administration? Are the problems of developing countries confined to the problem of development? Is any such distinction valid?

Now we can agree at once that there are certain structures and processes which, as it were by definition, relate peculiarly to the development process, like development planning units, development banks and corporations, "nation building" schemes and others. That they should have specific features and methods, and even in some respects a special "language" is again not surprising. But is the special nature of a development planning unit more special than the special nature of the Commissioner of Police or the land surveyor or the tax collector? Irving Swerdlow suggests that "Perhaps the concept of development administration can best be conceived by comparing the tasks involved in administrating an urban renewal programme and in operating a water department in an American city. Assume that both are equally well administered in that quality of performance does not make the difference. The water department has the job of maintaining an adequate water supply and distribution system, planning for future requirements and expansion, reading meters and making appropriate charges for use, training employees, dealing with the public, the budget director, the mayor, and the unions, purchasing and maintaining supplies and equipment and all the multifarious activities of operating a programme in a busy, changing city. Yet, though broad and universal, these activities are significantly different from those performed by the posts of the city government responsible for identifying the areas of the city to rebuild, acquiring the revenues and land, moving the people now living in the area, re-designing the uses of the area, contracting for rebuilding and construction of the new buildings, and supervising the construction and re-integration of the area into the life of the city."<sup>11</sup>

Yet he goes on "Described functionally, the differences do not appear significant. Objectives and budgets must be established, employees must be hired and trained, lines of authority established, and progress evaluations prepared—all these are functions common to any good system of public administration. Perhaps the

<sup>11</sup> Irving Swerdlow, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

difference lies in the degree of difficulty encountered in executing these functions, the amount of 'pioneering' required, and the difficulties of finding adequate procedures...."

Whether this be a valid distinction in respect of a developed country is open to question. In terms of administration I would prefer to consider the rehousing exercise in a "developed" country as being little more than an additional but acceptable complication which a society capable of administering its water supply can take on without need of a special concept of development administration (though it might well need a special department in the municipality). In a "developing" country I would say that the water supply and the rehousing might well both call for "development administration" because for one reason or another the one may impose no greater administrative strain than the other. Indeed, in a developing country the real "pioneering" may be needed for remoulding the traditional and not for creating the new, for maintaining law and order and revenue collecting and not for realizing the development plan; for it is easier to use the outside expert as an operator in the "new" activities than it is to use him in the traditional.

Therefore, though it is valid to consider some aspects of the administration of a developing country as having special characteristics because of their role in the development process, so widespread is the "spread" of development (or the need for development) in most developing countries, and so much do the development organizations depend upon the "regular" administrative processes for their own fulfilment, that it is unrealistic to talk of development administration as a special type of administration except in the sense that in a country which is trying to develop, all administration has to be development administration. The administration of "justice" must be kept up to date with the changing situation; if it is not, either it falls into contempt or it restricts progress. The role of the police has to change with changing requirements; the very quality of the policeman has to change, through recruitment and training, for a semi-literate policeman may be able to perform basic duties especially among an unsophisticated population, but he will not do when general literacy increases or when a sophisticated clientele "develops" with the rest of the development process.<sup>12</sup> The tax collecting system has to change to take account of new economic activity and policy. The clerk—the often despised babu—is

<sup>12</sup> We might go further with a recent French example, where the traffic police issue to tourists who offend against car parking restrictions: "Welcome to France—you may care to note our parking regulations" notices in lieu of the summonses issued to French offenders; this is a police contribution, however minor, to the development of tourism and it came about by not treating "law and order" as distinct from development.

fundamental to the development process and his work has to be "developed" to keep it relevant to changing needs. The general administrative practices of public administration—committees, files, delegation, training, *et al*—are basic ingredients of the administration of a development situation.

Developing countries encounter many situations, but only some of these situations are "development plan" situations, and they must contrive to cope with all the situations with reasonable administrative efficiency and with appropriate administrative machinery. The situations can rarely be kept separate one from another—you may be engaged in agricultural development schemes and in famine control at one and the same time, and your administration has to be good enough to cope with each (or your people will not feel that they are enjoying "development"). All public administration in a developing country should, therefore, be administration for development, though not necessarily all of it related directly to the development plan.

Finally, the greatest care should be taken to ensure that the "new" structures and processes related to the development plan are integrated with the basic administrative structure and processes. The "new" structures should not be designed to operate independently of the basic, nor to "control" the basic,<sup>13</sup> but should rather be new controls operated by the basic. They should not be regarded as the preserve of a "development administration" as opposed to the "bureaucracy"; instead the "bureaucracy" must be made capable of administering that measure of development which is realistic, as a further sector of public administration.



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<sup>13</sup> Not even, the author considers, to the extent suggested by A. H. Hanson in Chapter VIII "Administration" of his book *The Process of Planning*, where he says "there is also a case for the (Planning) Commission's saying, as it does, to the administration. The plan that we have formulated has the following general administrative implications: please do something about them!" The plan should be formulated to take account of the administrative implications, and, if anything, the administration should "control" the planning. This may mean less planning but it may also mean more implementation.

## UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION: SOME COMMENTS ON SELECTORS AND SELECTION METHODS

*Kamla Chowdhry*

THE purpose of this paper is to examine some implications concerning the composition of the Commission and the reliability and validity of the tests (examinations and interviews) used by the Commission. The discussion has been restricted to the All India and Central Services, that is, to the problems related to the selection for "generalist" rather than specialist-technical jobs.

### *Autonomy, Independence, Trust*

The Union Public Service Commission has been created as an autonomous body appointed by the President, in consultation with the Union Cabinet. The appointment of the members by the President, as apart from the Government, and also some of the terms of appointment, has been with the objective of safeguarding the members from political influences. The selection of the Commission members, as men of high public standing, was supposed to convey to the public that recruitment and selection will be fair and impartial, and that the best talent will be taken for the Services. Since selections have to be based to some extent on subjective judgment, the trust and confidence of the public in the independence of the selectors was of importance.

### *Problem of Generations*

The members of the Commission appointed are generally older persons, somewhere in the age range of 60-65 years. For the All India and Central Services, the members have to evaluate and judge the personal potential of candidates varying in age from 21 to 24 years. There are two implications to be considered in the 'who' selects 'whom' situation. Firstly, taking into account the differences in the generations, the implication of the qualities that get emphasized in the evaluation process, especially in relation to attitudes, beliefs and values. The older generation has an emotional need to see its ways of doing things continued in the coming generation. Secondly, considering the rate and degree of change involved in the young administrator's job, the implication of selection by people who are no longer a part of the

on-going stream of activities, and who do not know on a day-to-day basis the problems and pressures affecting the new generation of administrators.

### *A Mutual Process*

Recruitment and selection is a part of a continuous process. The image of the Government, the working conditions, the scope for personal development, and other factors in the Service influence the market of applicants. In the selection process, the candidates are selecting the Government as much as the Government (Commission) is selecting the candidates.

What type of young men are selecting Government Service as a future for themselves ? In a discussion with some I.A.S. trainees in Mussoorie,<sup>1</sup> the motives most frequently mentioned were : (i) security of service, (ii) the sense of power, and (iii) the competitive basis of selection as distinct from "wire-pulling" and nepotism.

What should be the image of the Service that would attract people who are bright with a sense of commitment and challenge, and who are achievement motivated ? The recruitment and selection procedures, therefore, cannot be viewed apart from the image of the Government. If the right type of the candidates are to be attracted, maintained, and developed, the problem is much wider than the recruitment-selection aspect of the process.

### *Some Questions*

Some questions that need to be asked concerning the recruitment and selection process are :

- (1) What kind of people make good administrators ?
- (2) Are the qualities required for developmental tasks the same as for maintaining law and order ?
- (3) Where job descriptions, by their very nature, have to be vague, what kind of selectors can provide the best fit between the service requirements and the persons to be selected ?
- (4) To what extent is intellectual ability important as compared to judgment, initiative, achievement and independence, and

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<sup>1</sup> In an informal discussion at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, 1965.

what weights should one attach to intellectual versus personal qualities ?

- (5) Do we need people all having the same qualities, or do we need different kinds of people with different kinds of strengths?

The basic questions for discussion in the following pages concerning the selection for I.A.S. and allied services are:

- (1) Who would be the selectors and what should be the role of the Commission members ?
- (2) What are broadly the job requirements in terms of intellectual and personal qualities ?
- (3) How to test the qualities required and provide for the best fit between the Services and the candidates ?

#### COMMISSION MEMBERS AND SELECTORS

The members of the Commission are appointed by the President for a period of 6 years, or up to the age of 65 years, whichever is earlier. The President may consult the Commission Chairman for appointment of members. The number of members vary from 6 to 8, although the maximum number fixed has been 9. About one half of the members are required to have at least 10 years experience of service, either under the Government of India or the Government of a State. In 1965, out of the 6 members, 3 were from Government service, 2 from education, and one from the State Commission.<sup>2</sup>

The Chairman of the Commission on ceasing to hold office is ineligible for any other employment under the Union or State Government. The members of the Commission are eligible only for Chairmanship of the Union or of a State Commission. The rationale of this constraint was to make the Commission members independent and free from implicit temptations that may influence their judgment. As Dr. Ambedkar remarked, "one way of making them independent of the Executive is to deprive them of any office with which the executive might tempt them to depart from duty". The ban was intended not only in terms of Government service, but also honorary offices, because, he added, "pay is not the only thing which a person obtains by reason of his post. There is such a thing as pay, pickings, and pilferings."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Fifteenth Report of the Union Public Service Commission, 1964-65.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. Muttalib, *Union Public Service Commission*, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1967, pp. 63.

Because of the constraint on re-employment, persons of high public standing, below the age of 59 years have been reluctant to be considered as Commission members. In fact, the 1965 figures showed that the age of the members varied from 63 years to 65 years.

In this connection, I would like to mention the implications of 'selectors' being two generations away from the candidates (21-24 years) to be considered.

Research on the developmental phases of human growth indicates that the concerns and qualities considered important differ considerably at these two age levels. It is possible that in the interviews, the selectors of an older generation may emphasize qualities of security, of safe decisions, of prudence, whereas for innovative and developmental tasks it may be necessary to emphasize qualities of calculated risk-taking, of independence against pressures, and of initiative. A mix of the two types perhaps is important, but it seems in developing countries the edge should be with those having attitudes and beliefs relating to development and growth. Admittedly, these attitudes are not entirely related to age but they are an important part of the generational phase of a person.

The Commission recognizes the principle of a 'mix' in the membership of the interview Boards or Personality Test Boards as they are called. A number of eminent outsiders are invited to serve on these Boards. But the outsiders invited are again more or less of the same age level as the Commission members, most of them with Government experience and some drawn from the educational sphere.

The predominant experience represented in the Boards is of Government and of the bureaucratic culture. If developmental tasks are an important aspect of the new administrator's job, then it seems desirable to include people who have experience in handling innovative and developmental tasks, from whichever walk of life they are available. Some examples that seem pertinent are young entrepreneurs, scientists in R & D division of industry, institution builders, etc.

If we recognize that the job requirements, the problems and pressures of the administrator's job have changed to what they were a generation or two ago, then it seems desirable to have persons on Selection Boards, who understand in a meaningful way the new requirements. Perhaps, there is a need to represent on the Selection Boards the younger government officials, who in terms of work are not too far removed from the kind of realities the young administrator will have to handle.

I would like to suggest that some of the Government officials on these interview Boards should be about 2 or 3 levels senior in the bureaucratic hierarchy, or about 8-10 years away, from the point from where the potential administrator has to start. Hopefully they will be more in touch with the realities of the job requirements and will be able to look and identify the kind of qualities that are required of the young administrator these days, working in the complex world of work involving considerable diversity.

In relation to the changed conditions and to the new demands made on the administrator's job, the question could be asked, as to what kind of members should be selected for the Personality Test Boards, and what should be the role of the Commission Members? Here are some suggestions :

- (1) The Board should consist of 6 members, plus a Chairman. The Chairman should be a member of the Commission.
- (2) There should be 3 members from the I.A.S. & Allied Services, whose services are loaned for a period of 2 to 3 months, while the Board is in session interviewing candidates. These members should be in the age range of 30 to 40 years, about 2 or 3 levels of hierarchy beyond the starting point of the new administrator's job. The persons selected must have a reputation of independence and success in the assignments handled. I am sure there are many in the Services of this kind.
- (3) There should be 3 members from outside—from business, education, or public service—but with experience in handling developmental tasks.

These suggestions are based on the need of a mix of persons with different backgrounds and experiences handling administrative and developmental tasks; the need of persons not too far removed from the realities of the current administrator's job; the need for generational proximity of selectors whether they are from the administrative service or from outside; and the need of some continuity between the generations.

#### RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION METHODS

According to Article 309 of the Constitution of India, the power to make rules regarding recruitment to public services is vested in the legislatures. The legislatures, however, have not passed any Acts regulating recruitment. The present position is that the executive lays

down the method of recruitment for its different public services, and the qualifications and the age of the candidates. These rules are sent to the Public Service Commissions for comments and suggested changes. The final say, however, in framing policies and methods of recruitment, is with the executive.

When the recruitment rules, syllabus and other admission requirements are finalized, they are published in Government Notifications and Gazettes. The Commissions then issue the advertisements in selected newspapers in the country. Only the conduct of examinations, interviews and announcement of results is the responsibility of the commissions.

For applicants to the I.A.S. and Allied Services, the main requirements are a graduate degree, and age between 20-34 years.

The general scheme of the I.A.S. and Allied Services Examination is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

|                                  |                       |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Part I: <i>Compulsory papers</i> | (a) English Essay     | 150 marks |
|                                  | (b) General English   | 150 marks |
|                                  | (c) General Knowledge | 150 marks |
| Total ..                         |                       | 450 marks |

Part II: *Optional Papers*: Two subjects to be selected for the I.P.S. and three for others out of 26 optional subjects, each carrying 200 marks, and covering practically all subjects taught at the Universities.

|                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Total No. of Marks for the I.P.S.     | 400 |
| Total No. of Marks for other Services | 600 |

Part III: *Additional Subjects for the I.A.S. and I.F.S. only*: Two subjects to be selected from a list of fifteen additional subjects (most of which are common to the optional papers), each carrying 200 marks. The additional papers of only those candidates for those Services are examined who attain a certain qualifying standard at the written examination in all other subjects.

<sup>4</sup> C. N. Bhalerao, *Public Service Commissions of India—A Study*, Delhi, Sterling Publications, 1966, pp. 56.

|                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|
| Total No. of Marks for I.A.S. and<br>I.F.S. | 400 |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|

Part IV: *Personality Test:*

|                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|
| Total No. of Marks for I.A.S. and<br>I.F.S. | 400 |
| Total No. of Marks for all other Services   | 300 |

The objectives of the different parts of the competitive examination stated are:<sup>5</sup> (a) to test capacity for effective thinking, sense of form, power of clear and lucid expression, and general knowledge through a written test, common to all candidates (*i.e.*, test in compulsory subjects); (b) to test intellectual ability and scholastic attainments through a written examination in subjects of the candidate's choice (*i.e.*, optional subjects) which may or may not have any direct relevance to the civil servant's work; and (c) to assess through an interview the candidate's personal qualities and potentiality, which cannot be tested by a written examination.

The importance of the interview (*viva voce* test) in the Indian context was voiced as early as the First Report of the U.P.S.C. The Commission stated:<sup>6</sup>

"A written test is no doubt some evidence of the intellectual development of the candidates; but with the widely acknowledged deterioration in the standards of our University degrees, it has become in many cases merely the evidence of power to memorise book knowledge than of genuine mental qualities—the *viva voce* test is, therefore, designed primarily to assess those mental qualities which taken together may be said to constitute 'personality', 'brain', or 'intellect'."

In order to improve the quality of interviews, the Commission tried the "house party" system of tests as used by what is commonly known as British Method II, which involved observation of a limited number of persons in residence for over 2-3 days. This method, though found useful, was discarded because of the practical difficulties involved in handling a large number of applicants and in requiring specialists on the Board. Subsequently, the Commission tried for each candidate an extended interview of half an hour, supplementing

<sup>5</sup> M. A. Muttalib, *op. cit.*, pp. 124.

<sup>6</sup> First Report of the U.P.S.C., para. 12.

it with a debate. This method was also discarded because of the vehement criticism of the time consumed in recruitment.<sup>7</sup> (The criticism in Parliament referred to the results being announced 4 months after the written examination.)

In considering suggestions for improvement in the selection procedure, it is important to consider the large number of candidates who apply and who appear for these examinations, and secondly, the time factor involved in evaluation and announcement of results.

The numbers involved for the I.A.S., etc. examination in 1964-65 for 445 posts were as follows:<sup>8</sup>

|                          |       |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Applicants               | 6,414 |
| Eligible for examination | 5,667 |
| Appeared for examination | 4,005 |
| Interviewed              | 828   |
| Recommended              | 468   |

The examinations were held in October-November 1964, and the results were announced on April 8, 1965, that is, about 5-6 months after the examinations.

The Commission's Secretariat does the first screening operation from the application forms received to see whether the minimum qualifications, age, etc., are adhered to. The second stage of screening is after the written examinations. These examinations for compulsory, optional, and additional papers are set and evaluated by eminent University Professors. If there are more than 250 papers to be examined, another examiner is appointed with one examiner acting as the coordinator, to see that similar standards are followed by different examiners.

#### *Criteria, Examination, Reliability*

What makes a good civil servant or a good administrator ? Shri Nehru believed "people with minds, people with vision, people with a desire to achieve, who have some initiative for doing a job and who can think how to do it".<sup>9</sup> Bhalerao in discussing the kind of civil servants required in India mentioned "the public servants have to be

<sup>7</sup> Eighth Report of the U.P.S.C. 1957-1958, para-6 (4).

<sup>8</sup> Fifteenth Report of the U.P.S.C. 1964-65, Appendix V. ✓

<sup>9</sup> C. N. Bhalerao, *op. cit.*, pp. 42.

persons of high ability and intellectual qualities, persons who are alert, resourceful, loyal and devoted to the service of the community and above all, men of undoubted integrity and honesty".<sup>10</sup>

More recently, some of the intellectual components identified in an administrator's job are "judgment, knowledge of immediate situation, ability in problem solving, analysis of available information, developing alternative solutions, creativity and planning, uncertainty absorption and value assertions".<sup>11</sup> How helpful are such statements to the selectors ?

If we agree that the first requirement is a level of intellectual calibre, and secondly, a whole complex of qualities mentioned above, namely, judgment, problem solving, analysis of available information, developing alternative solutions, creativity, etc., then what should be the selection procedure which would yield meaningful data for the selectors to base their evaluation, not forgetting that time is an important consideration.

In the existing system, the written papers, namely, the compulsory, optional and additional papers, attempt to measure the intellectual calibre, the general knowledge, and the depth of understanding of the candidates. The personal qualities, however, are judged on the basis of an interview, generally of about half an hour's duration. The weightage given to the interview is 17 to 22 per cent of the total marks (17 per cent for I.A.S. and 22 per cent for I.F.S.).

With the essay type of examinations used, there are several problems of reliability and validity. Thus, in compulsory subjects, even though the candidates have the same examination papers, there are likely to be a number of examiners, with one acting as the co-ordinator. There is a great deal of research to indicate that there is a problem of reliability when the same person examines the papers, but the problem increases when more than one person is involved.

In the optional papers, how does one ensure that the level of complexity and difficulty in the different subjects is of the same order. Do persons who opt for Sanskrit, Russian, Mathematics have a better deal than those opting for Philosophy, Economics, etc.? In Universities some faculties are considered more liberal than others. How is equivalence between different subjects provided for ?

<sup>10</sup> C. N. Bhalerao, *op. cit.*, pp. 42.

<sup>11</sup> Renato Tagiuri, *Research Needs in Executive Selection—A Symposium*, Boston, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1961, Preface.

Finally, there is the question of language. The emphasis on English varies in the different States and Universities. The Government, U.P.S.C. and prospective candidates are concerned with the medium in which the candidates are examined.

It is suggested that for testing the intellectual calibre and the general knowledge of the candidates an Objective Test of the type that the U.S. Civil Service and most of the graduate schools in U.S.A. use for admissions be considered. The Objective Type test is likely to be more reliable, be less dependent on the candidate's facility with English, although his comprehension of the language will be tested, and in terms of time very much quicker, several thousand forms could be handled either on the computer or manually within days.

Some make the plea that since Indian students are not used to Objective Tests, these should not be used. There are two reasons, why this plea does not make sufficient sense. Firstly, many companies in India and the two Institutes of Management are already, using these tests with considerable success. Also Indian students seeking admission abroad in the graduate schools do take these examinations, and the good students do well. Secondly, students wishing to take the I.A.S. and Allied examinations can do some practice with Objective Tests. A slow, expensive method whose reliability is less should certainly be discarded for more efficient methods.

#### *Case Discussion and Individual Interview*

Candidates who pass the requirements of the Objective Test, should be allowed to proceed to the second stage. The object of the second stage should be to test the judgment, ability in problem solving, developing alternative solutions, initiative, and relationships with others. These are qualities, which are impossible to assess either in the Objective Test or in the present type of essay paper, or even in the present type of an interview.

In order to get some idea of the judgment, sense of responsibility, etc., of a person, it is suggested that a case discussion be used among a group of about 15 candidates to provide the evaluators some idea of the qualities considered necessary for an administrator. A case consists of an actual situation in a written form, which has been faced by an administrator, with the surrounding facts, half-facts, opinions, political and social pressures, on the basis of which the administrator had to make a decision.

In the group discussion, the candidates (the case is read earlier) would analyse the situation, develop alternative ways of handling the problem, convey their values and 'biases' and to some extent, their flexibility and openness to others' point of view. An hour's discussion on a case can be very revealing and can certainly help identify the most promising and the most difficult candidates.

The observation of the candidate's performance in a case discussion can be supplemented by an individual interview. The data emanating from the case discussion can make the individual interview more meaningful and provide opportunities for the selectors to go in depth on certain issues. In the individual interview, step by step, verifications or contradictions are put to test by experienced interviewers.

The second stage recommended, therefore, is the case discussion on an administrative problem, followed by an individual interview. Experience of this method has shown that the Committee members generally have a consensus as to who should be selected and rejected.

Further, experience of companies using this method also indicates that it is possible to handle about 12 to 15 candidates per day.

#### *Training Period*

Candidates selected in the second phase are recommended for training at the Administrative Staff College. The first 3 months at the College could be utilized further for observations and evaluation. Here the candidates are seen in a variety of situations, formal and informal, academic and social, etc. If there are serious doubts about any candidate, a comprehensive report about him should be sent to the U.P.S.C. for a final evaluation.

The three phases of the recruitment-selection procedure, therefore, recommended are :

- (1) An objective examination to test the intellectual calibre and general knowledge of the candidates. The cut-off point should be such as to provide 3 to 4 times the number of candidates as openings for posts.
- (2) A case discussion and individual interviews for those only, who have passed the first test.
- (3) A selected number recommended as trainees. On the basis of evaluations received, to make a final recommendation for appointments.

At the end of the above selection process, it is hoped there will emerge a more "whole" and a less "fragmented" picture about the candidate.

#### Time Factor

In 1953, the Commission tried on a limited scale the use of Group Methods, psychological tests, and interviews with a psychologist on the Personality Test Boards. The time factor involved in such tests was severely criticized in Parliament. With increasing numbers that apply, the problem of time could take serious proportions. It seems that the stage where the time factor can be really cut short is in the use of the Objective Tests. Several thousand examination papers could be corrected and tabulated by the computer or manually in a few days.

For the Group Discussion and individual interviews, the numbers that can be handled per day are 12 to 15. On the basis of about 1,000 candidates to be interviewed, it would take one Board about 3 months. If 2 Boards can meet simultaneously, and perhaps, exchange membership in between, so that common standards are maintained, the interviews would take about a month and a half. The total process of examination, group discussion and interviews could be finished within two to three months.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The core of the problem concerning the Union Public Service Commission lies in the need for trust and confidence in its functioning. The autonomy of the Commission, the terms and conditions of appointment of the members, the policy decisions taken concerning the relative weights assigned to examinations and interviews, all seem in the direction of safeguarding the trust and confidence of the public in the impartial functioning of the Commission.

On the one hand, there are elaborate precautions taken to ensure the independence of judgment of the Commission members. On the other hand, negligible importance is attached to their judgment by giving a weightage of only 17 to 22 per cent to interviews. The weightage given to the interviews also seems to convey lack of trust and confidence in the independence of the evaluators, or at any rate, the fear of misuse of subjective judgment.

The Union Public Service Commission in its attempt to be impartial and above suspicion has so modified its selection procedure that

the means have become more important than the ends. The end is to select administrators with certain qualities—yet the need for objective, quantitative data, have become ends in themselves. The objective of finding the right persons seems to have become secondary to measurement of those qualities which lend themselves to quantitative measurements.

A fund of factual knowledge is useful for a person, holding a responsible administrative position, but the possession of analytical ability, the capacity to discern and evaluate relevant facts in complex systems of inter-relationships is also a pre-requisite for taking over administrative responsibility. The selection methods must attempt to achieve this objective rather than follow methods which are least likely to be misunderstood or criticized in public or in Parliament.

If we accept that there is a need for a different kind of an administrator—that is, one who can handle innovative and developmental tasks—then we require to have selectors who have the experiences, and who reflect the attitudes, beliefs and values of a ‘developmental personality’. We would also require selection methods that could help identify such people.

It is suggested that the responsibility for selection and development of people in Services should be broader based than at present. Younger people from the Services could be involved in determining the kind of people required for the present day tasks, and in sharing responsibility for the selection and development of the next generation of administrators.

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## DISTRICT PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION—A CASE FOR UNIFIED AND INTEGRATED APPROACH\*

*Y. Raghavaiah*

THE concept of district administration both from a real and administrative stand-point, signifies the traditional provincial pattern of field organization. The pivot of provincial field organization has been the revenue and police set-up with functional field agencies operating as secondary institutions. The State Government field establishments of the revenue, the police, the State Development Departments, the local bodies and the judicial organization in a revenue district are considered to be constituting the district administration. But more important is the fact that all these field agencies, except the judicial organization, have been integrated into a well-knit administrative pattern through the office of the District Collector. It should be said that this pattern of field organization, with "monocratic" control mechanism offers excellent operational facilities to the State Government. At the same time, the pattern of district administration ensures adequate areal specialization inasmuch as it has provided sufficient operational freedom to the Collector to decide many matters of areal significance in the field itself. The pattern enjoys the advantage of conforming to the conceptual needs of an areal-based field organization in contrast to controlled and non-discretionary pattern of field administration, while, at the same time, it has considerably reduced the burden of State Government, as it were, and facilitated its devotion to other important state problems. The district administration, therefore, has been a settled and going concern for centuries. No wonder that the most radical of State Governments are reluctant to surrender this efficacious pattern to popular Panchayati Raj bodies.<sup>1</sup>

### THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

However, the district administration except from the areal stand-point, has been undergoing a literal metamorphosis in recent times.

\*Based on studies in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

<sup>1</sup> See M. T. Raju Committee Report, Government of Andhra Pradesh, which has *inter alia* recommended that the office of District Collector should be strengthened by giving additional powers. It has also suggested the constitution of District Development Boards under the Chairmanship of the Collector.

- matters, irrespective of the level of agency, that affect the life and happiness of the people in the district;
- (6) Several federal, state and quasi-governmental agencies, even those that take more than one district as unit, have adequate operational awareness of district while functioning in a particular area;
  - (7) There are some agencies that take district as sub-area, as, for example, the Electricity Board, and establish sub-area headquarters;
  - (8) Comprehensive areal co-ordination can be effectively achieved in a revenue district since many state and quasi-governmental agencies, in addition to popular local bodies, take the district as unit and enjoy settled administrative relationships;
  - (9) The concept of large-scale planning requires integrated and joint programming and operations in a given area. It is advantageous to effect co-ordinated action with district as unit for reasons cited above;
  - (10) Since several agencies take district as unit for operations, it would promote team work and co-operative endeavour among personnel of different agencies, if other agencies with related functions but with different areal patterns take district as sub-area and establish sub-area headquarters;
  - (11) The district as unit for administration would offer opportunities to evaluate the impact of total administrative effort on the area and people; and finally,
  - (12) It would add to the clarity of the citizen and facilitate his effective transaction with administration. In this connection, a regional co-ordination organization consisting of several districts, the alternative to district, would forego many of the advantages of district areal co-ordination cited above. In fact, such an attempt may not be areal co-ordination in the real sense of the term. For areal specialization, among other things, is conditioned by economic, social and political identity of a group of people living in a given area.

So that the traditional concept of district administration has been set aside for purposes of this essay and an attempt is made to visualize

the emerging pattern of areal organization. A brief description of experiments and the institutional devises that have/are being worked out to promote integrated and unified administrative effort in the area of a district would throw ample light on the emerging areal organization.

#### THE EMERGING PATTERN OF COORDINATED DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT

With the advent of large scale planning on the one hand and Panchayati Raj on the other, there is a perceivable awareness among the operational agencies of different governmental and quasi-governmental organizations to impart co-ordinated approach in programming and implementation. There is growing consultation, both vertical and horizontal, between agencies discharging related functions. In fact, the various agencies of Central, State and local levels are coming closer to each other and a new pattern of areal organization is emerging. Thus, the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department has a consultation machinery in the field to strike a co-ordinated action in providing posts and telegraphs facilities; the Life Insurance Corporation of India seeks the assistance of the Gram Panchayats, co-operatives and local leadership to mobilize rural insurance; the Regional Officer of the State Khadi and Village Industries Board keeps himself in close touch with the local bodies for purposes of co-ordinated programming and implementation; the Standing Committee-I of the Zila Parishad acts as the district Advisory body for the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation; the field Executive Engineer of the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board attends the meetings of the Zila Parishad; the Executive Engineers of both Roads and Buildings and Irrigation Branches of the State Public Works Department are in close contact with the Zila Parishad and the District Collector; the plan programmes of the Municipalities in the district constitute an integral part of the District Plan prepared by the Zila Parishad; and the District National Savings Organizer necessarily seeks the assistance of Block Development Officers and the non-officials in the appointment of Authorized Agents and also in mobilizing savings in the rural areas. This trend is, doubtless, going to revolutionize the whole traditional concept of district administration. In fact, the interdependent nature of agency functions particularly of related activities, makes it a functional necessity for them to strike a co-ordinated action.

#### THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS IN DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT

The Department has no uniform areal pattern. It normally establishes a Division for a couple of districts. However, it takes a

revenue district for accounting purposes. The Department has a consultation machinery in the form of a Divisional Advisory Committee, consisting of the Superintendent of Posts and Telegraphs, the District Collectors, Members of Parliament and State Legislature from the area, Divisional Engineer Telegraphs, Chairman of Municipalities with 10,000 and more population, Chairmen of Zila Parishads and representatives of interest groups. The Committee discusses matters of local interest and its decisions are recommendatory in character. This agency offers opportunities for mutual consultation in programming and implementation and meets twice a year. The significance of Posts and Telegraphs facilities in rural areas is too obvious to need any mention. The expansion programmes of both the Posts and Telegraphs Department and the Panchayati Raj institutions and other field agencies are naturally interdependent. Such programmes as establishing Maternity and health centres, rural industries and educational institutions in Panchayati Raj bodies and other State ventures need to be correlated with the expansion programmes of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. There is also need for mutual programme adjustments to avoid waste of effort and bad blood.<sup>2</sup> It should be said in this connection that the Posts and Telegraphs Department itself needs the wholehearted co-operation from both local leadership and the heads of other field agencies. The local leadership has to ensure adequate protection to postal establishments in remote villages, help the postal authorities in promoting small savings and even assume the responsibilities of Postal Department in interior villages where regular postal facilities cannot be provided. Again, effective provision of postal facilities depend very much on the Road Transport Corporation. Above all, the Posts and Telegraphs Department, in spite of being a central agency, has to be responsive to the local peoples' needs, wishes and aspirations to be really efficacious.

#### RURAL INSURANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF PANCHAYATI RAJ

The nationalization of life insurance in India ushered in an era of determined and large scale efforts to mobilize rural insurance. In the absence of any adequate social security arrangements, life insurance plays a vital role in offering the much-needed protection to the ordinary man. But rural Insurance, a field almost untraversed before a nationalization, has always been a thorny problem. The superstitious

<sup>2</sup> In one instance, uncoordinated programming led to a bitter quarrel between a Panchayat Samiti and the Superintendent Posts & Telegraphs in connection with establishing a sub-post office at block headquarters—case from Nizamabad District in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

and poverty-stricken peasantry and the inevitable transport bottleneck in the countryside have stood as unsurmountable barriers to all programmes of expansion. It was soon realized that rural insurance would not gain much headway without the wholehearted cooperation of the new local leadership created by Democratic Decentralization.

The Ajmer Division of Life Insurance Corporation of India (L.I.C.) made pioneering experiments in enlisting the cooperation of grass-root democracies for mobilizing rural insurance. The Life Insurance Corporation of India and the Government of Rajasthan, after a thorough-going assessment of rural conditions, came to an agreement to make joint effort for mobilizing rural insurance on the basis of mutual benefit. The Government of Rajasthan included rural insurance in their "12-point programme" and issued instructions to Block Development Officers and the local bodies to work in co-operation with Life Insurance field staff. The Block Staff and the Field Officers of the L.I.C., made joint tours of the villages and the local leaders co-operated in contacting the villagers. The V.L.Ws., and the Sarpanches were instructed to canvass from door to door. The L.I.C., on its part chalked out a programme of rural insurance which could be of sufficient interest to the local bodies. It was arranged to issue insurance agencies to the Gram Panchayats and the commission earnings of the Panchayats were to be used for village development. It was calculated that if a Gram Panchayat could book 150 policies assuring a sum of three lakh rupees, the commission earnings would be sufficient to construct a school building or a Panchayat Ghar. On this basis, the L.I.C., fixed targets in the form of building a particular number of school buildings and Panchayat Ghars.<sup>3</sup> Similar attempts were made in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has also taken up the matter and issued instructions to the B.D.Os. to give all facilities to the L.I.C. field staff in securing business in the villages.<sup>4</sup> The Government of Andhra Pradesh and the L.I.C. agreed that the block should be the unit for operations and an L.I.C. field officer should be stationed in every block headquarters. In short, any large scale attempt at mobilizing rural insurance has to enlist local co-operation and participation of local leadership in the movement. That the local bodies find in these programmes a unique opportunity to provide the much-needed social and economic security to the ordinary villager is too obvious to need any elaboration.

<sup>3</sup> O. P. Gupta, "Rural Insurance", *Yogakshema*, Vol. V, No. 8-9, 1961.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Memorandum No. 1092. P11/61-10, dated January 9, 1962, Department of Planning & Local Administration, Government of Andhra Pradesh.

### *Rural Industries in District Development*

The State Khadi and Village Industries Board is an important financing and development agency in the district. The success of the Board's activities in the district obviously depends on the co-operation of the local bodies. In fact, many of its programmes and the finances are channelled through the Panchayat Samitis. For purposes of financing village industries programmes, taken up by the Panchayati Raj institutions, the Board operates through the District Industries Officer of the State Industries and Commerce Department. In addition, the Board has also programmes of independently financing the rural industries through its own Regional Officer. Besides, the Board has its own trading activities of Khadi production-cum-sales centres conducted through Group Area Organizers. There seems to be no worthwhile co-ordination between the Board's own activities and the activities of the Panchayati Raj bodies and those of the State Industries Department in the district. The Regional Officers of the Board operate independently in the district, although they attend the meetings of Zila Parishad and Panchayat Samitis on invitation. However, attempts are being made to provide integrated approach to village industries development through the technique of area planning—a hopeful sign of improvement.

### *State Road Transport in District Development—Role of Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation*

Transport is the carrier of civilization in a backward agrarian country like India. It plays, naturally, a vital role in the development of the countryside. The local leadership also bestowed a lot of attention on the efficient functioning of State Road Transport and it is interesting to find that in the pre-Panchayati Raj District Planning and Development Committees, the Regional Transport Officer was an active official member. The Zila Parishads were subsequently made advisory committees to the Road Transport Corporation for each district. The Standing Committee-I functions as the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation Advisory Council for the district concerned. This Council meets every two months and the representatives of the Corporation are present in the meetings. The Standing Committee-I of Zila Parishad discusses problems of opening new routes, additional buses, additional stops, late coming of buses and passenger facilities.<sup>5</sup> The Corporation on its side discusses with

<sup>5</sup> Some Zila Parishads have gone to the extent of making a detailed assessment of the functioning of Road Transport Corporation in their respective districts. For instance, the Kurnool Zila Parishad pointed out in November 1963 that the Corporation has

the local bodies for timely repair of roads, broadening of roads and laying of new roads. For, the Corporation officers believe that at least 30 per cent repairs to their vehicles is due to bad roads.

#### *Rural Electrification in District Development—Role of Andhra Pradesh Electricity Board*

The rural electrification programmes of the Board play an important role in the development of agriculture and rural industries. The erstwhile District Planning and Development Committees had Electricity Sub-Committees and the Executive Engineer (Electricity) was an active official member. The demand for electric power for productive purposes like lift irrigation, pumpsets and rural industrialization is growing in the countryside. While there is a growing demand for closer relations between the local bodies and the Board's Field Officers, no useful attempts have been made to enlist the co-operation of the local leadership. The Executive Engineer (Electricity) attends the meetings of the Zila Parishad on invitation. He is also supposed to take prior permission from the higher officials for attending such meetings. This arrangement has created a lot of bad blood between the local bodies and the Board's Field officials. The Board's officials concede that co-operation of the Panchayats and other local bodies is very much necessary for operational purposes in villages that have already been electrified. There have also been attempts to start rural electricity co-operatives in parts of Andhra Pradesh. All this only reinforces the reasoning that there should be close relationship between the local bodies and the Board and the latter should be more responsive to the needs of the area.

#### *State Public Works Department in District Development*

The State Public Works Department is directly under the control of the State Heads of the Departments. It is divided into two Branches, viz., Roads and Buildings, and Irrigation. Construction, repair and maintenance programmes in the district are shared by the local bodies and the Roads and Buildings Branch of the State Public Works Department. The construction, repair and maintenance of minor irrigation works in the district are also shared between the local bodies and the minor irrigation branch. The survey part of the work for

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sustained a loss of 3 lakhs in Kurnool Division after Nationalization; the exorbitant loading charges; marking of stages in a manner convenient to the Corporation, facilitating it to cancel services on the ground that there was no traffic, over-speeding; non-issue of tickets and leakage of revenue to the Corporation. The Assistant Traffic Manager who was present in the Meetings said that 300 complaints were received and that 60 conductors were dismissed.

minor irrigation is done by a separate agency known as the Miner Irrigation Project. The Executive Engineers of the P.W.D. in the district keep themselves in touch with the local bodies for co-ordinated work. There is also a District Irrigation Board to achieve unified approach in irrigation development.

### *Rural-Urban Relations in District*

The urban development programmes and their implementation in a district, particularly those with strong rural base, have to be welded into the texture of development programmes of the Panchayati Raj bodies. There have been attempts to integrate Municipal programmes of development with those of rural development programmes by subjecting municipal five year plans to the scrutiny of Zila Parishad. The City Municipal Five Year Plan programmes constitute an integral part of the District Plan prepared by the Zila Parishad. The City Municipal Chairmen are also members of Standing Committee-I in some Zila Parishads. It is needless to mention the importance of integration of development programmes of rural and urban local bodies, particularly, since a bulk of urban centres are rural-based in the districts. The Rural-Urban Relationship Committee Report has admirably brought out the significance of this aspect of co-ordinated development. It is sufficient here to state that the present arrangements suffer from being extremely formal in character inasmuch as the rural urban co-operation is a guided movement from above. There is not much evidence to show that, except for formal arrangements in conformity with Government orders, there is any real cooperation as such among them.

### THE PANORAMA OF ADMINISTRATIVE JUNGLE

The institutional and *ad hoc* arrangements cited above for effecting inter-agency co-ordination and unified approach to district development are highly inadequate in the context of the need for rapid economic development. In fact, the district is an area where an irrational medley of administering agencies operate with their own areal jurisdictions, modes of administration, inter-agency jealousies and "departmental separatism". The vital problems of intra-agency co-ordination, co-ordinating the functions of allied agencies, rural-urban co-operation, inter-agency co-ordination and inter-governmental co-operation on an areal basis have yet to be tackled on a rational footing. It is needless to state that *ad hoc* arrangements have limited utility in the context of the development magnitudes in the

countryside. It would be profitable to illustrate, at this stage, the problems of isolated efforts of different administrative agencies in a district:

(1) The construction, repair and maintenance of roads in a district are controlled by six different agencies: (a) the State highways are under the control of the Executive Engineer, P.W.D.; (b) the Executive Engineer, Irrigation Branch looks to the construction of feeder roads from irrigation projects to the main roads; (c) the Zila Parishad controls the district highways and inter-samithi roads; (d) the Panchayat Samithi controls inter-villages roads; (d) the Panchayat Samithi controls inter-villages roads; (e) the Gram Panchayats control the internal and link roads; and (f) the city municipalities control the roads in the municipal limits.<sup>6</sup>

There is no institutional mechanism, except *ad hoc* meetings between the concerned officers whenever some specific problem crops up, to integrate and co-ordinate the work of all these agencies in a district.

(2) One encounters almost identical problems with reference to educational programmes in a district. The Gram Panchayats deal with pre-primary education; the Panchayat Samithis with primary education, the Zila Parishad with secondary education; the city municipalities in Andhra area of Andhra Pradesh and the State Education Department in Telengana cities look to all phases of education and collegiate education is controlled by the Universities and State Education Department. It is needless, again, to state that the expansion programmes of these agencies are so mutually inter-dependent that close integration of priorities and targets have to be ensured for the success of educational administration.

(3) With reference to industrial programming in the district, there is much to be desired. There are several agencies that are concerned with industrial development in the district: (a) the local bodies deal with Khadi and Village Industries; (b) the Khadi and Village Industries Board has its own production and trading activities in the district; (c) the rural industrial estates

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<sup>6</sup> Within the territorial limits of some Municipalities, the State Public Works Department controls some roads. The City Municipalities are required to pay their share of repair and maintenance charges to the Public Works Department. It was found that this anomaly led to conflicts between the two agencies. For instance, it was found that the State P.W.D. Engineers take up road repairs without consulting the Municipality and sometimes they ignore the representations of Municipality to repair particular roads.

are managed directly by the State Industries Department through Estate Engineers and Industries Officers; and (d) medium industries, both co-operative and others are controlled by the State Industries Department, so that different industrial establishments of Governmental, quasi-governmental and private nature operate in the district as islands of their own without any internal co-operation and joint programming and operations.

(4) The relationship between the central sector agencies and other state and local agencies in the district, again leave much to be desired. One notices a strong sense of hierarchic arrogance among different Field Officers of different levels, operating side by side. The federal officers in the field have a tendency to treat the "sundry" officials of local bodies and even the State Government officials with certain amount of contempt. For, there is as good a problem of protocol in administration. The pay structure, the service conditions, the independent nature of their work and their selfrating of performance abilities made the central officers in the field to move with certain amount of imperial air. It is also true that this contempt is in the descending order with each higher level talking contemptuously of the next lower levels. Further, there is all round a popular belief that efficiency decreases down the hierarchy. Like-wise, the officials in general have a tendency to underrate the role of non-official leadership in development effort. These attitudes obviously create unsurmountable communication barriers. In an age of democracy, it is not uncommon to find lower level officials retaliating the higher level officials through non-cooperation, so that some Block Development Officers and the Block staff do not co-operate with the Field Officers of the Life Insurance Corporation. And likewise some local bodies and their officials non-cooperate with field staff of Electricity Board in the work of rural electrification.

Still another problem is that of the traditional neglect of field establishments in a backward agrarian country like India. This situation reflects itself in the type of personnel posted in the field areas. The general practice has been to retain talented and trained administrative and technical personnel at headquarters organization and assign comparatively inexperienced and less promising officers to the field areas.<sup>7</sup> There is hierarchic design, as it were, in the placement of

<sup>7</sup> A widespread criticism is that raw graduates fresh from Universities are posted as officers (particularly in Agriculture and Engineering) in the field. It is not difficult to find

personnel, so that the tendency to post less talented persons to field areas is not merely the malady afflicting the headquarters but it is found throughout the administrative pyramid. Thus we find that talent decreases down the hierarchy and also horizontally. The more capable officers are retained at field headquarters and others are sent to lower levels. Horizontally, the main offices, at various levels, retain better officers and give over the less talented to attached offices. The immediate consequence of this situation is not only low performance but there is serious imbalance in the performance of a given administrative unit. There is a tendency to thrust heavier responsibilities on some relatively meritorious officers and many others are left to waste their time. It is not difficult to come across a number of instances where some officers would be burning midnight oil while others move about carelessly. Again, this situation gives rise to strong pockets of authority with attendant problems. Authority gets concentrated in a few hard-working individual officers, upsetting the organizational arrangements and these individual officers, sometimes, become the little ruling monarchs and even misuse authority. In one Zila Parishad, it was found that any question that needs some mental exercise would be automatically referred to the Planning Superintendent whose decision is usually final and the Secretary of Z.P., is merely show-boy of the organization. An allied problem of decreasing talent is that there is obvious reluctance on the part of the headquarters to delegate adequate authority to field personnel. In effect, a vicious circle, is built up with suspicious headquarters and submissive field officials concentrating on performing "non-discretionary" duties as James Fesler admirably puts it.

The cumulative impact of all these forces on administrative relationships, communication process, co-ordinated and co-operative team endeavour are too obvious to need any mention. In this process, the essential unity of administrative effort and the underlying basic assumption of government as an organic entity receives a lethal effect. As stated elsewhere, the multiplicity of agencies, differing areal jurisdictions, isolated programmes and operational planning, variations in techniques and procedures of different agencies have all made the field administration a confused mess. As a consequence, we see flourishing red-tape, retarded development, "departmental separatism", inter-agency jealousies and, finally, a confused and bewildered citizen. Additionally, in view of this administrative jungle with so many organizational "Animals" sprawling in the field, it has become a

serious problem to evaluate the impact of total administrative effort on a given area. There is no doubt that so much more is yet to be done to impart rationality into field administration.

The fact of the matter is that field administration is made in the image of the headquarters pattern of a given government. In India, for instance, the federal polity with wide regional variations, its democratic and pluralistic culture with innumerable autonomous and quasi-autonomous political and administrative organizations have a powerful echo in the field administration. So that, the field presents a picture of an amalgam of different administrative and political agencies blissfully doing their respective jobs and jealously guarding their individuality. But the fact of the situation is that there is high degree of functional and operational inter-dependence among almost all these agencies. In the context of large scale planning for rapid development, there is a functional necessity to weld the activities of different agencies into an integrated administrative process. Planning itself is a powerful integrating factor and it checks the divisive forces of functionalization. Again, areal specialization also reduces the rigours of divisive and competitive forces and promotes co-operative trends. In fact, the whole bunch of ideas going in the name of "area planning", "local planning" and even the emergence of Panchayati Raj bodies are all truly attempts to impart areal specialization in field administration. Programmes have to be geared to the local needs, local peculiarities and the people's aspirations in a given area. It should be said that the areal factor impresses significant variations on functional specialization. The areal peculiarities require an intelligent adjustment of specialization and even national scheme of priorities in a given area. This approach pre-supposes a higher degree of internal harmony, consistency and an awareness among the field personnel about the essential unity of purposes and objectives of the nation.

To give concrete shape to the concept of comprehensive areal organization in a revenue district, it is possible to project some thoughts about devising the necessary institutional machinery. There could be four possible solutions for evolving co-ordinated district development. Firstly, a people's consultative council at the district level, consisting of the Chairman, Zila Parishad, the local M.L.A.'s, M.L.C.'s, M.P.'s of the area and a few representatives of interest groups, could be constituted for purposes of guiding and co-ordinating the activities of different agencies of central, state and local levels in the district. This could be termed as the political solution for promoting areal specialization and development. Here, it should be said that there is no sufficient reason as to why a field officer of either Central or a State

Government cannot subject himself to the directions and guidance of duly elected people's representatives of the area. Again, while the top administrative personnel of the Central and State Governments are subject to rigorous popular controls, their field officers have only bureaucratic supervision. Thus, it could be logically argued that lack of popular control over Central and State Government field officers is an anomaly in the democratic society obtaining in India. The peoples' consultative council could be a centre for consultation for different field officers in the district. It also could function as an agency for inter-agency co-ordination in programming and implementation. Secondly, an administrative solution could be in terms of creating functional boards, on the basis of subject-matter being dealt by different agencies. There could be a district education board, a district irrigation development board, a district industrial development board, a district agricultural development board and a district welfare and service board. Each board could be composed of representatives, both of officials and non-officials, dealing with the same or related subjects. Such an arrangement while promoting integrated sectoral development, however, would not solve problems of comprehensive areal co-ordination and joint effort. Also it would not solve the inter-sectoral problems of agencies performing inter-related functions. Thirdly, a comprehensive areal co-ordination machinery, presided over by a generalist administrator like the District Collector or a non-official could be established. Such an agency could be composed of M.L.As, M.L.Cs and M.Ps of the area, the Chairman of Zila Parishad and the chief field officers of various functional departments. A number of functional and general purposes committees within the agency could be created to solve problems of integrated development. Finally, a combination of the above solutions with modification could be yet another way of achieving the goal. For instance, there could be a peoples' consultative council consisting of purely non-official elements and a parallel administrative coordination machinery consisting of only officials and presided over by the District Collector. The problems of liaison could be effected by making the District Collector as the secretary to the Peoples' Consultative Council.

The institutional devices apart, the objective of co-ordinated team endeavour for rapid social and economic development should remain the paramount consideration. Truly, all attempts at inter-agency co-ordination and unified development administration in the field depends very much on inter-governmental co-operation, particularly in a federal polity as India. One of the most important needs of our administration is that of promoting cooperative forces at the state and central levels. This will necessarily have a salutary effect

on the field administration. At this stage, it will not be out of place to mention that the central and state ministers should bestow more attention on the functioning of field agencies. The official supervision of field agencies should atleast be supplemented by popular direction and guidance. In this context, it would be worthwhile to ponder over the feasibility of creating a cadre of junior ministers both at Central and State levels, to devote greater attention to field administration. For, once sound policies have been laid down, efficient implementation is the ultimate *raison d'etre* of public administration.

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## **BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION— FUNCTIONS OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF DIRECTORS\***

*C. J. Curran*

**H**OW to reconcile freedom with responsibility, public service with creative initiative, and financial autonomy with a proper care for the protection of the public purse are the constant themes of the questions which are addressed to us in the BBC. They go to the very heart of our British broadcasting philosophy. The answers lie in the historical development of British society and in the fortunate accidents of the early days of broadcasting. It is not easy to transplant the roots of a society. Nor can one expect particular pieces of good fortune to be repeated in other circumstances. But it may be that the British experience can be a source of ideas which others can apply in their own circumstances—though wisdom lies more often in recognizing the effects of differences between societies than in assuming that the surface similarities are a sufficient ground to justify uncritical imitation.

The BBC started as a limited company, formed in 1922 by a group of firms interested in the manufacture of radio equipment. The initial motive was commercial, pure and simple. Programmes sell sets. But the Managing Director of the BBC was John Reith—a man of strong will, high ideals and great vision. He saw the potential value of broadcasting as a public service, and in 1926, the BBC was established by Royal Charter as a public corporation providing a public service, as he had wished.

The BBC was the first of the great public corporations in Britain—a body charged with providing a nation-wide service under public control, but not directly responsible to Parliament. This concept was of special importance to broadcasting because, together with the methods of financing the service from licence fees paid by the public, it enabled the BBC to operate without detailed political control, either of its programmes, or of its development.

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\* Based on the text of a public lecture delivered on March 8, 1967 at I.I.P.A., New Delhi.

But the problem of responsibility is not solved simply by creating a public corporation with a Board of Governors. Much depends on the character of the Board both collectively and individually. No one man could claim, with any honesty, to be able to represent in himself the public interest. But the Board of Governors of the BBC is probably the only way in which the public interest in broadcasting *could* be represented. It would be impossible to choose by popular vote, for example, a body of men and women to decide the questions of taste, aesthetics, morality, or political balance which are bound to face a broadcasting organization. Such a body, once elected, would be under very strong pressure to sacrifice minority programme interests. It is part of the audience evidence produced by broadcasting that mass taste does not easily tolerate the emergence of the unusual or unconventional in programmes, and yet it is in these areas that broadcasting has made some of its greatest advances as a medium of mass communication. In Britain we have solved the problem of selecting a Board by using the mechanism of the "Queen in Council". Briefly, this procedure removes selection from the direct field of politics. The nominations are made by the Head of State, advised by the Head of Government in office for the time being. The recommendations must be objective. This is not simply a constitutional formality. In our Parliamentary state it is also a political necessity, because if proper objectivity is not maintained, retribution will undoubtedly follow when the Opposition eventually returns to office as the successor government.

The Governors of the BBC are responsible not only for a high technical standard of service, but also for maintaining the moral and social values which should characterize good public service broadcasting—the objectivity of news services, the impartiality of current affairs programmes, a sufficient volume of good educational programmes and a high standard of taste and discretion in the entertainment programme output as a whole. The fact that the Board is concerned with the broader values as well as with efficiency naturally affects its composition. It has never included anyone engaged in the business of broadcasting. It need not include anyone with practical experience of the professional techniques of broadcasting. The requirement is essentially for an outside view of a professional operation.

The Board, therefore, consists of men and women who are engaged primarily in other occupations but who are able and willing to give up a part of their time to the task of supervising and controlling broadcasting services. The Governors are selected as persons of independence of mind and judgment, with knowledge and experience of public affairs. Our late Chairman, Lord Normanbrook, suggested

that the BBC Governors should be people of equable temper and judgment, neither hopefully "with it" nor hopelessly "pass it", people of wide sympathies who are able to take some interest in all types of programmes and have real enthusiasm for some. Between them they should be in touch with a fairly broad range of public taste and opinion. They are trustees for all—not representatives of particular interests.

The Board meets once a fortnight for most of the year. Their meetings last about four hours, from which it will be clear that the business transacted consists of more than simple formalities. Between Board meetings the Chairman has the power to act on urgent business which cannot conveniently wait until the next meeting. When he accepts the appointment of Chairman, he undertakes that this work shall have first call—though not exclusive call—on his time. In practice he is available for consultation at Broadcasting House for most of the day for most days of the week. The members of the Board spend a substantial amount of time in viewing and listening between meetings. It follows that they have a wide knowledge of the programmes currently being broadcast.

This statement raises the question of the extent of their editorial control over programme output. It has to be said first that the Director-General as the Chief Executive to the Board is responsible to them for all the executive aspects of the BBC's operations, including the programme output. He reports to them on what has been done or on what is intended. Their advice and comments are conveyed to the staff through him. The relationship between the Director-General and the Board, and particularly between the Director-General and the Chairman of the Board must be one of mutual respect and absolute confidence. The Board does not act without the Director-General, and he is answerable to them for what is done. No other system would work, for purely practical reasons. The BBC's domestic broadcasts in Britain amount to 150 hours a week of television and some 400 hours a week for sound. No Board of Governors, whole time or part time, could possibly control this vast output in detail, in the sense of approving all programmes in advance before broadcast. Anything in the nature of pre-production censorship, whether from within the Corporation or from outside it, would be utterly impracticable, quite apart from any effects which such a system might have in stifling programme initiative and curbing the creative enthusiasm of planners and producers. Nor are written codes of practice of much use in establishing the lines of programme policy. If they are precisely worded they will be either too restrictive or an invitation to evasion by

reading them in the letter rather than in the spirit. If they are framed in general terms they will be of little practical value as guides to action. The nature of the broadcasting operation is such that a large measure of decision must inevitably be left to individual producers and with their supervisors. They must be encouraged to refer upwards in cases of doubt. They must be told when their judgment is thought to have been good and they must know when it has been criticized. The process is essentially one of editorial control by retrospective review, and this review occurs at several levels—not simply at the Board. There is a constant exchange of views and ideas which, through its continuity, is designed to develop among producers a sense of what is right. Programme staff are required to apply their own judgment to particular problems, but they do so within the framework of general guidance arising from continuous discussion of individual programmes by themselves and by their seniors, up to and including the Board of Governors itself. And in this process it is as important that the good should be praised as that the bad should be condemned. There would be no value in rule by negative objection alone. The object is not to ensure that mistakes shall be avoided, but that there shall be progress, and in the right direction.

This, then, is the role of the Board, and the method by which the reflection of the programme policy of the Board is conveyed through the programme staff of the BBC. The communication of these ideas to operational staff depends for its effectiveness on the organizational structure through which it takes place.

It would be easy to suggest that the Board is responsible for policy and the staff with execution—easy but untrue. Those experienced in administration will know that policy and execution are inseparable one from the other. Points of difficulty are constantly thrown up in the executive process, and suggest the need for modification of existing policy or to formulation of new policy. Such questions have to be referred upward for decision at higher levels, and the higher officials who consider them cannot do so as though the problems had emerged from a vacuum. Policy grows out of the experience gained in administration, and should be capable of continuous review in the light of further experience. In the BBC, as in other such organizations, no hard and fast line can be drawn between a body of persons concerned only with formulating policy and another only with carrying it out.

The main instrument for the consideration of practical issues and the consequential formulation of policy in the BBC is the Board of

Management. This consists of seven senior executive officials of the Corporation, headed by the chief executive himself, the Director-General. Under the Director-General there are six Directors, who constitute the executive Board of Management. Three of these Directors are known as "Output Directors"—that is, they are responsible for the three main sections of the BBC which produce the programmes—the Television Service, the Radio Service and the External Services. The Radio Service is responsible for sound broadcasts to audiences in Britain; the External Services are responsible, in general, for broadcasts which go outside Britain. Alongside these three output Directors we have three Directors who manage the various technical, administrative, and public relations services. They are respectively, the Director of Engineering, who is responsible for the provision and operation of all the BBC's studio and transmission activities; the Director of Administration, who has charge of all the staff, finance, contractual and property management functions; and, finally, the Chief Assistant to the Director-General who ranks as a Director, and whose function can best be described as an extension of the mind of the Director-General. He can expect to handle either personally or through a senior deputy all but the very highest discussions with the Government and the political parties and he is responsible also for the publications and publicity activities of the BBC, as well as for audience research and correspondence with the public. This Board constitutes the top management of the BBC.

At this point it may be convenient to explain how we manage our finance, because the Board of Management organization reflects our basic approach to the problem. The BBC has two principal sources of income. The Television and domestic Radio Services are financed from the licence revenue. Each householder in Britain has to pay a licence fee for the right to operate a radio or television receiver. The licence fee for a radio receiver at the moment is £1 5s 0d. For television (combined with radio) it is £5. This revenue is divided between the Director of Television and the Director of Radio in proportion to the yield from radio and television receiver owning households respectively. A proportion of each television licence equal to the amount of the radio licence is regarded as revenue for radio. External Broadcasting is financed by a Parliamentary Grant-in-Aid, which at present amounts to something over £10 million a year.

The three output Directors make available an agreed part of their income to finance the engineering, administration and other common services. Their contributions are broadly in accordance with the forecast value of the services which they draw from the common pool.

The division of funds takes place at the time of preparing of budgetary forecasts, normally covering periods of about two to three years. These budgets are recommended by the Board of Management to the Board of Governors, and once approved, expenditure proceeds in accordance with them, until they are superseded by the next budget. Once a Director has received his allocation under such a budget he is responsible for its operation, subject to the submission of major proposals to a finance committee, under the chairmanship of the Director of Administration, which operates on behalf of the Director-General.

Under this system, as I have described it, the output Directors have to find the cost not only of their direct activities, but also that of their supporting services. This means that ancillary expenditure is carefully scrutinized both by the providing services and by those for whom they are provided. The budgetary procedure applies in many cases right down to individual programmes, so that managers at every level, including programme producers are aware of the problem of costs.

The structure rests on a very important assumption about managerial responsibility. The editors, the programme creators, are effectively in control. The output directors are, in essence, chief editors with the control of the purse. The Director-General himself is the editor-in-chief, also with the principal power of the purse, and that editorial strand in management goes right down to the studio. The emphasis is on devolution and independence, tempered only by the need of cohesion in the interests of overall policy control, the avoidance of duplication, and flexibility in the movement of staff. Modern programmes are very complex, and producers have to take decisions—often vital decisions—right up to the moment of going on the air. No management structure can work quickly enough to take decisions in this degree of detail, and our system is to devolve this kind of responsibility down to the programme team on the studio floor. There are two key requirements if such a system is to work well. First, the organization must provide for an efficient articulation of the team units to ensure rapid and complete communication of ideas. We believe that our system of control through output directors achieves this. Second, the right staff must be recruited, so as to ensure that in cases of doubt, the management can rely on, there being reference upwards without cramping initiative. The first requirement is to create the right climate of opinion, in which reference will take place. We achieve this by choosing producers with sensitivity as well as technical skill; by choosing heads of output departments who will be accessible for reference and are experienced in all kinds of policy

and taste decisions which their producers may have to take. We try to make sure that the top structure of our organization is knowledgeable, sensitive, and aware of what is going on. The flow of trust and confidence has to proceed in both directions—up and down. This is a free system, but it is not intended to be a “free and easy” system. The BBC has gained greatly from the knowledge among its staff that they are free to make their own decisions, while still having at their call the wisdom and support of their seniors.

This freedom is the keynote of the whole BBC approach to the job of broadcasting. Its reality can be tested by reference to the particular issue of freedom of the BBC to put out programmes which comment on matters of public concern.

The Charter of the BBC contains no injunction whatsoever about the content of BBC programmes. There is, it is true, an observation in the preamble that in the past broadcasting has given evidence that it is of great value as a means of disseminating information, education and entertainment. The BBC has adopted this description as appropriate to its own objectives. But apart from certain observations in the Articles establishing the National Broadcasting Councils for Scotland and Wales—related entirely to those countries and not to the general services—there is nothing to tell the Governors what they should be doing except in the first part of the third Article, which tells them, simply “to provide a public service of broadcasting” in sound and television. The Licence contains only one positive injunction—and that slipped in, as it were, by accident. It calls on the BBC to broadcast every day an account of the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament compiled by professional reporters. This practice began during the War, and when the Licence was being redrafted this practice was embodied in the Licence as a formal requirement. This is the only specific, positive instruction to the BBC about the content of its programmes, and it is an exception.

Elsewhere in the Licence there is provision for Ministers to require the BBC to send announcements, and for the Postmaster General to require the BBC *not* to broadcast particular programmes or classes of programmes. The first of these powers has always been regarded as referring solely to public service messages, such as notices of agricultural diseases, and similar matters of substantially informational content. It is not intended to be used to promote particular views of political significance, and would never be so used.

The Postmaster General's power to veto broadcasts or classes of broadcasts has been explicitly recognized as a reserve power. Only

two continuing instructions are in force as a result of this power. The BBC is forbidden to engage in the techniques of subliminal broadcasting (which we are never likely to wish to use in any case); the BBC is also forbidden to express its own views, as a Corporation, on matters of public policy. The Governors are simply forbidden to use their own broadcasting instrument to express their own views. Should the Postmaster General ever decide to exercise the veto power in other ways, the BBC has the right to say that he has done so. It seems most unlikely that any Postmaster General—or any Government—would be prepared to face the public odium which would then be aroused.

There is an attachment of correspondence to the memorandum which the Postmaster General issued in order to promulgate these two current prohibitions when the Charter and Licence were last renewed. Letters exchanged between the then Postmaster General and the Chairman of the BBC, in 1964, recognized that the BBC has in the past maintained a posture of public impartiality on matters of controversy, and has ensured that its programmes observed this principle. The Postmaster General recognized that this posture was a matter of deliberate choice—in itself an exercise of editorial independence—by the BBC. The Chairman in turn recognized that the policy of previous years was of permanent validity, and gave assurance that this policy would not change. But the important point is that this recognition was an exercise of the BBC's own power to control the content of its programmes.

There are two principal levels on which it would be possible for the BBC to be influenced by political action. First, there could be pressure applied to secure a different attitude in the BBC to the constitutional position of broadcasting itself. At those times when our constitutional status is being reconsidered—for example at the time of a Committee of Enquiry such as BBC have just undergone—it could be suggested that the BBC would best serve its own future by a more submissive attitude to the Government of the day. This has never seriously been an issue, and the reason is that we have an “in-and-out” system of politics. We have a strong Government, but we also have a strong Opposition, which has always a real hope of returning to power. It would be natural for Government to wish for greater positive support for its policies from the broadcasting system. But in Opposition—where our Ministers may always expect to find themselves in the future—the advantages of such a relationship would not seem to be<sup>at</sup> at all the same. The BBC's independence is effectively protected by the prospect that the roles of Government and Opposition may at any time be reversed.

The second area in which the BBC might be subjected to political influence is that of the content of particular programmes dealing with issues of current public importance. It is a fact that representations are made by both Government and Opposition about the content of BBC programmes. At certain periods these representations are more frequent than at others. Mostly they are private and informal in character. Usually the flow of representations is about equal from both major parties. We also receive representations from our Liberal Party, and from smaller political groupings. But the common character of all these representations is that they are in the form of arguments presented to a body which has its own power of decision. There are no pressures applied in the knowledge that the BBC has submitted to such pressures in the past, and these representations are not submitted in the hope that the BBC will submit to them in the future. They are part of the normal political dialogue. The BBC cannot expect to opt out of this dialogue. It is an instrument which reflects the current content of public opinion. It must, therefore, be aware of all the political views of relevance to the public opinion with which it is dealing. We are not neurotic about the representations made to us. We take them into account in considering the general shape of our comment on public affairs in the same way as other practical circumstances.

So much, then, for the BBC's claim to constitutional and, therefore, to editorial independence. In the last resort we must mark down the credit for it to the temper of our people. It springs from a politically sophisticated society. It relies for its development on the constant application of ingenuity to the interpretation of the formal constitutional instruments so as to extract the maximum flexibility from the language in which they are written. We have taken advantage of the existing convention of detachment from politics of people nominated to public services position as the basis for the independence of the Governors of the BBC. We have developed new conventions to ensure that the financing of the BBC reflects a similar degree of independence of Government. Nothing is static. Always there is a developing interpretation of existing situations and practices. What matters is the attitude which inspires this development. On the side of the BBC there is a sense of justification about the past exercise of its own responsibilities. On the side of the Government there is a pragmatic abstention from the exercise of pressure, even if, from time to time, there may be moments of irritation with the very obstinacy with which the BBC defends itself. Everything depends on the attitude of the participants to the continuing debate about the independence of broadcasting. So far, the minds of the men involved have always

moved in ways which do not damage that concept, and we in Britain have profited greatly thereby. The independence of the BBC is the fruit of mutual tolerance and restraint. There is no reason to believe that these virtues will cease to be practised in the future. The requirement is for constant re-statement of this belief, so that it can never be allowed to slip into the limbo of the forgotten and unregarded past.

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## JOB DESCRIPTION

*S. Mallick*

THANKS to the enterprising zeal of the agencies connected with Scale Inspection, job description has become an induced fashion in various Central Government Departments. These departments have undertaken to prepare comprehensive job descriptions for the primary jobs, all with their unaided efforts in the belief that they are thus helping to streamline their organizations. Since ardour may often be misplaced, it may yet be useful to utter a word of caution at this stage, lest precious resources are frittered away without any positive gain to show, nay sometimes with negative results being achieved.

Job description, as the term implies, is a description of the job allotted to a task-holder in an organization. It is meant to present to any newcomer a complete picture of all that he should do in his new assignment. Till now any one posted to a new task or to an office had to fall back on the live experience of their colleagues, guidance from supervisors, and also had to read up section-drills, office manuals, etc. The present attempt has professedly been to provide him with a ready charter of duties. A secondary and perhaps less-known object of the job description appears to be to show up each distinctive process involved in a job so that the standard time taken for each process can be assessed with a stop-watch by Scale Inspector for eventual economy in the office establishment.

We may deal with the secondary issue first. On a previous occasion the fallacy implicit in the basic approach of the agencies for scale inspection has been discussed.<sup>1</sup> For our present purpose it is necessary perhaps to refer only to the fact that the concept of standard time has primarily been evolved on the shop floor where standard parts or products are manufactured. A standard time per process, part or a product helps to assess "standard costs" thereof without which no industrial house can offer realistic or competitive quotations against trade enquiries. The assessment of standard time per process or part is also necessary for proper planning of production and maintaining a check on the outturn and on the delivery schedule in the factory. A standard

<sup>1</sup> See I.J.P.A., Vol. XII, No. 2, New Delhi.

time is also made use of in these industrial organizations for giving incentives to workers for greater outturn, *i.e.*, for assessing the quantum produced in excess of the standard product per standard time. It thus forms a necessary adjunct to various forms of Bonus Scheme and other boosts to production. Last but not the least is the opportunity provided by the standard time study in the shape of detailed examination of the various methods and processes of production with a view to effecting greater rationalization and economy thereon. In this last view time-motion study of a process or a product fuses into a much wider and perhaps more significant work-study wherein the improvements in the processes and methods are immensely more important than in fixing a hypothetical "Standard Time" with elements of "Standard Rest" and "Standard Work" under "Standard Operating Conditions" for "Standard Workers" working in a "Standard Factory". And all these "standardized" after the "standard" haggling between the representatives of the employer and the workers. It is indeed rather bad that none of those justifications, not even of work simplification, should apply to the present crusade for fixation of standard scales *via* the job description. It is equally sad that this simple attempt towards job description should evoke suspicion, instead of enthusiasm and response, amongst the government employees who should turn the table on the scale-inspection by resorting to movements like "work per rule", "work as per pay", etc.

Has the scheme of job description (JD) served its primary purpose? A short follow-up enquiry in a certain department conducted by the author brought out the following results:

- (1) New appointees DO NOT read the job descriptions. The older hands have had no occasion to consult these.
- (2) The job descriptions, like hundreds of similar other orders and circulars pouring in daily from the top have been filed away in the relevant order file.

In order to appreciate the apathy of the staff towards what is meant to be a vital and handy charter of their duties, a detailed analysis of a fair cross-section of the job descriptions in the said department was undertaken. A page chosen at random from a typical *JD* is given as Annexure for illustration. The results of the analysis indicated that:

- (1) The *JDS* covered literally all conceivable and inconceivable contingencies and are comprehensive to author running into scores and scores of pages. In other words, they are not

particularly suitable to a green youth who needs to know only the elements of his work.

- (2) The *JDS* have often combined both technical procedures with substantive orders bearing on the work. With each change in the substantive orders the *JDS* get dated. It also appeared that the amendments to the Government orders have been steadily mounting in recent years and the rate of change is beyond all proportions of the absorption capacity of the said departmental staff who display a very high attrition ratio.
- (3) The *JDS* list out in great detail what the job holders should do, but contain nothing to ensure compliance or to evoke interest in its willing performance.

Is it possible to correct the prevailing apathy towards the *JDS* and make them serve yet some useful purpose within the concerned Departments ? In order to examine the matter further, it is perhaps necessary to dispel some of the prevailing misconceptions with which the *JDS* appear to be infected. It should be clearly understood that job description in an office does not lend itself to standardization or precise spelling out of details to the extent this is feasible in a factory. An office worker does not produce anything like a standard product nor does he follow an even or homogeneous process of work. His work is varied mix of numerous processes and methods depending on the nature and circumstances of the case. And this is what it should be if the interest of an educated person is to be sustained in the otherwise drab atmosphere of a Government office, as the productivity experts never tire in reiterating. Nevertheless, if the office is not very small and employs a sizeable staff, one usually finds some internal grouping of work based on their identical or similar nature. When, however, the office is small and has necessarily to combine various types of functions, as often happens at the ground roots and at the primary level of Governmental operations, neither specialization nor much division of work is possible. It is thus clear from the above that job descriptions, if at all undertaken amongst the Government employees, must necessarily be in very broad terms. It should avoid all attempts as spelling out details, if only because such detailed lists are necessarily very idealized and are bound to prove too remote to the needs of the new job holder. Besides, all the established departments have already got their office codes and manuals, work-drills and standing orders, corrected and revised from time to time, which remain the only authentic repository of the various procedures and methods, as well as the basic rules and regulations within which the main course of departmental work must

flow. There is, therefore, little point in merely duplicating these in the name of a new-fangled idea.

What should the job description then be like ? The following chart is drawn up to illustrate the typical points that may usefully feature in a job description: Needless to say, the description should closely follow the actuality rather than seek to depict an idealized or normative picture:

### **JOB (*i.e.*, PAY CLERK)**

#### I. NATURE OF THE JOB:—Checking Pay Bills.

#### II. RESPONSIBILITY, AUTHORITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY:

- (a) Responsible for receipt, checking and submission of Pay Bills of units A, B & C to supervisor.
- (b) Authorized to check correctness and regularity of bills including tabulation of the charges.
- (c) Accountable for due receipt of bills, their arithmetical correctness and timely submission to supervisor.

#### III. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES:

- (a) Diarising bills, inward and outward, at opening and closing hours of the day.
- (b) Checking the bills with reference to the procedure laid down in Chapter X of Office Manual and relevant Government orders. (ref. Files/OXX & OZZ).
- (c) Submitting checked bills in convenient batches to supervisor.
- (d) To liaise with Cheque Section for issue of cheques and cheque-slips.

#### IV. INDEXES OF JOB PERFORMANCE:

- (a) Normal Average Output: Bills for 100 persons per day.
- (b) Normal Average Errors in checking: 5 per cent of all Bills.
- (c) Normal Allowance of delay: 5 per cent “Reminders” (warranted) of all Bills.

(d) Liaison Work: No complaints.

*Note*—In overall grading the following weightage (per cent) will be given : (a) 40, (b) 40, (c) 10, and (d) 10.

A few comments on the above job description are now indicated. The important thing to note is that it is synoptic in its presentation. It gives a brief but total introduction to the job, which has been lacking hitherto. In addition, it focusses attention on the essential features of the job and cuts out all duplicate efforts in elaborating office-procedures and drills, which are in any case already there. The set of responsibilities and authorities for the assigned job is specifically made clear to the job holder as also the fact and the extent of his accountability for errors of omissions and commissions. Last but not the least is the laying down of the "Yard Sticks" against which his job performance will be measured. Suffice it to mention that no attempt has so far been made in any job description to measure performance in the job let alone against any serious objective standards.

The following specific advantages can be claimed for this type of Job Descriptions:

- (1) It clearly brings out the nature and importance of a job *vis-a-vis* another. Thus on the strength of the *JD* one job will *prima facie* appear as more responsible, exacting or strenuous, as the case may be, than another. Such a *JD* is thus an aid to a more rational re-fixation of pay-structures in the organization.
- (2) It also enables easy segregation of the responsible, arduous and exacting jobs from those which are not so. It thus facilitates rational placements and minimizes haphazard scatter of square pegs in round holes.
- (3) Location of indexes of job performance inside the *JD* has great potentialities. It can improve the whole tone of the administration. It is capable of imparting an efficiency orientation which neither exhortation nor scale inspection can ever possibly achieve. If results are expected, it is vitally important that these should be spelled out and quantified in clear and precise terms and the work of each individual appraised strictly against these "pars" instead of, as at present, by impressions and hearsays. The individuals should also then be compensated according to their performance either

directly and immediately or indirectly by placements to more rewarding and responsible jobs in due course.

- (4) The job descriptions have at present been attempted only in regard to the primary jobs—those placed at the lowest rungs of an organization. Needless to point out that the jobs at the higher rungs cannot and should not claim any immunity from critical examination of their nature and contents. As and when these jobs are also critically studied at the actual operational level and described as indicated above, one will have a wealth of data of the functions and responsibilities discharged by each successive layer (*i.e.* authority) in the hierarchy. This should enable us a clearer glimpse of the inter-linkage of duties, authorities and responsibilities at the various points of the official pyramid. In this process, one may quite often unearth various hitherto unsuspected organizational malaise. For example, tendencies of over or under delegations, delegations of authority out of all proportions to the responsibilities or *vice versa*, splintering of authority, excessive lengthening of the scalar chain, lack of sufficient horizontal communications (informal liaisons), etc., are quite easy of detection through such studies. Thus it can set in motion the usual train of review actions and generate automatic corrective forces within the organization.
- (5) Last of all, such a scheme of job description gives the employee the 'freedom' to work out his full competence and initiative within the given field of his responsibility. If he is not treated as a cog or a mere file pusher with errant tendencies which must be kept in check through a strict scale and rigid supervision, but is given recognition as a responsible and adult individual who is capable of functioning on his own in an area suited to his capabilities, we remove a great psychological block to the diffusion and development of responsibility in administration. The block is indeed our own creation; for there is no reason why the individual, who meets his responsibilities in his private and social life, must fail to do so in the field of his employment, a field which encompasses practically the whole of his adult life and time. Therefore, once the individual is treated as a responsible person and is allowed freedom of action within the range of his official responsibilities, and is judged by his end results, he unfolds not only his creative and cooperative instincts but actively enlarges the dimensions of his job and also enhances his job

satisfaction. He starts functioning and growing, instead of going into torpor and getting stunted. In this process, there is less need for obsequious supervision and constant prodding by an un-enthusiastic administration. As a side consequence there is thus saving on account of supervisory cost. But the main outcome must be reckoned in terms of increased and efficient outturn because of the emergence of a responsible breed of public servants who find new meaning, discover greater dimensions, joy and interest in their work.

## II

The scheme of job description set out above marks a departure from the prevailing practice, which is geared all too obviously to meet the demands of an external agency. Apart from the question of futility of the prevailing scheme of job description, it does seem rather questionable ethics to ask the departments to prepare these so that the same may be utilized against them for the purpose of staff reductions. One perhaps should not be surprised at such misplaced zeal for a new found cause. Nevertheless it may perhaps be useful to restate, at the risk of digression, what has long since been known among the social scientists. It is this that a rigid hierarchical system of control especially one without incentives may work in the short run and may even increase productivity as a direct result of reduction of staff and direct pressures generated through close supervision, but such temporary increase in productivity is invariably accompanied by downward shifts in such long term productivity factors as loyalty, involvement and work satisfaction. The long term damage to employee-motivations shows up through general hostility towards supervision, decreased confidence and trust towards reasonableness and sensitivity of top administration towards the feelings of the employees and these finally strain the employer-employee relationships to the point where strikes and lock-outs become usual features of the organizational life. Good people start quitting the organization and there ensues a slow but steady rise in the rate of employee turn-over. The costs of poor motivations and of higher turnovers are not normally measured nor reflected in the organizational balance-sheets of gains and losses accruing out of a rigid authoritarian policy. But these are nevertheless sufficiently disturbing realities. It is a cooperative-participative approach to the employee which is in the balance more rewarding than the other one now being practised.<sup>2</sup> It is hoped that the concerned departments will come to this realization after the present honeymoon with authoritarianism is ended. The changes proposed in the prevailing scheme of job

<sup>2</sup> For a description of corroborative evidences refer to Chap. 5, *New Patterns of Management* by Rensis Likert, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1961.

descriptions may then be found welcome as a prelude to a more responsive and efficiency-oriented approach to the problem of organizational productivity. The job description is merely the beginning and not the end of the problem of organizational productivity. And yet the errors with which the beginning has been made cannot but forebode evil and cause concern. Hence this modest step has been proposed at charting a more fruitful, if not a very new, approach to a problem which is as old as organization itself.

#### Annexure

#### JOB DESCRIPTION SHEET

##### AUDIT AND PAYMENT OF REGULAR MONTHLY PAYBILLS

###### I. SCRUTINIZE TO SEE THAT:

- (a) the bill is prepared on Form IAFA-35 and the relevant columns at the top of the form completed.
- (b) the signature of the signing officer agrees with that recorded in the register of specimen signatures;
- (c) a 10 paisa revenue stamp has been affixed in case the net amount payable exceeds Rs. 20/-.
- (d) etc. etc. etc.
- (e) etc. etc. etc.

###### II. COMPARE the paybill with the fundamental data etc. etc.

###### III. AUDIT THE PAYBILL TO SEE THAT :

- (a) the pay and allowances agree with.....etc.
- (b) etc., etc.

###### IV. RECORD the fact of payment prominently in the last charge.

###### V. ENDORSE the payment order for the net amount payable. etc...etc.

###### VI. PREPARE punching medium (in quadruplicate). ....etc....etc....

###### VII. PREPARE cheque slips in ink.....etc.....etc.....

###### VIII. RECORD the pay and allowances admitted.....etc..... etc.....

###### IX. etc. etc. etc.

###### X. etc. etc. etc.

## BUDGETARY PROCESS IN STATE GOVERNMENTS

*A. Premchand*

THE budgetary process represents a significant area of governmental administration. The importance of this area has been growing during recent years, particularly with the increasing and steady growth in public expenditures. In addition, the expansion and intensification of governmental activities as a result of the process of planned economic development have been responsible for the specific focus this subject has received both from governmental and academic circles. The indirect connection, even if not always well defined, between the effective use of governmental funds and the willingness to pay taxes, has in a way contributed to the situation. Also, the contemporary imperatives, such as: (a) the need to provide a built-in mechanism in the budgetary process to ensure efficiency, (b) the exploration of the avenues through which the otherwise inexorable and spectacular growth in public expenditures could be minimized, and (c) the need to plough back more budgetary resources for developmental purposes, have added a new dimension to the budgetary process and associated issues. While there has been a good deal of literature on the budgetary process of the Central Government,<sup>1</sup> it must be admitted, that there had not been adequate analytical writings and discussion of the budgetary process in the State Governments and the problems that are inherent in such a process. Although it might be somewhat tautological to say that the nature of budgetary problems are by and large the same at any governmental level, it must be mentioned at the very outset, that the budgetary process in the State Governments, particularly in the developmental context, have certain peculiar features and the attempt in what follows, is to examine these very features. To some extent, it may be conceded, these features may be common with the Central Government, but there is a difference in their magnitude and dimension. Naturally, therefore, much of what is stated here may have but limited applicability to the Centre. The attempt, primarily, is to indicate the existing budgetary process, identify the areas requiring reform and modernization, and indicate the possible ways and means through which the budgetary process could be

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of these matters, see author's *Control of Public Expenditure in India* (2nd Edition), Calcutta, Allied Publishing House, 1967.

revitalized and new strengths infused to subserve the various purposes, some of which are even conflicting, that are expected of it. The discussion of the budgetary process, which by its very nature tends to be a descriptive account of the existing system, has been restricted to the minimum and greater attention is paid to the identification of the areas requiring reform.

### *Existing System*

The budgetary process in Governments, irrespective of their levels, consists essentially of five stages: (i) Determination of policy and objectives of every programme, (ii) Selection of programmes from among different competing alternatives, (iii) Formulation of a budget, (iv) Execution of the budget, and (v) Review of the budget achievement and performance. Among these, however, stage (ii) is not an independent one in itself and can, for all intents and purposes, be treated as an integral part of stage (iii). The budgetary process is concerned with: (a) the determination of aggregate amounts of expenditure, (b) allocation of the aggregate amounts among the competing demands for obtaining a proper balance of expenditure between various services in order that greater value cannot be obtained for the total expenditure by reducing the money spent on one service and increasing expenditure in another, (c) determination of the ceiling of expenditure on individual policies and services, and (d) achieving a balance within a given service. The approaches and the various "determination factors" in all these stages are in turn partly dependent on the prevailing objectives of economic policy, such as the need for reducing the expenditures with a view to minimizing the inflationary impact of the budgets, greater attention to quick-yielding projects and programmes and restriction of the non-plan outlays so as to conserve resources for developmental purpose, and partly on the financial objectives like avoidance of immobilization of resources, and the achievement of standardization of costs, etc. It is the task of administration and decision-makers to translate these general objectives of public policy into specific tasks in the course of budgetary planning and management.

For the present purpose, the process of achieving the above objectives in the course of the budgetary formulation and execution, may broadly be divided into the structural, analytical, and informational aspects. The *structural* aspect deals with the resource problems, the features of the budgetary framework and the issues relating to the annualization of the plan budgets; the analytical with the instruments and tools available to the Government to examine and assess the requests for funds, system and process of financial control and the manner

in which economic aspects of budgeting, *viz.*, the optimum resource allocation are ensured; and the *informational* with the reporting of data and their utilization in the administrative system. These aspects may briefly be considered here.

### *Structural Aspects*

The main features of the budgets in the States relate to the various constraints on the revenue side. It is generally recognized that there are several resource constraints, such as will to work, decision-making, skilled man-power and technique, domestic savings and foreign exchange, that tend to inhibit the pattern and rate of economic development in developing nations.<sup>2</sup> But the factors that operate at the level of the State Government are not of this nature, though their influence cannot be denied. On the other hand these essentially arise from a federal framework where the resources are divided between the Centre and the States and have their origin in the experience which indicates a tremendous increase in the responsibilities and a yawning gap between the resources and the responsibilities. Apart from the discrepancies between the resources and the growing functions, some of the problems arise out of the principles followed by the Fiscal Adjustment Machinery.<sup>3</sup> The impact of these on the budgetary process may briefly be noted. For this purpose, the budget of the State Governments can be divided into two parts: (i) non-plan budget, and (ii) plan budget. Under the existing system of inter-governmental fiscal adjustments, the non-plan revenue gaps of the State Governments are sought to be balanced by the devolutions and grants-in-aid recommended by the Finance Commission every quinquennium. The formulae evolved by the Finance Commission are intended to balance the non-plan revenue gap of the expenditure and revenue forecasts furnished by each State Government. Although the exact figures of non-plan revenue gaps as estimated by the Finance Commission are not indicated in their report, yet, by and large, it is not difficult, through a process of working back the estimates, to arrive at this figure.<sup>4</sup> The recommendations of the Finance Commission being

<sup>2</sup> See John P. Lewis, *Quiet Crisis in India*, Washington, Brookings, 1962, pp. 28-45.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the theoretical aspects of multi-level political and administrative structures and related financial problems, see the papers by Charles M. Tiebout, Richard Musgrave, I.L. Ecker, Racz and I.M. Labovitz in *Public Finances, Needs, Sources and Utilization*, Princeton University Press, 1961. For a discussion of the gap between resources and responsibilities and the doctrine of inevitability of dependence of the States on the Centre, see K. V. S. Sastry's comment in *Federalism and Economic Growth*, U. K. Hicks (Ed.) (*et al.*), London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> A departure was made in this respect by the Fourth Finance Commission. The non-plan revenue gaps estimated by them were included in the report itself. See *Report of the Finance Commission*, New Delhi, Government of India, 1965, p. 58.

generally valid for a period of five years, they in effect indicate the range of budgetary ceilings that can be adopted by the State Governments on the non-plan revenue budget. It also implies that any increases in the expenditure on the non-plan account can be undertaken by the State Governments only when they are certain that there are alternative resources available to finance them. As, however, all proceeds from additional taxation have been and are being treated by convention, as a means of financing the plan schemes, the possibility of diverting new resources for financing the increases in the non-plan revenue expenditure is generally limited. Such increases may, therefore, have to be financed by improving the tax collection machinery; otherwise, they would be leading to deficit budgets. The economic implications of such a process are too many to be discussed here. It is, however, necessary to recognize that inasmuch as the non-plan revenue resources are specified (except that they tend to move up or down with the fluctuations in the economy) for a period of five years, it acts as a constraint in planning for expenditures and in adjusting them to the annual needs of the States.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, on the plan-budget side too, there are some constraints. Under the existing budgetary system, the two important ingredients of plan financing at the level of the State are: (i) the amount of Central assistance available, and (ii) the amount of additional resources to be raised by the States. The amount of Central assistance has been going up from plan to plan and is now a significant factor to be reckoned within the budgeting process. But the process of the determination of this assistance has often been a matter of considerable negotiation and it is not infrequently that some programmes and projects are launched upon even before the finalization of the terms and magnitude of assistance. These aspects too have their own impact on planning the revenue resources of the States and it may be stated that the uncertainty and the constraints inherent in the fixation of ceilings of assistance have a significant effect on the approaches and the methods of the budget-making authority in the States. This aspect, however, has been considered later on.

We may note another constraint here, *viz.*, the foreign exchange required by the State Governments. Foreign exchange, as noted earlier, is a general constraint that characterizes the contemporary developmental plans. However, the manner in which it acts as a constraint

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<sup>5</sup> A corrective to this, in some measure, is provided in the course of the annual assessment of resources and determination of annual plans. It has been suggested that the work of the Planning Commission acts as an annual corrective to the Finance Commissions' awards which are generally valid for a period of five years. See "Functions of Plan Panel and Finance Commission", *The Economic Times*, 13th October, 1967.

in the context of the working of the State Governments is somewhat different. Its budgetary determinations, in this respect, depend not so much on the availability or otherwise of foreign assistance, but on the distribution and allocational pattern envisaged by the Central Government. The foreign exchange required for specific projects administered by the State Governments, particularly in the power and irrigation sector, are covered by "project loans" extended by the international lending agencies. The uncertainty and constraints, however, arise mainly in the sphere of "programmes" whose foreign exchange is required to be covered by non-project loans/aid or other resources. The uncertainty attached to aid permeates the whole process of budget making as most of the outlays on the industrial sector have a foreign exchange component. Apart from the uncertainty, the amounts eventually available to the States (foreign exchange being a "pivotal scarcity") are considerably short of their overall demand. It should, however, be noted that this shortage is by no means restricted to the State Governments but extends to others as well.

If the above constraints indicate one aspect that has an influence on the approaches and thus of the policies to be followed in any year, there are other aspects of a somewhat institutional nature, that have an effect on the economic aspects of the budget. One such aspect relates to the revenue and capital sections of the budget. Conceptually, the revenue section of the budget is to be confined to the current expenditure when the capital section is to consist of productive expenditures that are generally financed out of loans.<sup>6</sup>

The revenue and capital budgets as organized now are based on the monetary ceilings of each type of expenditure and do not take into consideration the productivity basis of the programmes. This handicap had led to a situation where the investment outlays are to be found under both and are frequently shifted from revenue to capital and *vice versa*. In addition, since a significant element of these outlays are of a non-revenue yielding character, the States have often to serve loans even when there is no recognizable revenue feedback. It has, therefore, been suggested that if such unproductive expenditures are not included in the revenue budget, it would, in addition to being in conformity with the general principles of classification, also save numerous debt-servicing problems which the States

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the conceptual issues involved, see Richard Goode and Eugene A. Birnbaum, "Governmental Capital Budgets", *I.M.F. Staff Papers*, 1956, Washington. For a review of the problems in our context see my "Towards a Functional Budget" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 11th and 18th March, 1967, Bombay.

now have.<sup>7</sup> A proper classification of revenue and capital enables the identification of gross capital formation and facilitates a systematic plan of borrowing, eliminating the periodic fluctuations in the capital outlays. The absence of such a classification is likely to add to the debt-servicing burden and, as a technique, would not enable the determination of the outlays with reference to their productivity.<sup>8</sup>

### *Annual Plans*

Another structural problem in the budgetary process of the State Governments that has come into greater prominence recently relates to annualizing the plan budgets. As is known, the national plan is formulated gradually in a series of stages that involves concurrent and coordinated working between the Centre and the States. The Working Groups constituted at the Centre include the representatives of the State Governments. At the level of the State Governments also various Working Groups are set up for each sector to draw up detailed sectoral plans. In some States there are separate planning and finance departments (e.g., West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, etc.) while

<sup>7</sup> Several State Governments have recently urged a reclassification of revenue and capital on productivity criteria so that the debt-servicing burden could be lessened. The Bihar Government in its memorandum to the Fourth Finance Commission (1964) observed "Apart from the repayment of debt, even the expenditure on construction of roads and buildings needs to be transferred from capital to revenue account. No loans have been received earmarked for such expenditure. Loans, which are not for any specific purpose should be allocated to enterprises, which are demonstrably productive, i.e., capable of yielding direct returns, such as irrigation, power, road transport and so forth. Expenditure on construction of roads and buildings must, therefore, be treated a revenue liability." The Government of Madras also referred to this aspect in their memorandum (1964) and pointed out "A large portion of the capital component of the plan in the State Sector is concerned with the building up of economic and social overheads, such as irrigation facilities and educational and medical services. The debt obligations incurred for financing such overheads are by their very nature not self-liquidating and, therefore, cast a strain on the budget." It added, "it may be difficult for the present Commission to provide for devolution of resources of the State on a scientific apportionment (emphasis added) of their expenditure as between revenue and Capital accounts". The Government, therefore, urged the Commission "to make appropriate recommendations...for the revision of the present onerous terms of their (centre's) lendings." It may also be noted in this connection that in Sweden and Ecuador, among others, initial write-offs of the non-remunerative part of the capital expenditure are included in the revenue budgets. For a detailed discussion of the economic and budgetary aspects arising out of the present basis of classification and the criteria for the determination of productivity specifically in our context, see "Take-over of Multi-purpose Projects", 5th January, 1965, "Problems of Government Budgetary Reforms" 18th and 20th February, 1965, and "Central Lending to States" 5th and 6th August, 1967, *The Economic Times*, Bombay. The Fourth Finance Commission has also examined the question in considerable detail (pp. 63-68 of the report). The report stated "while it is recognized that only clearly productive items of capital expenditure can be kept out of the revenue budget no definite provision has yet been made to ensure the observance of this salutary principle".

<sup>8</sup> The principle of revenue and capital classification is much the same at the Centre as well. But the problems of debt-servicing are different at the Centre. Its problems are that of a lending agency, while the States, being at the receiving end, have a different set of problems.

in a few other States 'Planning' is treated as an integral part of the Finance Department (Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madras,<sup>9</sup> etc.).

The annual plan represents a segment of the medium-term plan and the endeavour in its formulation is to ensure an adherence to the original priority pattern envisaged in the national plan. A medium-term plan provides merely a framework while the annual plan signifies the real operative document. There can, however, be deviations from the original plan to the extent such deviations are indicated in the light of the changing conditions. Thus essentially, the task of the annual plan is to provide continuity in respect of those programmes that were initiated earlier and to take up new schemes that form part of the medium-term plan for fresh implementation. The annual plans prepared by the States after extensive deliberations of the working groups and planning boards,<sup>10</sup> are discussed with the Planning Commission during November to January and finalized. It is the general (and by now fairly accepted too) experience that the draft plans prepared are far in excess of the available resources and considerable pruning, consistent with the plan objectives, is often found necessary.<sup>11</sup> The purpose of such scrutiny and approval is to ensure:

- (a) Budgetary stability,
- (b) Maintenance of developmental tempo,
- (c) Reasonable exploitation of available resources, and
- (d) Internal consistency in the sectoral outlays in conformity with the plan framework.

Although the imperative need for the observance of all these factors is felt by all the States, yet an overall balance at a national level is

<sup>9</sup> The Planning Division in the Finance Department of Maharashtra consists of five wings, viz., Programme Wing, Resources Wing, Evaluation Wing, Manpower Wing and a wing dealing with the district and regional plans. The departments in Madras and Gujarat are somewhat less elaborate than the department in Maharashtra. The combination of planning and finance in a single agency and the advantages that accrue from such a combination have often been discussed in the literature on 'Planning'. For a specific discussion of the problems in the context of the State Governments, see author's "Financial Control in Madras State", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, January-March, 1963. For a detailed discussion of the process of planning, see A. H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning in India*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965.

<sup>10</sup> Planning Boards have been set up only in a few States.

<sup>11</sup> A former State Finance Minister and Member of the Planning Commission observed, "It is well known to those who have worked within the framework of the administration in recent years, how budget estimates are 'doctored', how the estimates of costs and receipts of individual schemes are tendentiously prepared with a view to qualifying for Central Grants". S. G. Barve, *With Malice Towards None*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1960, pp. 210-11.

necessary and it is precisely this purpose which is served by the annual consultations with the Planning Commission.

The annual plans so prepared set the stage for annual budgets. Excepting for the Annual Plans of 1966-67 and 1967-68 the annual plans have always preceded the stage of annual budget formulation. During these two years, however, for various reasons, annual plans have played a somewhat secondary role to the annual budget. The annual plan is only a framework and cannot authorize expenditure. Such an authority stems from the annual budget. The annual plan and thus the budget incorporate those instruments of economic policy and related organizational measures required to mobilize resources and achieve the plan targets. If the major points of focus of the annual plan are the sectoral allocations and determination of physical targets, the concern of the annual budget is with the mobilization of resources, availability of funds for commitment, cost estimates of projects, administrative feasibility of individual projects and canons of financial propriety and control. If the role of the budget in the context of long-term planning is to ensure the formulation of priorities and detailed decisions within the purview of the long-range plan, the task of the annual budget is to ensure an annual review of the long-term effects of short-term decision.

In carrying out these manifold tasks, the annual budget as being formulated has to have some objectives. For this purpose it is necessary to keep in view the classification of public outlays. Public outlays for this purpose are broadly divided into three categories: (i) Traditional outlays, (ii) Maintenance outlays, and (iii) Fresh outlays. Traditional expenditures relate to the outlays on such items like administrative services, etc., which have been in operation for quite some time and which operate outside the plan framework. Maintenance outlays or what are called "Committed Expenditures", representing those outlays on institutions and programmes that were undertaken earlier as a part of the plan but are kept outside the plan at the end of the five year period for administrative facility, but which require continued outlays for their maintenance. The fresh outlays are the expenditures under the plan incurred for the purpose of setting up of new projects and for implementing new programmes. The last category constitutes the plan outlays under each plan. The budgetary considerations of these three types of outlays are to some extent facilitated in the context of the dual system of budgeting that we have both at the Centre and in the States. The traditional outlays, the maintenance outlays and a small section of the fresh outlays form the core of the revenue budget while a major part of the capital budget is

devoted to fresh developmental outlays. The current expenditure element in the fresh outlays is included in the revenue budget, while the capital expenditure is included in the capital budget. The formulation of the annual plan budget is undertaken against this institutional background and is governed by specific objectives which are largely derived from the plan itself. Among others, the objectives are to secure adequate provision of funds for continuing projects and programmes and new schemes and phasing of expenditure to ensure budgetary stability and conformity with the medium-term plan.

There are, however, two sets of problems in the formulation of the annual budget which may broadly be classified into those that are related to: (a) budgetary determination, and (b) budgetary presentation. As for the former, it has been noted earlier that one of the important constraints that have an influence on the budgetary approaches of the State Governments is Central assistance. The magnitude of the Central assistance has been rising with each plan. In addition to the projects and schemes sponsored directly by the Central Government, the assistance extends to the projects and programmes included in the State Plans. The assistance from the Centre which covers all these aspects has risen from 46 per cent of the total States' Plan outlay during the first Five Year Plan to 60 per cent during the Third Plan. The determination of the quantum of assistance has not always been a matter on which there is unanimity of opinion and, viewed from the angle of the receiving end, the negotiations for it appear to be rather long and lacking in finality. (In support of this, the cases of Nagarjuna Sagar, Rajasthan Canal Project, etc., are often cited.) To the extent the determination of Central assistance takes considerable time, it would appear, that it adds to the uncertainty regarding the availability of resources at the level of States. In addition, as already noted, the draft plans as prepared by the States are generally considerably more than what their resources would permit.<sup>12</sup> In the process of their scrutiny at the Centre they undergo a considerable reduction; and in certain cases, because of the severe resource constraints, as was the case during 1966-67 and 1967-68, very heavy reductions take place. These reductions are not always made with reference to any programme but are made in the aggregates approved for each sector. Since the States initially prepare the plan keeping in view a specific outlay, they find it difficult to reframe the physical

<sup>12</sup> The negotiations are by no means confined to the Central assistance only. The determination of the plan outlays for the five-year period is an equally difficult job and in certain cases the plan outlays as prescribed by the Planning Commission are different from the outlays assumed by the State Governments. For example, in respect of West Bengal, there were two estimates of plan outlay for the third five year plan period, one as prescribed by the Planning Commission and another as decided by the State Government.

content of the plan in the light of the reduced outlay. These problems tend to get further accentuated when a major part of the reductions are imposed on a specific sector (such as works and construction activity during 1966-67). In the process of adjusting the schemes to the reduced plan outlays (and considering that the time between the finalization of plan outlays and the presentation of the budget is not considerable), often some schemes and programmes whose details may not have been worked out in full, are agreed to in principle and included in the budget. Naturally, since the implementation of such schemes can be initiated only after the approval for all the technical aspects is finalized, a supplementary exercise of getting the approval from the finance department is initiated. This has generally the effect of budgeting becoming an all-the-year-round exercise losing in the process its utility as an instrument of advance planning.

It is suggested that these could be overcome through a revised arrangement for the annual plan discussions which may be taken up earlier than now so that there is an adequate time lag between the finalization of the plan and the formulation of the budget.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, it would be necessary to prepare budgets in various ranges of resources so that in the event of reductions in the outlays, programmes could be adjusted with minimum dislocation. Such planning and budgeting, keeping in view different levels of outlays could be undertaken from the agency level itself in respect of its own activities and could also be undertaken at an aggregate level for the whole State by the Finance and Planning departments. The preparation of such comprehensive budgets would, apart from minimizing the dislocation, actually ensure a systematic allocation of resources too.

The budgetary presentation in respect of plan schemes has also been giving rise to certain issues. The budget as organized now is primarily a means to facilitate accounting and the minor heads as are in use now were evolved sometime in 1937 and have undergone little change since. The plan, on the other hand, speaks of sectors and 'heads of development'. To bring these two nearer, a plan volume is now being brought about as a part of the budget documents by most of the States. Such separate and somewhat supplementary exercises could be avoided if the accounting and plan heads are reorganized on new lines so that there is greater rapport between the

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<sup>13</sup> The crucial importance of annual planning was recognized and some measures suggested for streamlining the system. Among others, it has been suggested in the *Fourth Five Year Plan—A Draft Outline* that the "schedule of operations associated with the preparation of the annual plan should be laid down well in advance and adhered to firmly" (Chapter X).

two. Such re-arrangement is likely to permit a programmatic approach to the budget and will have the effect of achieving a coordinated framework facilitating both a budgetary and plan consideration.<sup>14</sup>

A related issue to be considered in this context is the centralization of financial authority in the States. While it is true that the responsibility for the formulation of the budget and the determination of the ceilings of specific services rests with the Finance Department, it is expected that this process is preceded by an active participation of the Finance Department, through its advice, in the formulation of programmes and through systematic review in the course of budget execution. In most of the State Governments, however, there is no system of financial advice.<sup>15</sup> Budgeting is essentially a positive process concerned, first and last, with the achievement of an efficient and economical resources allocation. Its utility would be lost if its powers were to be interpreted in a negative manner. In practice, however, because of the excessive centralization of authority in the finance departments, absence of delegation of powers to the administrative departments and the implementing agencies,<sup>16</sup> and inadequate development of financial management practices within the administrative agencies, budgeting has over a period, become a process of axing the proposals of the administrative departments. To make it more useful and to reduce the inter-departmental frictions it may be necessary to institute a system of financial advice in the States also.

#### *Analytical Aspects*

Government budgets have both a 'policy' and a programme

<sup>14</sup> "The Linking of Heads of Development and Budget and Account Heads" was being reviewed by the Planning Commission. See *ECAFE Bulletin*, September 1966. This work is now being done by the Union Ministry of Finance, New Delhi.

<sup>15</sup> Andhra Pradesh is a notable exception to this. A system of Financial Advice was introduced in the State as early as 1960. In Madras also a system of Accounts officers working in each administrative department was introduced in 1964. The duties of these accounts officers include rendering advice on all financial matters and on the "interpretations of the financial and other code rules and also on the procedure to be adopted in implementing schemes of the department".

<sup>16</sup> There are considerable variations in the extent of delegated powers in the States; for example, in Madras very limited powers have been delegated to the administrative departments. In Madhya Pradesh all departments have been delegated powers to create posts and appoint staff up to 20 per cent of the total provision made for such staff pending final sanction of the detailed staff by the finance department. In West Bengal, the delegated powers are relatively few. Similarly, in respect of reappropriation of funds in Maharashtra, powers for reappropriation between minor heads under the same major head have been delegated. In West Bengal, powers have been delegated for reappropriation within the major heads but not from a non-plan scheme to plan scheme. In this manner there are any number of variations on this theme and it is not the intention to enumerate them here. But by and large, it can be said that there is a considerable scope for greater delegation of powers.

function.<sup>17</sup> The policy function consists of the determination of the size of the budget and the magnitudes of current outlays, maintenance outlays and fresh outlays. The programme function consists in ensuring that all the schemes originally intended for inclusion in the budget have in fact been included and the estimated results flow from the outlays and in advising on the progress and appraisal of the alternatives available. In the context of budgeting for development, both these aspects come into greater relief and sharper focus. Primarily, the analytical aspects of budget-making in our contemporary situation comprise: (a) programme analysis, (b) financial analysis, and (c) economic analysis. The programme analysis covers the self-consistency of the detailed aspects of each scheme and its relevance to the overall framework of action contemplated for an year, the financial analysis consists in ensuring adequate resources to cover the self-consistency of the detailed aspects of each scheme and its reliance to the overall framework of action contemplated for an year, the financial analysis consists in ensuring adequate resources to cover the programmes so chosen and the economic analysis with an examination of the impact of the proposed outlays on the economy as a whole and with an assessment of the cost and benefits expected of the programmes.

It is only natural that all these are expected to be found in the States' budgetary process. The situation, however, is quite different from this ideal state. The existing budgetary system is considerably tradition-oriented and, as will be indicated presently, lacks many of the features that are otherwise considered essential in the developmental setting.

The administrative agencies first prepare their budget estimates keeping in view their capacity to spend, fresh needs and the performance during the last few years. The agencies, however, do not have any indication as to the overall amounts that might be available for each specific purpose. These proposals are then considered by the Finance Department in the light of the resource and other constraints (mentioned earlier). The consideration by the Finance Department generally means a reduction in the outlays proposed by the administrative agencies. The reductions are made in each proposal of expenditure without, of course, being quite sure as to the impact of such piece-meal reduction on the effective functioning of a service. Broadly, there are three types of expenditures which call for different approaches at the

<sup>17</sup> See *Government Budgeting and Planning for Economic Development*, New York, UNO, 1965, and author's article "Towards a Functional Budget", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, 11th and 18th March, 1967, for a discussion of these aspects.

time of the formulation of the budget: (i) regular expenditures or maintenance expenditures where major reductions (by their very nature) are not feasible, (ii) current expenditures which to some extent depend on the economic climate, e.g., food subsidies, price supports, etc., and (iii) those outlays which could be modified in the light of desired governmental influence on economic developments, e.g., plan outlays, public works expenditures, investment outlays, etc. It is, therefore, expected that different approaches, conditioned by these factors are adopted in scrutinizing and formulating the budget. But these variations on the pattern of expenditure control would not appear to receive adequate attention in the rough and tumble of budgetary process. It is also to be noted that the budgetary scrutiny based as it is on a sort of incrementalism, and on overwhelming influence derived from the previous year's experience does not permit either an overall view or even a functional approach to public expenditure. What is more significant is that the economic analysis is conspicuous by its absence. Proposals for expenditure are not assessed with any budgetary tools, such as the cost-benefit analysis, but are approached on the rule of the thumb. The governments have no means of knowing the economic impact of their budgets, for no economic classification of the budgets is undertaken.<sup>18</sup> It would thus appear that the existing 'incremental' control will have to yield place over a period to comprehensive planning and control so as to subserve the purposes of planning process. Such a control should include appropriate programming and financial and economic analysis of the programmes. A significant lacuna in the existing system is the absence of advance programming both in the functional and budgetary sense. Necessarily in such a context the journey in economic growth will be a slow movement from one '*ad hoc*' position to another rather than following an orderly and well-articulated path of growth.

The budgetary control as is obtaining now during the execution stage is essentially conditioned by the necessity to avoid savings or excesses or anticipation of the areas requiring supplementary grants. This anxiety about the 'monetary' progress is not, however, sufficiently supplemented by a concern about the 'physical' progress thus often contributing to a gap between the two. It also introduces a number of distortions in the pattern of resources allocation and these are further aggravated by the absence of a time-phased expenditure plan. Also

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<sup>18</sup> Madras is known to have prepared an "Economic Classification" of their budget. No similar attempts would appear to have been made by other States. In the absence of such economic classification it is not now possible to assess the budgetary impact of the Central and State operations on the economy. It is necessary that an economic classification of the budget as in the Centre is undertaken by the States as well.

the variations in expenditure tend to be on the high side as the 'expenditure plans' are not supplemented by 'forecasting' or adequate cost studies of each programme either at an aggregate or at a sub-aggregate level. Viewed thus, it can be said that the budgetary process as is organized now lacks many of the analytical aspects that be treated as integral parts of modern budgeting.

### *Information Aspects*

Progress reporting is a vital ingredient of budgetary management. Such reporting is necessary to ensure the appraisal of the work done and for the formulation of future policies. Such data is also essential to assess the work accomplishments, manpower utilization and financial results. The progress reporting system as it obtains now is more of a chronicle of the actual progress in expenditure oriented to the 'objects of expenditure' as given in the Demands for Grants and does not indicate the physical and other aspects of a programme or an activity. Also, the emphasis of the progress reports is confined to the Plan schemes only. The reviewing machinery, such as the State Development Committees, is also primarily concerned with the progress in expenditure of the Plan schemes only. There is no exclusive reviewing machinery excepting for the occasional evaluation undertaken by the Bureaus of Economics and Statistics at an official level either within the administrative departments or in the finance department. The accounting data, as is designed now, is more suitable to meet the external reporting requirements rather than the needs of internal administrative management.<sup>19</sup> In sum the existing system of progress reporting does not serve as an instrument for evaluation of the work done; its coverage is also inadequate as, by and large, the purview does not go beyond the plan schemes. The progress reports do not, as they are organized now, facilitate 'forward looks' either. Also, there is no endeavour to correlate the financial with the physical aspects of the programmes. To that extent, the requisite administrative

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<sup>19</sup> The accounting data is compiled with reference to the major, minor and detailed sub-heads of the budgets. But the nomenclature of these heads is considerably different from the terminology used for plan programmes and schemes. Thus a supplementary exercise is generally required to be undertaken to dovetail the accounting data into the activity classification of the agency. It is to be noted here that there is no uniformity among the States regarding the budgetary presentation of schemes. In all States, excepting West Bengal and Madras, Plan expenditures are shown under the respective minor heads (since a scheme may be under more than one minor head, the expenditure which is split-up among the different minor heads, will have to be brought together to know the progress of expenditure under that scheme). In these two States, the plan expenditure is shown under the separate group head called 'Development Schemes' provided for under each major head. The basic accounting structure has been primarily designed not so much to facilitate the internal management, as much as to serve the legal and other accountability requirements of the legislature.

base which is essential for proper budgetary management may be said to be deficient in several ways.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the areas that have been considered above, there are a few other significant areas that may be mentioned here. An important aspect in the context of long-range planning is the need for long-range budgeting too. At a time when planning is being envisaged on a fairly long-term basis, it is also essential to have long-range budgeting, where the annual budgets lose their distinct identity and merge into an integrated whole. Such a system of budgeting would require to be supported by resource programming and forecasting. Forecasting is not merely an exercise in fiscal marksmanship but is an invaluable adjunct to long-range budgeting. The State Governments do not have at present any Tax Research Units that could undertake resource studies. It may be useful to organize small cells for tax research so that tax overlapping and other related problems could be avoided. Another area where there is an absence of a policy relates to the timing, course and magnitude of public investment. The need for a time-phased expenditure plan has already been emphasized earlier. Such expenditure plans should, *inter alia* take into consideration the pattern and the timing of public investment keeping in view the specific purposes that are expected to be served by it. These aspects are of vital importance for formulating the budgets and due care should be devoted to these aspects as well.

#### *Perspective*

The foregoing indicate, albeit not in exhaustive detail, the existing budgetary system and their deficiencies. The essential aspect that has to be recognized is that the conventional budgetary system which was designed to serve the purposes of parliamentary accountability is no longer adequate in view of the sea change that has taken place in the situational factors and institutional setting. In the context of developmental planning, budgeting will have to be so reformed as that it not only renders the conventional accountability but also serves as a handmaid to economic development. Thus, what is required is a sort of 'Development Budgeting'.

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<sup>20</sup> In a case study made about the Progress Reporting in Agriculture in three States, it was observed that in Madras the review was done by the State Development Committee every quarter; in Maharashtra the review done at an official level in a Division is supplemented by a review undertaken by the Senior Minister of the State hailing from that Division. In West Bengal, however, reliance would appear to be placed on the medium of *ad hoc* reviews and personal inspections of the senior officials. It is also the experience that the review is primarily oriented to plan expenditures and excepting Maharashtra, there had been no proper attempt to correlate the inputs and the outputs. It has also been noticed that the progress reporting has no means of distinguishing the long-term schemes from the short-term ones.

It has also to be recognized that accountability is no longer confined to the mere technical aspects of it, but it now means accountability for the results, performance and achievement. This change in the concept indicates that new mediums are required to serve the new tasks. Development Budgeting, however, is not something which can be had by attempts at transplantation of some techniques tried elsewhere; on the other hand, it has to be evolved from out of the needs which are inherent in our situation and should necessarily keep in view our institutional framework developed during the last century. Such 'Development Budgeting' in our context may be said to contain four significant elements: (i) securing an operational cohesiveness between Planning and Finance agencies and their work, (ii) development of internal financial management in administrative agencies, (iii) modernization of the budgetary process and the budgetary instruments by introducing analytical tools, such as cost-benefit analysis, performance budgeting, progress reporting, etc., and (iv) establishing a system of economic analysis of the budget. It is not, however, the intention here to deal with these aspects in any detail; on the other hand, it is to point out the broad lines of reform and the destinations to be reached.

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## THE GENERALIST ADMINISTRATOR AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION IN PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS : A NOTE AND A COMMENT

*Ward Morehouse*

RESEARCH scientists and technologists often argue that a major obstacle to technological innovation in public sector undertakings in India is the dominant place occupied by generalist administrators on deputation from the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Civil Service in senior management posts in these undertakings. To explore the nature and extent to which this argument has validity, two tabulations were recently made at author's instance from a survey of IAS and ICS Officers on the basis of the *Civil List* and a report of the Estimates Committee on public undertakings, as follows : (i) Length of Tenure of IAS and ICS<sup>1</sup> Officers in their most recent assignments; (ii) Incidence and Length of Tenure of IAS and ICS Officers in Public Sector Undertakings.<sup>2</sup>

The first tabulation was undertaken by making a sampling of every tenth name from the 1966 *Civil List*. The length of the period of service in their immediately preceding post was then determined by examining *Civil List* for previous years. This sample included 191 individuals. Their average length of service was 29 months. This figure somewhat under-stated the actual average length of service as there were nine individuals in the sample listed in the 1966 *Civil List* as continuing in their posts; for purposes of the tabulation they were assumed to have terminated on July 31, 1967, although in fact some of them may still be serving in the same posts.

A separate subsidiary tabulation was made of the individuals in the sample who held positions in public sector undertakings. This group includes 12 names. Their average length of service was 42 months. Two individuals in the sample, however, have had exceptionally long periods of service (100 months and 84 months respectively as on July 31, 1967—they are among the nine listed as continuing in their posts) and because of the small size of the sample, distort the average. By eliminating these two individuals and reducing the sample to 10 names, the average length of service was 32 months.

The second tabulation, based on a listing of senior managerial personnel in 58 public sector undertakings contained in the Fifty-second

<sup>1</sup> The original list on which this tabulation is based was compiled by Miss Pedma Ladenla, Research Assistant at the Educational Resources Center, New Delhi. The tabulation has been made by Miss Joanne Inouye, Student Research Assistant at the Senior Specialists Program, Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Center, Honolulu.

<sup>2</sup> This tabulation was prepared by Miss Joanne Inouye, Student Research Assistant at the Senior Specialists Program, Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Center, Honolulu.

Report<sup>3</sup> of the Estimates Committee of the Third Lok Sabha, was made of both length of tenure of IAS and ICS Officers in these undertakings and the proportion of senior management posts held by officers on deputation from the IAS, ICS and other services.

The Estimates Committee Report lists 107 posts for the 58 public sector undertakings covered by the Report. These 107 posts have been filled by 332 individuals from the time of establishment of the undertakings (which, of course, vary) to approximately the date of the Report. Of the 332 individuals listed, 157 or approximately 47 per cent came from various services. (IAS and ICS officers accounted for 134 names—or about 40 per cent of the total number—while all the other services together — IMP, IRAS, IRSE, etc.—numbered only 19 or not quite 6 per cent of the total).

The tabulation shows that the average length of tenure for the IAS and ICS officers in these public undertakings (90 individuals, after excluding those still in their posts at the time the Report was issued) was 26 months—significantly less than the average length of service of 32 months for the sample taken from the *Civil List*.

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The implications of these tabulations are suggestive rather than conclusive. Since between 40 and 50 per cent of the senior management posts in the public sector undertakings covered by the Estimates Committee report have been occupied by officers on deputation from the IAS, ICS and other services, it does appear that the management of public sector undertakings is in significant measure—but certainly not exclusively—in the hands of generalist administrators. Given the relative technological complexity of some public sector undertakings, the continuing rotation of IAS and ICS officers to different assignments, and the comparatively limited period of time that these officers spend in positions of responsibility for management of such undertakings, it would be difficult under the best of the circumstances for these officers to become significantly knowledgeable about even the broader aspects of the technological side of the concerns under their charge. When this difficulty is coupled with random examples of concrete instances of the reluctance of generalist administrators to authorize technological innovations in certain public sector undertakings, the evidence is strongly suggestive that there is some substance to the argument of research scientists and technologists. But the evidence is *not* conclusive and what is very much needed is a systematic examination of post experience in this regard.

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<sup>3</sup> *Personnel Policies of Public Undertakings*, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, March, 1964, pp. 90-101.

## FUNCTIONING OF THE BLOCK DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE\*

[In this feature we give comments on the articles published in the previous issues of the Journal. Readers are, therefore, requested to send in their comments on the articles published in this issue by March 15, 1968, for inclusion in the next issue—Ed.]

IT is a fairly old controversy in the history of community development movement in India whether it should aim exclusively or near exclusively on boosting up agricultural production in the countryside; or alternatively its objective should be the overall and integrated development of the rural community. For good or bad rationale (which one hardly need discuss for purposes of this critique), it may be recalled here that overall and integrated development of rural community came to be accepted as the objective of the community development programme with varying emphasis on its role *vis-a-vis* agricultural production. And Panchayati Raj is an heir to this objective. It is, therefore, an open question how far one can evaluate the working of Block administration in relation to agriculture in isolation from the multi-purpose obligations of Panchayati Raj and which create some sort of an imbalance in the span of attention that Panchayati Raj institutions and functionaries can devote to agricultural production. As a corollary to this, it is an equally open question whether one can think of reorganizing the Block administration with the exclusive purpose of meeting the demands of agricultural production unless a basic revision in the objectives of Panchayati Raj also takes place. The point being made here is that a uni-purpose (agriculture production oriented) view of Community Development and Panchayati Raj replacing the present day multi-purpose orientation should precede a uni-purpose re-organization of Block administration to serve the needs and demands of agricultural production.

It is also arguable how far just a uni-purpose view of Panchayati Raj as just a booster of agricultural production (nothing more and nothing less) would really mean the end of all troubles on the front of agricultural production. If one thinks so, one either over-simplifies the problem or expects a miracle from Panchayati Raj institutions. The quest of a single panacea like Panchayati Raj for complex and multi-dimensional problems like agricultural production may offer a classical example of just begging the question. Panchayati Raj institutions and the administrative personnel associated with them can hardly be expected to make up for the halting progress towards socialism and the consequent failure to bring about a changed pattern of economic relationships and to implement the land reforms wholeheartedly. This consideration is basic to the evolution or evaluation of any plan of administrative improvement in the field of Panchayati Raj in general and re-organization of Block administration in relation to agriculture

\* The original article of this title by Shri K. Seshadri was published in Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Jan.-March), 1967.

in particular. Administrative innovations can do but precious little to make up the leeway unless political leadership and administrators earnestly join hands in this venture.

Again it is found that politics of Panchayati Raj institutions tends to neutralize the healthy impact of these bodies in enthusing the people and mobilizing their support and co-operation in giving a fillip to productive programmes. Thus one is driven to conjure up an image of "politics less Panchayati Raj". It may be good academic exercise; but can the ideal postulated here ever become real, if Panchayati Raj institutions are to be organized on a democratic basis? The remedy, therefore, is not to wish away politics but to evolve administrative innovations to safeguard against the misuse of power and its drift into discriminatory channels.

Furthermore, it is easy to advocate "planning from below" with financial autonomy both from a technocrat's angle to realism and practicability and a democrat's emphasis on peoples' participation. It is too late in the day to question its desirability or to build up a rationale for it. But the basic issue here, again, is how far, at what level, to what extent and within what limits can "planning from below" be fruitfully combined with centralized national planning? What has been sadly lacking is conceptual clarity on this basic issue which reduces exercises in "planning from below" to a mere ritual. If planning from below is not to become just another name for programmatic planning, an effort could perhaps be made to delineate a minimal sector of planning for Panchayati Raj institutions in which these bodies can fix their own priorities, evolve plans to meet them, raise and control the resources needed for the job and, finally, execute their own plans. The over-riding considerations in the delineation of a sector of this job is the possibility of its co-existence with the sectors covered by centralized national planning on the one hand and the prospects of its management by the Panchayati Raj institutions on the other. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to recognize that the Panchayati Raj sector will have to be just *minimal* for these over-riding considerations and the Panchayati Raj institutions will have largely to play only an agency role. One may, however, confess that so far the use of Panchayati Raj institutions has not been adequately made even for programmatic planning, let alone the question of delineating a Panchayati Raj sector as has been envisaged here.

Similarly, one comes across another example of lack of conceptual clarity when one finds the problem of relationship between the Panchayati Raj institutions and co-operatives as being written off as baffling. There are, once again, some basic issues involved here. For example, can co-operative movement be just treated as voluntary and allowed to go its own way in a developing country like India which is committed to socialism? It may also be asked, "Can a village afford the luxury of several competing agencies with their prospects of pushing as rivals to each other?" Should not, then, one think of some sort of Panchayat-partnered co-operative as an answer to the two basic questions posed here?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author owes this idea to Prof. M. V. Mathur, Vice-Chancellor, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur who has been continuously advocating it.

The foregoing basic questions apart, one may reflect for a while on the so called 'purely administrative issues':

(1) The problem of drawing talent to agricultural service by according social prestige to the career is just one, but certainly important side of the picture. But an equally important (if not more important) problem is how to attract whatever talent is already drawn to the agricultural career to serve in the villages and how to equip it to do so in the specific context of rural India, its needs, demands and limitations. It is a problem of incentives (at times even of coercion) on the one hand and soil orientation to agricultural education and training on the other, it is common knowledge that the country has sadly failed on both these fronts so far.

(2) An equally vexing problem relates to the unit of decentralized planning—whether it should be district, block or village. One could say that the phenomenon of decentralized planning has to be treated as a continuum with the processes starting at the village level passing through the initial sieve of consolidation at the Block level and reaching its final stage of consolidation at the District level. While district could be treated as the basic unit for decentralized planning, the Block could be taken as the focal point for operationalizing it. Even at the risk of digression one could add that the political factor and the pulls and pressures that go with it matter more at the stage of operationalization of local plans than of their formulation. And yet the very purpose of decentralized planning (nay of Panchayati Raj itself) will be defeated if it is shifted to a remoter unit than the Block.

(3) The contention that "a technical official qualified in agriculture" would better lead the Block team than a generalist B.D.O. is a debatable issue. Some of the dangers that threaten to neutralize the advantages claimed by the advocates of this idea may be briefly identified as follows: (i) The burden of co-ordination coupled with the desk work associated with the job of the B.D.O. may reduce the agriculturist to the position of a generalist minus his acumen, prestige in the administrative hierarchy and reputation for non-partisanship. He may be left with absolutely no time for extension work as B.D.O. when even as Extension Officer (Agriculture) he finds desk work too heavy to attend to meet his extension obligations. (ii) Empirical studies of administrative behaviour bear it out that a technocrat finds it much more difficult to co-ordinate the work of technocrats from different fields than a generalist co-ordinator. It should, therefore, not be taken for granted that an agriculturist technocrat would necessarily succeed in bringing about co-ordination (let alone better co-ordination) between technocrats in the fields of co-operation, animal husbandry and the like. (iii) The District level officers do not take interest in Block administration today because they carry with them the psychology of an injured ego, which has been rooted in the so-called deprivation of their authority in the wake of Panchayati Raj which they have as such failed to own. The envisaged change may, therefore, not necessarily transform the attitude of the District level officers who may develop an additional rivalry between themselves when they find a technocrat belonging to one department bossing over the technical men of other departments, who may in turn also show psychological resistance in accepting him as the leader of the Block team. (iv) The generalist co-ordinator today acts as a buffer between the non-official leadership and the technical men in the Block who could then be directly

exposed to political leadership once this buffer is withdrawn. It should not be forgotten that in a developing and transitional society of rural India efficacy of this buffer depends as much, if not more, on the traditional hallow of authoritarianism as on the glow of developmental orientation.

(4) The problem of streamlining the Block administration is in a fundamental sense an attitudinal problem. The streamlining of administrative practices and procedures, though necessary, would not go very far till developmental administrators carry with them the psychology of regulatory administration, as they do at present. The only way to give a developmental orientation to administrators is to throw them into the vortex of development. The only way to democratize administration is to make the administrator work among and with the people. No formal training is a substitute for an administrator's self education. Looked at from this angle abolition of the post of B.D.O. or its devaluation is a retrograde step.

—IQBAL NARAIN

## II

THE challenge of famine in Bihar and in some other parts of the Country has laid bare the disarray in which agricultural development programmes have been lying. It has in turn provoked rethinking on the basic approaches to agricultural management and the assumptions underlying them have been seriously questioned. Thus the resentment towards performance of the Block level administration, particularly the B.D.O. is so strong that suggestion even for the abolition of the Block, the very basis of rural development planning in India, has been made as a remedy for the present ills. A number of States have already decided to do away with the office of the B.D.O. Whatever be the basis of this tarnished image of the Block, it calls for reappraisal of the accepted approaches towards agricultural management.

For one thing it is difficult to verify the official statistics about the public investments made in a Block in physical terms. The achievements, invariably not broken down to the Block level, are found to be varying widely from the non-official estimates. The complaints about the non-existent wells, the faulty, uneconomical and incomplete constructions, the idle or underutilized rigs, electric motors and tubewells and the pilferage of public money in one form or another are so common that any assessment of the production potential on the basis of financial outlays or even distribution of inputs is misleading. Indeed with all the emphasis on minor irrigation, improved practices and co-operative organizations in the Plan, there is no evidence in the areas hit by acute scarcity of the cushion that the Plan investments should have provided to the average farmer.

Now, the assumption that the facilities for improved inputs and extension granted through the State agency are within the reach of the average cultivator is open to doubts. As the P.E.O. observed even in 1955, the extremely low level of inputs, the paucity of initial equipments and material means or the absence of the economic minimum essential for drawing the full advantages of improved technology was bound to leave a gap between "acceptance" and actual "adoption" of programmes.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Evaluation Report on Second Year's Working of Community Projects*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Programme Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, 1955, page 60.

application of familiar concepts, namely, farm advice and education, publicity and propaganda, demonstrations and peoples' participation suffer from the common pitfall, *i.e.*, the failure to relate them to the economic and social conditions by which most of the farmers are bound.

The current debate on the problems of agricultural management is confined largely to the manner in which the quality, number and the status of the extension agents can be improved and the ways in which the horizontal and vertical relationships in the administrative organization could be made more harmonious. Hence the obsession with such issues as the relationship between the generalist and the specialist, how much time the B.D.O. or the V.L.W. should devote to agriculture, who should write whose character roll, how long an officer should not be transferred from one station and so on. The presumption would seem to be that most of the failures in the implementation of the agricultural programmes could be attributed to the conditions under which the official agency has to operate. In fact, in nine out of ten cases, the failures are due to the absence of the required sense of urgency, the inordinate delay in fulfilling simple and known tasks, such as grant of loans in time, ready availability of water and inputs and facilities for quick disposal of farm produce to market at assured and remunerative rates. In actual advancement of these facilities there is always a gulf between farmers' own order of priorities, the time schedule of their requirements and what the official agency is able to assess and offer against them.

The basic point is that an official agency, however well-organized and competent, suffers from an inherent limitation in a situation in which the number of farmers to be covered by an Extension Officer is disproportionately large and where the average farmer's capacity to adopt improved methods is limited by acute economic and social handicaps. How to turn people themselves into the agents of change continues to be the enigma. The failure of Co-operatives and the Panchayat as the agencies of peoples' participation in development programmes is primarily due to their being victims of the same power structure and hierarchical relationships and the same administrative habits and attitudes as those of the official. The first task, therefore, is to reduce the dependence of the farmer upon the official hierarchy. This points to the need for autonomous development corporations at the district or lower level which could establish direct link with the producers and maintain Block level technique popularizing and servicing centres. Secondly, the farmers need to be organized into what might be called voluntary producers' organizations, say for maintenance of minor-irrigation works or field-channels, for undertaking soil-conservation or land reclamation or popularization of new practices. One of the objects of having such producers' organizations would be to initiate farm education and advice as a self-generating process in which the capable and tested extension officer is able to throw up through his participation a set of his counterparts among the farmers themselves. For this it is necessary that the best officers at the State level who generally tend to stick to the Headquarters should be goaded to the field. A successful Extension Officer should have avenues for reaching the higher ladders of promotion at the field level itself with may be the same duties.

In sum, improvements in the official hierarchy and management are in themselves no guarantee of effective participation by people in development

programmes unless the official identifies himself with farmers' organizations and works towards what might seem to be paradoxical, i.e., making these organizations less and less dependent upon official aid.

—S. P. SINGH

### III

I WILL confine my comments to five of the points made in Seshadri's article.

While it is difficult to agree fully with the earlier part of the statement that "mere institutional, legal or organizational changes will fail to effect any perceptible change, nor will platitudinous speeches and patriotic appeals increase the agricultural yield", the measures necessary to make a career in agriculture more attractive require consideration. Constituting an All India Agricultural Service and granting of higher pay scales would not by themselves improve immediately the calibre or technical competence of the agricultural services. The effect of these steps will be apparent only after a time lag as those who may, following these measures, decide to prefer careers in agriculture to engineering and medicine, will take about 8 to 10 years to complete their agricultural education and become effective participants in agricultural extension. But would the All India Service itself be adequate to attract talented students to courses in agriculture? A scrutiny of the preferences of the candidates who succeed in the I.A.S. and Allied Services Competitive Examinations indicates that the choice of the Services, which carry the same or closely comparable pay scales, is influenced by the type of work they think is done by the Services, the "social esteem" it enjoys, the places of posting, the promotion prospects, the personal and family background, experience and aptitudes of the candidates. Studying agriculture may, in the opinion of the talented students, reduce their chances of entry into Services like the I.A.S., I.F.S. or I.A. & A.S. The agricultural Service can draw talented students to agriculture, only if the Service has "social prestige". Prestige, being intangible, is difficult to promote. It is also not practicable to make the service conditions in the Agricultural Service more attractive than the other All-India or Central Services. Therefore, despite the All India Service, talented persons are likely to study agriculture for taking up a career in the Agricultural Service, only if they have a special aptitude for the subject. On the basis of their background and experience, people from rural areas are more likely to prefer and have an aptitude for agriculture. Only when opportunities for higher education become more freely available to people coming from rural areas, is the problem of getting suitable personnel for agriculture likely to be satisfactorily solved. Barring these long-term measures, no immediate solution seems to be possible.

If the implementation of tenancy legislation and land reforms is entrusted to the P. R. bodies, it is but to be expected that these administrative functions will be politicized and that the B.D.O., working directly under the Samiti, will have to remain helpless. But the behaviour patterns of the non-official functionaries in P. R. should not be considered in isolation. The fact that the P. R. bodies, though their main functions are developmental, have an important role to play in the democratic political processes should

also not be disregarded. That explains why political parties have not always been faithful in keeping their original promises of not participating in P. R. elections, as withdrawal from local politics may have serious repurcussions on the party's future in that area. Therefore, the actions and behaviour of the non-officials in P. R. bodies are not likely to be basically different from those of other political functionaries in our society. Though there may be a difference in degree, democratic and political pressures, comparable to those operating at higher levels on the polity, do impinge on Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads also. Safeguarding the interests of the poorer and less articulate sections of the society, therefore, becomes important. It is thus not surprising that there are second thoughts about delegating more powers to the P. R. bodies and the view that it may be more advantageous to have a single-line official agency of the Government to plan and implement programmes, with the association and advice of peoples' representatives, is gaining ground. Andhra Pradesh, one of the pioneers in P. R., seems to have adopted this view.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to agree with Seshadri's view that "criticism that the Indian peasant is backward and is to be educated about modern methods is, apart from being hackneyed, untrue". This view may be true, even in Andhra Pradesh, only in relation to some farmers in the agriculturally advanced coastal districts. Experience in extension work in many parts of India suggests that by and large the Indian peasant, possibly with very good reasons, is conservative and does require persuasion to adopt new methods. If Seshadri's view is accepted, it follows that an Extension Agency is not really essential, and that the farmers should increase the agricultural yields, if only supplies and services were assured. If this were correct the Package Programme, in those areas where the supplies and services position was satisfactory, should have been an instant success.

While the observations of the Expert Committee, headed by Dr. S. R. Sen, about our "archaic administrative system" may be valid, their implications are not quite flattering. The aim of the Package Programme was to increase agricultural production in 5 years, by about 40 to 60 per cent over the 1958-59 level.<sup>2</sup> From the Committee's report, it is clear that the performance, with the possible exception of Ludhiana, has nowhere been near the target. Five years after launching the Programme, the shortcomings are being attributed to our archaic administrative system which, it is said, is inadequate to implement the Programme. Though, in the Indian context, it may not always be possible to draw a distinction between "planning" and "administration", it is pertinent to ask whether our "Planners", before they decided on a Programme of this type, should not have considered whether the administrative system is likely to measure up to the task. As Albert Waterston observes, "until administrative improvements are clearly foreseeable, planners must prepare plans which take account of administrative capacity. This means, among other things, that complex forms of planning must be avoided when a country's administration is not ready for them."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. V. H. Rao, "Overhaul of District Administration in Andhra—Panchayati Raj Downgraded?" *Economic & Political Weekly*, June 3, 1967, pp. 1005-6.

<sup>2</sup> *The Intensive Agricultural District Programme, Package Programme Series No. 1*, New Delhi, Ministry of Food & Agriculture, 1960.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Waterston, *Development Planning, Lessons of Experience*, Oxford University Press, 1966.

It is also doubtful whether the generalist-specialist controversy could be applied at the B.D.O.'s and Extension Officer's level. Seshadri implies that once the B.D.O. is a specialist in Agriculture, agricultural production programmes will receive a boost. Even in Andhra Pradesh, quite a few of the B.D.O.s have been and are from the Agricultural Department; this is the position in many of the other States also. If Seshadri's argument is accepted, those Blocks which had or have Agricultural B.D.O.s should have fared much better than those with non-agricultural or Revenue (Generalist?) B.D.O.s. This, however, is not borne out by experience. The resistance of the Extension Officers to accept the authority of the B.D.O. will continue to operate irrespective of the department to which the B.D.O. belongs. Even if the B.D.O. is drawn from the Agriculture Department, the situation regarding the acceptance of his authority will not be basically different so far as the E.O.s other than agriculture are concerned. Another relevant question is whether the duties of the B.D.O. are such as to require a detailed technical knowledge of say agriculture, particularly when he is supported by E.O.s who have specialized knowledge in areas germane to rural development. Indeed, it can be argued along with Golembiewski,<sup>4</sup> that the organization at the Block level is of the "unorthodox pattern" with a definite bias towards the generalist.

To be effective, some of the essential requirements that a B.D.O. has to fulfil are : (i) having the capacity to work with the non-official representatives in the Panchayat Samiti, (ii) possessing the capacity and the skills for administration and co-ordination, and (iii) a knowledge and appreciation of rural problems coupled with an aptitude for development work and a sympathetic attitude to rural problems. It is difficult to maintain that every Revenue B.D.O. will be devoid of these, while all Agricultural B.D.O.s will fulfil these requirements. Neither does the argument that, because the character roll of the B.D.O. in relation to the agricultural work has to be initiated by the D.A.O., the B.D.O. himself should be a specialist in agriculture, carry much conviction. On the same analogy, it can be argued that since the B.D.O.'s work involves a lot of "administration" and "co-ordination", and his character roll, in relation to these aspects, is written by the Collector or D.P.O. (a generalist), the B.D.O. also should be a generalist.

In Madhya Pradesh the B.D.O.'s posts have been abolished and the Block activities relating to agriculture are under the E.O. (Agriculture). All the E.O.s function directly under the respective District Heads of Departments, though at the Block level a "Coordinator" (a senior E.O. of Panchayats, Cooperatives, etc.) is responsible for some of the house-keeping functions. This arrangement, where the E.O. (Agriculture) functions without being subordinate to and supervised by a generalist B.D.O., does not seem to have made any difference to the impact of agricultural programmes; on the other hand, there has been a visible decline in the other Block activities.<sup>5</sup> Once he fulfils the requirements mentioned above, any officer from the Revenue Department or any of the Development Departments participating in the Block activities, should be able to function effectively as a B.D.O., if the required support is forthcoming from the E.O.s. This has been in a

<sup>4</sup> *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, June 1965, pp. 135-141.

<sup>5</sup> Based on an unpublished study in one of the districts of Madhya Pradesh.

way conceded by Seshadri, who when dealing with co-ordination, mentions the need for developing a new outlook and shedding of departmental loyalties. The problem is deep seated, and the Department from which the B.D.O. is drawn is not by itself a very important factor.

Increasing the technical competence of the V.L.Ws, if necessary by posting agricultural graduates as V.L.Ws, and providing more Agriculture E.Os per Block so that better and individual attention could be paid to the farmers, and more effective arrangements for supplies and services along with better procedures for administration and co-ordination may help in improving the impact of agricultural programmes. If these measures or any other measures designed to improve the Block's performance in agriculture are taken, there is no reason why the Departmental affiliation of the B.D.O.—if he is otherwise suitable—should come in the way of his being effective in his job.

—C. SRINIVASA SAstry

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## INSTITUTE NEWS

*Shri Y. B. Chavan*, Union Home Minister, was unanimously elected President of the Institute for the year 1967-68 at the Thirteenth Annual General Meeting of the Institute, held on October 28, 1967. He succeeds the outgoing President *Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda*. The meeting was presided by *Shri Asoka Mehta* (Union Minister for Petroleum & Chemicals, and Social Welfare).

*Shri Asoka Mehta* was re-elected Chairman of the Executive Council of the Institute in the 75th Meeting of the Executive Council which was held on 28th October, 1967. All other members of the Executive Council were re-elected except *Shri Tarlok Singh* who has been succeeded by *Shri B. Venkatappiah*.

\* \* \*

The Eleventh Annual Conference of Members of the Institute was held on 29th October, 1967 under the chairmanship of *Dr. P. S. Loka Nathan*, formerly Director General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi. The subject of the Conference was "Agricultural Administration with Reference to Increasing Food Production".

The Annual Day of the School was celebrated on July 17, 1967. *Shri Morarji Desai*, Deputy Prime Minister of India, presided and awarded certificates of Master's Diploma in Public Administration to successful candidates. As the Members are aware the M.D.P.A. Course has since been discontinued.

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The Committee of Judges did not consider any essay received for

the 1967 Annual Essay competition fit for first prize. Two second prizes of Rs. 500/- each were, however, awarded to the following:

- (i) *Shri K. Venkataraman*, Madras, for his essay on "Creation of a Cadre of Local Service Personnel" and
- (ii) *Shri Parshuram D. Oka*, Akola, for his essay on "The Merits and Defects of the Present System of Relations between the Administrator and the Specialist".

A special prize of Rs. 250/- was given to *Shri Swami Rai Sharma*, Jammu, for his essay on "The Merits and Defects of the Present System of Relation between the Administrator and the Specialist".

\* \* \*

In May 1967, the Executive Council had appointed an Implementation Committee with *Dr. P. S. Loka Nathan* as Chairman to examine and advise the Executive Council in regard to implementation of the recommendations of the Evaluation Committee. The Implementation Committee submitted its report on August 19, 1967. The Implementation Committee has suggested that the year 1967-68 be considered as a transitional period for the organization of training courses at the Institute in place of the M.D.P.A. Course which has since been discontinued. The four courses it has approved of for the current

year's training programme are: (1) Three Appreciation Courses on Techniques of Administrative Improvements; (2) One Course in Survey Research Methodology; (3) Two Courses in selected fields of Development Administration; and (4) One Course in Financial Administration. The Director would, however, have the necessary discretion in regard to organizing and running these courses according to a schedule to be determined in consultation with Government. The Implementation Committee has rejected the proposal for having a continuing long-term Executive Development Course in view of the fact that the Government might not be able to spare officers for a Course involving long absence from their duties.

Though subjects of the new Courses for 1968-69 will be decided later, the Committee has urged that they should, as far as possible, be built around: (a) Personnel Administration; (b) Modern Techniques of Administration; and (c) Economic Decision-making.

As regards the formulation of areas of research for the Institute, the Committee has expressed the view that after completing its commitments in regard to research work undertaken for the A.R.C., the Institute should lay stress on problem-oriented research within specified time limits, particularly in areas in which training courses are being developed.

The Committee has suggested that the Institute's research programme should be directed to specialization in the broad fields of Public Administration and should include subjects of special importance like Development Administration, Financial Adminis-

tration, Personnel Administration, Statistics and Research Methodology, State-level Administration, Comparative Administration, Agricultural and Food Administration, Industrial and Commercial Management, etc. One of the great handicaps from which the Institute has so far been suffering is the lack of qualified and experienced academic staff to undertake fundamental and applied research as also to organize training courses. The Implementation Committee has recommended that having regard to the volume of work involved, a staff consisting of about 8 Professors, 10 Readers and 12 Lecturers should be deemed appropriate. The Implementation Committee has also recommended the setting-up of a Research Council consisting of senior members of the Faculty and other experts to draw up the programme of research for the Institute and the School, to watch its progress and apply standards of quality to the research output before publication. This is expected to be a major step for streamlining our research organization so that it could function more efficiently.

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Since the report in this regard made in the April-June 1967 issue, the following studies taken up by the Institute for the Administrative Reforms Commission have been completed:

- (1) Machinery and Procedures for Redress of Citizen's Grievances;
- (2) Utilization of Medical Research (2 Reports);
- (3) Utilization of Agricultural Research;

- (4) Reorganization of District Collectorate;
- (5) Administration of Public Enterprises—The Steel Industry;
- (6) Career Planning and Placement of Senior Officer at the Centre and in States; and
- (7) Combination of the Posts of the Heads of Executive Agencies and of the Secretariat Departments

\* \* \*

A Seminar designed to determine priorities in implementation of administrative reforms at the national level (in the light of the recommendations made by various Reforms Committees in the Southern States) was organized by the Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch at Hyderabad on November 20-21. It was attended by about 25 delegates representing the Regional Branches of the Institute in Madras, Mysore, Kerala, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Also present was *Shri V. V. Chari*, Secretary, Administrative Reforms Commission.

The meeting was inaugurated by *Shri K. Hanumanthaiya*, Chairman, Administrative Reforms Commission and *Shri V. B. Raju*, Minister for Revenue, Government of Andhra Pradesh, presided.

The first Session was chaired by *Shri M. T. Raju*, Chief Secretary to the Government of Andhra Pradesh and second and third Sessions were chaired by *Shri C. A. Ramakrishna*, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, and *Shri V. Isvaran*, Retired Chief Secretary to the Government of Gujarat, respectively.

The Seminar dealt with a variety of administrative problems. Among them: system of confidential reports; recruitment by field agencies of public service commissions at the district level; promotions on the basis of examinations; and specific institutional programmes for State officials.

The Seminar took note of the delays in the movement of files and inconsequential notings and recommended that these should be minimized. Some participants suggested a larger role for the specialist in policy formulation and greater delegation of powers to the Head of the Department.

Another suggestion made was that staff and line agency be unified at the top-most level in the Secretariat, *viz.*, the Secretary himself, while preserving the separate identity of policy-making and execution by allotting them to two Deputy Secretaries. It was also felt that a third Deputy Secretary may be kept exclusively in charge of personnel so that the other functionaries would not have to spend time on such problems.

The Concluding Session of the Seminar was presided over by *Dr. J. N. Khosla*, Director, IIPA, and addressed by *Shri K. Hanumanthaiya*.

\* \* \*

A two-week Course of 13 senior officials concerned with social welfare administration at the Centre as well as in the State was held at the Institute from December 8 to 23.

The purpose of the Course, which was inaugurated by *Dr. D. R. Gadgil*, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, was to enable administrators of formulating

co-ordinated plans, explore techniques to translate plans into operational programmes and provide machinery for their successful implementation.

The Course was first of its kind and first of a series planned in this direction by the Institute, forms part of its executive development programme which was also initiated by this Course.

Some of the focal themes were: Planning Social Welfare Services—Planning Commission's Approach; Organization for Social Welfare—Central Government; Organization for Social Welfare—State Governments and Local Authorities; Personnel Needs and Personnel Training; Utilization of Voluntary Agencies and Grants-in-Aid Administration; International Assistance and Inter-Governmental Agencies.

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The Seventh Appreciation Course on Techniques of Administrative Improvement was held from July 24 to September 23, 1967. Officers of the level of Deputy and Under-Secretaries in the Central Ministries/Departments and officers of equivalent rank from: (1) Gujarat, (2) West Bengal, (3) Maharashtra, and (4) Nagaland participated in the course. The programme consisted of lecture discussions, book review, attachments, administrative surveys, and visits to major industrial projects.

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A two-day "Workshop" Seminar on some Aspects of Agricultural Research Administration in India, was organized by the Institute on July 27-28, 1967. The purpose

of the Workshop, which was inaugurated by *Shri B. Sivaraman*, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Food, was to enable the participants to share their experiences regarding research administration innovations. Important items discussed in the Seminar included: Problems and Innovations in Organizational and Administrative Support, Methods for Gaining Collaboration and Commitment from the Users of Research Results, Tested Techniques for motivating and developing Research Personnel—the Problem of Environments, Techniques applied for reducing the idea-execution work cycle, and tested practices in other countries tried out there with success.

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Techniques for processing large masses of information through IBM cards, the Computer, and the Sorter were studied by 19 research workers and civil servants in a Survey Research Training Course which was organized by the Institute from 5 to 9 September at New Delhi. It was inaugurated by *Shri E.P.W. da Costa*, Managing Director, Indian Institute of Public Opinion. The Course concentrated mainly on data processing techniques with some references to data collection techniques, such as sampling, framing of the questionnaire, processing and pilot study. The data processing techniques which were dealt with, included the use of a code to transfer verbal information into *Fortran*, the construction of a code, the making of tables including matrix tables, their interpretation, evolution of typologies through comparison of tables and the collapsing of the code.

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The newly set-up Centre for Training and Research in Municipal

Administration organized two training courses for Municipal Technical Officers. The first, a Short-term Training Course for the Municipal Technical Officers from Central and State Governments and Corporations, was held from 2.8.67 to 26.9.67. This Course was attended by Seven Officers. The second Short-term Training Course for 23 Municipal Technical Officers and Chief Municipal Executives was held from 6.11.67 to 16.12.67. Participants included senior officials from the Centre and the States (18) as well as those nominated by the Government of Afghanistan, Ceylon, Malaysia, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania (8). Some of the topics discussed were: Role of Urban Local Government, Training Personnel Development Supervision and Guidance, Municipal Enterprises as a Means of Augmenting Municipal Resources, Public Relations and Citizens Grievances, and Reforms in Municipal Administration.

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At the invitation of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director, I.I.P.A., participated in the Annual Meeting of Directors of Development Training and Research Institute, Montpellier (France) from September 7 to 12, 1967.

At the invitation of the Ford Foundation, the Director extended this trip by visits to U.A.R., U.K., U.S.A., and Philippines, to help promote IIPA contacts and interaction with public administration institutes and other organizations, with common research interests, in these countries.

*Shri G. Mukharji, formerly Chair-*

man, U.P. Housing and Development Board, joined the Institute on November 29, 1967, as Professor and Director of the Centre for Training and Research in Municipal Administration. He was earlier Chairman, Delhi Improvement Trust; Chairman, Town and Planning Organization; Chairman, Central Regional & Town Planning Organization; Vice-Chairman, Delhi Development Authority; Joint Secretary, Union Ministries of Home and Health, etc.

*Dr. V. Jagannadham*, Professor of Sociology and Social Administration, participated in a Conference on "Child and Youth Development in National Planning", at Bangkok, from July 17 to 27, 1967. The Conference was jointly organized by the UNICEF and the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning. He also attended an ECAFE Seminar on "Inducing Motivations for Social Change for Overall Development in the Countries of the ECAFE Region", held at Bangkok from July 25, to August 3, 1967. He acted as a Resource Person to both the Conference and the Seminar.

*Dr. M. J. K. Thavaraj*, Reader in Economic Policy and Administration, who spent the year 1966-67 at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, as a Fulbright-Hays Post-doctoral Fellow in Economics, resumed his duties at the Institute on September 30. During the period of this study, he specialized in Performance and Programme Budgeting. On his way back home, he addressed, among others, the following: Institute of Public Administration (Manila), Kuala Lumpur University (Kuala Lumpur), and The Asian Institute of Economic Development (Bangkok).

After the expiry of his nine-month term as a Rural Sociologist with the F.A.O. in Ceylon, Dr. A.P. Barnabas, Reader in Sociology and Social Administration resumed his duties at the Institute on October 4. He also participated in a meeting of Rural Sociology experts, held in Rome from November 27 to December 1. The group had been convened by the FAO to discuss the role of rural sociologists in solving world food problem. He contributed two papers to the meeting, one of which was a background paper.

Dr. Ajit M. Banerjee, Reader in Public Administration, has been appointed by the ECAFE as Regional Adviser on Public Administration for three months to its Regional Office in Bangkok with effect from September 26, 1967.

On completion of his one year's assignment, Dr. S. Subbaramaiah, Reader in Economic Policy and

Administration at the Institute, returned on September 2 to S. V. University, Tirupati, to resume his duties there as Reader in Economics.

Shri V. M. Kulkarni, formerly Editor, Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India, has joined the Institute as a Senior Research Fellow.

Dr. Norman Kaplan, Professor of Sociology, George Washington University and Senior Staff Scientist at the Program of Policy Studies (U.S.A.) joined the Institute as Short-term Ford Foundation Consultant in the Area of Science and Public Policy and stayed from October 22 to November 29, 1967.

Prof. V. Subramaniam, left the services of the Institute with effect from November 18 to join the University of Zambia, Lusaka, as Professor of Public Administration.

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As a part of Institutes' activity the following lectures/discussions were arranged at headquarter and regional branches :

| Date<br>(HQ and Branch)          | Subject                                                                                                                           | Speaker                                                            |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| July 8<br>(Poona)                | "Impact of Rule of Law on Administration"                                                                                         | V. A. Naik,<br>President, Industrial Court,<br>Maharashtra.        |
| July 28<br>(New Delhi)           | "Planning of Scientific and Technological Research for Economic Development"<br>(Dr. D. S. Kothari, Chairman, U. G. C., presided) | Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao,<br>Union Minister for Transport and Shipping. |
| Aug. 12<br>(Vallabh Vidya-nagar) | "The F. A. O.—Its Organization and Working"<br>(Shri H. M. Patel, I. C. S., presided)                                             | Shri Prafulla Bhatt,<br>Commercial Manager,<br>Amul Dairy, Anand.  |

| <i>Date<br/>(HQ and Branch)</i>                  | <i>Subject</i>                                                                                                                     | <i>Speaker</i>                                                                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Aug. 17<br>(Andhra Pradesh)                      | "Some Problems of Financial Administration"<br>(Shri K. N. Anantaraman,<br>Chief Secretary, Andhra<br>Pradesh, presided)           | Shri B. Venkatappiah,<br>Formerly Chairman, State<br>Bank of India.                                 |
| Aug. 31<br>(Maharashtra)                         | "Recent Developments in Ghana, Their Significance for India"<br>(Shri D. R. Pradhan,<br>Chief Secretary, Maharashtra,<br>presided) | Shri N. G. Abhyankar,<br>Addl. Secretary to Govt.<br>of Maharashtra.                                |
| Sep. 6<br>(Vallabh Vidya-nagar)                  | "Panchayati Raj in India"                                                                                                          | Shri K. D. Budha,<br>Principal, Orientation and<br>Study Centre, Junagadh.                          |
| Sep. 9<br>(Vallabh Vidya-nagar)                  | "Some Aspects of the Hybrid Bajra Programme in Gujarat"<br>(Shri H. M. Patel, I. C. S.,<br>presided)                               | Discussion initiated by<br>Shri N. D. Desai, Agro-Economic<br>Branch Centre,<br>Vallabh Vidyanagar. |
| Sep. 16<br>(Mysore)                              | "Motivation of Workers"<br>(Shri K. Narayanaswamy,<br>Chief Secretary, Mysore,<br>presided)                                        | Ross Pollock<br>Consultant, IIPA.                                                                   |
| Sep. 21<br>(Poona)                               | "Reorganization of the Consumers' Co-operative Movement in Britain"                                                                | Dr. G. S. Kamat,<br>Reader, V. L. Mehta,<br>National Cooperative Management Institute,<br>Poona.    |
| Oct. 7<br>(Andhra Pradesh)                       | "Safeguards in a Changing World"                                                                                                   | Mr. Joseph Greene,<br>Minister-Counsellor,<br>U. S. Embassy,<br>New Delhi.                          |
| Oct. 21<br>(Andhra Pradesh)                      | "Services in Retrospect"                                                                                                           | Mr. J. P. L. Gwynn,<br>I.C.S. (Retd.).                                                              |
| Oct. 14<br>&<br>Nov. 11<br>(Vallabh Vidya-nagar) | "The Present Economic Malaise"<br>(Shri H. M. Patel, I.C.S.,<br>Presided)                                                          | This Discussion was initiated by Dr. J. H. Adhvaryu of Sardar Patel University.                     |

| <i>Date</i>                 | <i>Subject</i>                                                                          | <i>Speaker</i>                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (HQ and Branch)             |                                                                                         |                                                                                                                   |
| Nov. 10<br>(Andhra Pradesh) | "Some Impressions of his Recent Visit to U. K. and U.S.S.R."                            | Dr. M. Chenna Reddy,<br>Union Minister of Steel and Mines.                                                        |
| Nov. 15<br>(Maharashtra)    | "Science and Society"<br>[Shri. G. V. Bedekar,<br>I.C.S. (Retd.), presided]             | Dr. Norman Kaplan, Professor of Policy Studies in Science and Technology, George Washington University.           |
| Nov. 17<br>(Andhra Pradesh) | "Science and Society"                                                                   | Dr. Norman Kaplan,<br>Professor of Policy Studies in Science and Technology, George Washington University, U.S.A. |
| Dec. 1<br>(New Delhi)       | "Some Aspects of the Whitley System in England"<br><br>(Shri B. Shiva Rao,<br>presided) | Mr. C. T. H. Plant,<br>O.B.E., General Secretary,<br>Inland Revenue Staff Federation, London.                     |
| Dec. 9<br>(Poona)           | "The Role of the Governor in Indian Constitution"                                       | Dr. H. V. Pataskar,<br>Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona.                                                      |

Dr. Zakir Hussain, President of India, attended a reception given in his honour by the Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch of the Institute on August 29, 1967.

The following visited the Headquarters of the Institute: (i) Prof. Irving Swerdlow of the Syracuse University (USA) addressed the members of the Faculty and the research staff of the Institute on September 12, 1967; (ii) Dr. G. Hahn, Professor of Economics from the German Democratic Republic, visited the Institute on October 24 to acquaint himself with its activities; (iii) Prof. S. M. Burke, Professor of International Relations, Minnesota University, USA, addressed the members of the Faculty and the research staff of the Insti-

tute on November 10; (iv) Prof. Lee Ting Hui, Deputy Director, Political Studies Centre, Singapore, visited the Institute on September 18 and discussed with Prof. N. Srinivasan, Vice Principal, Indian School of Public Administration matters of mutual interest; and (v) A group of ten Social Education and Panchayat Officer trainees, who were attending a course at the State Community Development Training Centre, Nilokheri (Haryana), also visited the Institute on July 5 at 10 a.m. to acquaint themselves with its activities.

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Two more Correspondents—i.e., from Jammu and Kashmir, and Nagaland—started their affiliation with the IIPA NEWSLETTER.

While the Government of Jammu and Kashmir has named Shri J. N. Kaul, Deputy Secretary (Re-organization), General Department, the Nagaland Government has nominated Shri L. L. Yaden, Deputy Secretary (Administrative Reforms), Home Department, for the assignment.

The following were elected as office-bearers of the Poona Branch for the ensuing year at the Annual General Meeting of the Branch held

on July 8, 1967. Chairman: Prof. D. G. Karve; Honorary Secretary: Dr. N. R. Inamdar; and Honorary Treasurer: Shri D. V. Potdar.

Election of office-bearers of the Vallabh Vidyanagar Local Branch for the ensuing year at the Annual General Meeting, were held on July 3, 1967 and the following were elected: Chairman: Shri H. M. Patel, ICS (retd.); Honorary Secretary: Dr. H. J. Pandya; Honorary Treasurer: Shri C. D. Desai.

It is with deep and heartfelt sorrow that we record the sad and sudden demise of Prof. D. G. Karve, formerly Director of the Institute on December 28, 1967. He was 69.

Prof. Dattatreya Gopal Karve was a noted educationist, economist and administrator. He held several important positions during his career including Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, Vice-Chairman of the State Bank of India, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India; Member of the Fourth Finance Commission, etc.

Prof. Karve was the first Honorary Director of the Institute during 1954-55. He was the Founder Life Member of the Institute and Member of its Executive Council. He was also a Member of the Editorial Board of this Journal.

The Institute and the Journal owes a great debt of gratitude to him for his initiative and invaluable services. His death was mourned by members of the Staff at a meeting held on December 29, 1967.

It is with deep sorrow that we record the sad and untimely demise of Dr. Parmanand Prasad, formerly Assistant Chief Research Officer at the Institute, on October 18, 1967. He was 47.

Dr. Prasad joined the Institute in 1959 as Senior Research Officer and was later promoted to the post of Assistant Chief Research Officer. In 1962, he went over to the Hindustan Steel Limited on deputation as Economic Adviser—the position he held until his death.

While at the IIPA, Dr. Prasad endeared himself to all his colleagues by his friendly personality and unassuming nature.

The research work done by him at the Institute includes, among others, a study of the Damodar Valley Corporation, and a Case Study of the Installation of a Thermal Plant at Bokaro.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

### INTRODUCTION

Important constitutional developments took place in the country during the period under review, namely, from 1st July, 1967 to 31st December, 1967. Whereas wind was still in favour of non-Congress Governments in July as discernible in the fall of Congress Government in Madhya Pradesh, in November it was definitely against the ruling non-Congress coalition Governments in some States. On the 21st November the United Front Government of West Bengal was dismissed by Governor—giving rise to controversy about the powers of the Governor—and replaced by another Ministry with the support of Congress Party. Similarly, on the 25th November the ruling Punjab Ministry was replaced by another Congress-Akali Coalition Ministry. In Haryana, on the other hand, President's Rule had to be imposed on the 21st November due to frequent defections in the Legislature. In Manipur also President had to take over administration due to the strength of both the political parties in the Legislature becoming equal. Although these constitutional developments involving frequent changes in the Ministries may not have had serious repercussion, on the day-to-day administration but it was inevitable that they would affect the pace of decision making at the policy level.

Where the changes were very frequent and continued for a longer period the decision making practically came to a standstill as stated by

Union Home Minister in the case of Haryana.

### *Administrative Reforms*

The following Study Teams/Working Groups of Administrative Reforms Commission submitted their reports to the Administrative Reforms Commission since our last review: (1) Working Group on Police Administration; (2) Study Team on Personnel Planning, Staffing of Public Sector Undertakings & Personnel Management; (3) Study Team on Agricultural Administration; (4) Study Team on Reforms in Accounts and the Role of Audit; (5) Study Team on Centre-State Relationship; (6) Study Team on Machinery of Planning; and (7) Study Team on Promotion Policies, Conduct Rules, Discipline and Morale.

The Administrative Reforms Commission presented its final report on Public Sector Undertakings to the Government of India on October 17, 1967.

### ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

In the matters of administrative reorganization the most outstanding development of the period was the reorganization of the Planning Commission more or less on the lines suggested by the Administrative Reforms Commission in their Interim Report. The allocation of work among the full-time members of the reconstituted Commission has been divided as follows : (1)

*Dr. D. R. Gadgil* (Deputy Chairman) : (a) Economic Group consisting of Economic Policy, Financial Resources, Employment, International Trade and Payments, Food Policy and Prices, Incomes and Wages Policy; and (b) Plan Co-ordination consisting of Central Plans, State Plans, Regional and Area Plans, Documentation and Backward Classes Welfare. In addition, the Plan Evaluation Wing and Administration of the Planning Commission will be directly under his charge; (2) *Shri R. Venkataraman*: Industry and Labour, Transport and Power Group, which will consist of Modern Industries—large, medium and small, Rural Industries, Minerals, Railways, Road Transport, Shipping, Communications—including Village Roads, Power—including Rural Electrification, and Labour Welfare; (3) *Shri B. Venkata-piah*: Agriculture and Rural Development Group consisting of Production and Distribution, Land Development, Land Reforms, Irrigation and Water Management, Agricultural Credit, Marketing and Warehousing, Co-operation, Administrative Reforms and Rural Housing; (4) *Shri Pitamber Pant* : Perspective Planning Group consisting of Perspective Planning, Inter-Industry group, Natural Resources Manpower and Statistics and Surveys; (5) *Dr. B. D. Nag Chaudhuri* : Scientific Research and Social Services Group consisting of Scientific Research, Education, Health and Family Planning, Urban Housing and Drinking Water Supply and Urbanization.

The Ministry of Education was reorganized in September 1967 in the following Bureaux and Units: (1) Bureau of General Education, (2) Bureau of Technical Education and Science, (3) Bureau of Cultural Activities, (4) Bureau of Languages and Book Promotion, (5) Bureau

of Scholarships and Youth Services, (6) Bureau of Planning and Co-ordination, (7) Bureau of Administration, (8) UNESCO Unit, and (9) N.C.R.E.T. Unit. It will be recalled that on his becoming Education Minister *Shri M. C. Chagla* has first reorganized the Ministry in Bureaux.

Government of India have decided to make comprehensive amendments to the Cantonment Act, 1924, with a view, among others, to introducing free and compulsory primary education in accordance with the Directive Principles of State Policy, further democratization of the cantonment administration consistent with the nature of cantonment as military station, rectifying defects in certain provisions of the Act brought out in the judicial pronouncements and remove difficulties experienced in administering the Act. The main features of the proposals are to increase the normal terms of the Boards, to increase the number of elected members, to provide for election of the president, to enhance the powers of the Board, to restrict the powers of the president and GOC-in-C, to remove the obligation, to undertake periodical revision of assessment list, to provide for appeal to GOC-in-C in certain matters, to transfer certain powers from GOC-in-C to District Judge, and to provide for non-confidence motion against the president and vice-president.

On the recommendation of the Government of India and also with a view to having effective supervision and control and implementation of the various medical and health programmes in *Andhra Pradesh*, the State Government has amalgamated the Medical & Public Health Departments in the State at all levels with effect from July 1, 1967. In order to achieve maximum results in providing health

services to the people, it has also been decided to dovetail into each other the curative and preventive functions at various levels of the Health Organization in the State. A single officer at the district level will be responsible for curative, preventive and family planning work. This officer will replace the present District Medical Officer and will be designated as District Medical and Health Officer.

*The Andhra Pradesh Government* also carried out major administrative changes with a view to securing economic growth of the district. These are : (1) There will henceforth be a Zila Development Board for each district which will prepare a draft Integrated Agricultural and Industrial Production Plan for the year, calculated to secure maximum production with the available resources. The draft District Plan so prepared will be placed before the Zila Parishad for its approval. It will be the responsibility of the Board to implement the District Plan and achieve the targets envisaged under it. (2) In order to secure efficient implementation of the Integrated District Plans, the Collector will be the Head of Agriculture, Co-operation, Panchayati Raj and Industries departments in the district. (a) There will be one Additional Special Category Deputy Registrar who will work under the administrative control of the Collector and will function as P.A. to Collector. The posts of Regional Joint Registrars will be abolished with effect from the date the Special Category Deputy Registrars of Cooperative Societies are appointed ; (b) There will be one Deputy Director of Agriculture for each district (at present there are already 11 Deputy Directors of Agriculture, more will be appointed); (c) The Regional Offices of the Joint Directors of Industries will be abolished

and the Joint Directors will be transferred to the Headquarters Directorate of Industries, and will function on a state-wide basis as subject-matter specialists; (d) In order to relieve the Collector of the Revenue and Civil Supplies work, so as to enable him to devote himself entirely to development work, there will be a District Revenue Officer for each district who will work under the administrative control of the Collector. (3) At the Divisional level, the Revenue Divisional Officer would be responsible for the supervision and effective implementation of the District Plan in respect of Blocks within his jurisdiction. (4) At the State Level, a Development Board with Chief Secretary & Development Commissioner as its Chairman has been constituted. The State Development Board is expected to be not only responsible for supervising the proper implementation of the District Plans and the progress of the various District Plans, but also for other Plan schemes relating to agricultural and industrial production.

*The Bihar Government* has decided to vest the senior most judicial magistrate or the sub-judge of the sub-divisional headquarters, wherever possible, with the powers of taking cognizance of cases, with the concurrence of the High Court, with immediate effect. At present, this power is enjoyed by the S.D.O. of the Executive Service at the sub-divisional headquarters.

*The Delhi Metropolitan Council* has recommended the Bill prepared for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in Delhi.

*The Kerala State Government* has decided to constitute a State Planning Board with the Chief Minister as Chairman and Minister

of Finance, an Economic Adviser, 3 experts, besides Chief Secretary to Government, Secretary to Planning Department, and Director, Bureau of Economics & Statistics as Members. The functions of the Board will be: (i) to undertake continuous appraisal of the progress of the State's economy and make proposals for effective utilization and development of the State's natural, material and human resources; (ii) to undertake and arrange for continuous study of the special problems of the State; (iii) to formulate the broad objectives of the development Plan and to elaborate the Plan objectives into long term, medium term and short term plans and specific projects and programmes; (iv) to evaluate projects and programmes and determine inter-sectoral priorities; (v) to formulate targets and outlays for different sectors of development together with estimates of resources; (vi) to assist the State Government and the Departments concerned in planning for integrated development in different regions of the State, and (vii) to assist and advise Panchayati Raj institutions and Municipal bodies in the formulation and development of plans and mobilization of resources at the District and local levels. The existing State Planning Advisory Board has been replaced by a State Planning Advisory Council, including all the major sectional interests, such as representatives of workers and peasants' organizations, chambers of commerce and employers associations, members of Legislature, and experts and specialists in different fields. The Council will advise government generally on all matters relating to plan and development activities.

The *Uttar Pradesh* Government has set up a Hill Development Board, with the Chief Minister as its Chair-

man. The main functions of the Board will be to find out the main developmental needs of the hill districts, to frame schemes for the development of these districts and to evaluate the progress of various development schemes.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE IMPROVEMENTS

At the Centre, a notable development in the field of improvement of administrative procedures was the starting of Computer Centre at Delhi. The Centre will provide a common data processing facility for all government offices and public sector undertakings located in and around Delhi. The different computer applications will include, *inter alia*, quick and accurate processing of large volumes of primary data, economic and statistical analysis and research and development in engineering and other fields. The computers will also serve as a kind of an information bank.

Another development at the Centre is the setting up of efficiency Bureaux & work study units by the P & T Board, to undertake special studies, as may be entrusted to them by the P & T Board. The work study units will review working matters with a view to streamlining procedure.

In the States, the *J & K* Government has set up an O & M Directorate at the Secretariat to analyse reports and returns; to ensure prompt disposal of Government business and also to ensure that inspections are being conducted at all levels according to the prescribed orders. The Directorate will also analyse the tour diaries of Deputy Commissioners and Heads of Departments to ensure that proper attention is being paid to the need for supervision at all stages in the hierarchy; that touring is well planned and

that all items of work in the charge of an officer are being attended to.

The *Rajasthan* Government have decided to constitute four Standing Sub-Committees of the Cabinet to deal expeditiously with agricultural production, food and famine relief, industrial development and the emergency. The decisions taken by these Sub-Committees will be deemed to be the orders of the Council of Ministers. Three of the Sub-Committees will be headed by the Chief Minister, the fourth will have the Finance Minister as its Chairman. The *Rajasthan* Government have also decided that Collectors must be available at the headquarters one day in each week to hear public grievances.

The *Madhya Pradesh* Government set up a 17-member Control Board for Major Projects headed by the Chief Minister. The Board will be assisted by a whole-time Secretary of the rank of a Superintending Engineer, a Financial Adviser and other necessary staff. The Board will examine and decide all proposals for preparation of designs, obtain expert advice, lay down specifications and schedule of rates for various classes of work, approve all proposals for award of work or supplies on contract, decide the programme of construction of different parts of the project, the stage development of water-power, withdrawals of water from the reservoir during the construction period, the programme of resettlement of affected persons, recommend suitable measures for soil conservation in the catchment areas and development of pisciculture in relation to the projects, and perform any other functions that may be assigned to it.

#### ECONOMIC & FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Steps to fight economic recession coupled with social control over

banks and insurance companies—partial though they may be—were the most noteworthy development during the period under review in the field of economic and financial administration.

With a view to increasing the flow of credit to certain priority sectors, viz., exports, small industries and agriculture, and engineering industries in the context of the current recessionary trends, the Reserve Bank announced the following steps in July-August 1967, and more recently in the beginning of November 1967: (i) Reserve Bank would provide refinance of commercial bank pre-shipment advances to exporters of engineering and metallurgical products at a preferential rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and advances to exporters of other goods and all post-shipment usance bills at 6 per cent, the banks being required to charge a rate not exceeding 6 per cent and 8 per cent on the respective advances (even if the refinance facility is not made use of) as against the erstwhile  $7\frac{1}{2}$ -10 per cent. (ii) Commercial banks have been advised to increase their involvement in agricultural finance for production, marketing and development. (iii) For the purpose of computing the net liquidity ratio of a bank, the increase in a bank's advances in respect of agriculture packing credits, post-shipment export bills and in respect of advances to small-scale industries which are guaranteed by the Credit Guarantee Organization, over the average of such advances during the period July-October 1966 (for the 1967 slack season) and November 1966-April 1967 (for the 1967/68 busy season) would not be taken into account. (iv) Scheduled Commercial Bank advances for food-grains procurement/distribution storage to the State Governments/their agencies/Food Corporation of India and for financing

distribution of chemical fertilizers and pesticides (including credit extended to manufacturers of these products for financing their sales) are eligible for refinance at Bank Rate; further the entire increase in these advances during the 1967-68 busy season should be ignored for computing the net liquidity ratio of banks. (v) Discretionary accommodation in the form of Bank Rate refinance would be extended, during the 1967-68 busy season, to the needy banks to meet cases of genuine financial difficulties in aiding production and meet the financial requirements of their clients arising as a result of large tax payments at particular times of the year or bunching of imports of raw cotton, soyabean oil, maize, starch, etc.

The above measures were supplemented by modifications made by the Industrial Development Bank of India, in its refinance scheme in respect of medium-term exports and the scheme in relating to discounting of bills of exchange/promissory notes arising out of sale of indigenous machinery on deferred payment basis. The Industrial Development Bank of India also introduced in September 1967 a new scheme for provision of rediscounting facilities in respect of sales of motor vehicles to road transport operators in the private sector.

As regards the social control of banks, Government has assured that pending further measures, a National Credit Council will be set up, the main functions of which will be, periodically to: (a) assess the demand for bank credit from various sectors of the economy; (b) determine priorities for the grant of loans and advances for investment, having regard to the availability of resources and requirements of the priority sectors, in particular

agriculture, small-scale industries and experts; (c) coordinate lending and investment policies as between commercial and co-operative banks and specialized agencies to ensure the optimum and efficient use of the overall resources; and (d) consider other allied issues as may be referred to it by the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman.

The membership of the Council will not exceed twenty-five. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance will be the Chairman and the Governor of the Reserve Bank the Vice-Chairman. There will be three other permanent members, namely, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs and Chairman, Agricultural Refinance Corporation. The remaining twenty members of the Council, will be appointed by the Government of India to secure, as far as possible, adequate representation from the various sectors, viz., the commercial banks, the co-operative sector, large- and medium-scale industries, small-scale industry, agriculture, trade, including expert trade and professional groups including economists.

With a view to introducing social control over general insurance, Government have decided to apply the provisions of Section 27A of the Insurance Act which states that investments of life funds should be made only in approved investments to the funds of general insurance also. The provisions of the Insurance Act relating to maximum holdings and voting rights of share holders would also be made applicable to general insurance companies. These two provisions are intended to ensure that there is no interlocking between general insurance companies and other joint stock companies. As a further measure Government have

also decided to clothe the Controller of Insurance with greater powers of supervision and control over insurers as follows : (i) The Controller will be required to make regular inspections of insurers and, in addition, have the right to make surprise inspections, and, if necessary, to enter premises and search and seize records. If the inspection reveals unsatisfactory features, the Government can order the cancellation of the registration of the insurer. (ii) Appointment or removal of principal officers of insurers would need the prior approval of the Controller. (iii) The Controller will be empowered to appoint, as a routine measure, directors on the Board of insurers or to appoint observers. (iv) The Controller will be given the power to scrutinize the terms of reinsurance contracts and ask for the termination of such contracts at the earliest legal opportunity if he considers it necessary in the public interest.

The Controller has also been empowered to bring about the amalgamation of weak and unsatisfactory insurer where he feels that such steps are in the public interest or in the interest of policy holders. Similarly, where the insurer has been persistently failing to apply with the directions given to him by the Controller or is being managed in a manner detrimental to the interest of policy holders the Government may acquire the insurer and pay compensation.

The Posts and Telegraphs Board has set up a five-man Tariffs Enquiry Committee, headed by *Shri Mahavir Tyagi*, to evolve definite principles which can form the basis for the tariff policy to be followed by the P & T Department. Among other things, the Committee is expected to: (a) review the economics of the various services provided,

the extent to which the uneconomic services compete with those which are relatively more remunerative and suggest measures for preventing the diversion of traffic from the remunerative to the unremunerative services; (b) examine whether it is necessary to provide special concessional rates to any class or classes of users or in respect of any particular services provided by the Department; and (c) to evolve principles for the expansion and extension of P & T facilities in new areas to meet public needs, keeping in view the commercial character of the P & T services.

The Government of India has appointed a One-man Committee, with *Shri P. C. Bhattacharyya*, Ex-Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, to enquire into the financial position of the Commissioners for the port of Calcutta and to make recommendations for augmenting earning and effecting economies in expenditure. The Committee is also expected to examine what minimum assistance, if any, would have to be rendered by the Central Government, and if so in what form.

Among the less important developments in this field at the Centre, mention could be made of : (a) the appointment of a Committee to "investigate the causes of the present high level of expenses of the Life Insurance Corporation as indicated by its renewal expense ratio, and to recommend administrative or other measures, to bring it down to reasonable levels so as to subserve the maximum interest of the policy-holders"; (b) report of the Road Transport Enquiry Committee, which has suggested that there should be Central legislation to lay down uniform principles of taxes (on motor vehicles) and licensing thereof for the whole country. The Committee has suggested that the Government

should examine whether the existing Entry 42 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution covers taxation on motor vehicles engaged on inter-State routes. If this is not so, the Constitution may be amended suitably to provide for control of taxation on inter-State transport by the Inter-State Transport Commission. The Committee has also suggested that the Inter-State Transport Commission should be reconstituted *de novo*. The reconstituted Commission should be given all the powers at present mentioned in Section 63(A)(2) of the Motor Vehicles Act and also the powers mentioned in the Rules framed under Section 63 (C) of the Act by including them in the substantive law. The Commission should have a Chairman of a high status, preferably chosen from public life and two other full-time members, who have wide experience of administration or transport or finance or economics. The Commission should have a high status similar to that of Union Public Service Commission, Tariff Commission, Forward Markets Commission, etc.

In the State Sector, with a view to encouraging the Administrative Department assumed more financial responsibility and to facilitate quicker implementation of scheme—both plan and non-plan, the Assam Government has reorganized the financial procedure and has appointed Financial Advisers to all major spending. Departments, either Department-wise or collectively. Henceforth, it will be the duty and responsibility of the Administrative Departments to issue financial sanctions, as expeditiously and judiciously as possible, after observing all financial rules and canons of financial propriety. The Administrative Departments will

associate the Financial Advisers in framing of schemes and take their advice in issuing sanctions, but the advice so rendered may be accepted or rejected in whole or in part by the Secretary of the concerned Department who may consult the Secretary of the Finance Department on any such matter.

The Punjab Government has constituted a Committee of Experts—official as well as non-official—to go into the whole structure of Sales Tax Law with a view to simplifying it. The Committee will suggest a structure by which the difficulties now experienced by the traders are eliminated as far as possible, without adversely affecting the State revenues. The Committee is headed by the Excise and Taxation Minister.

#### INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION

Presentation of an interim report on "Industrial Policy & Licensing" by Dr. R. K. Hazari and Government announcements thereon were reported in the last review. Dr. Hazari presented his final report in September 1967. In his report Dr. Hazari has said that there can be no improvement in the licensing system unless there is a basic change in the scope and drawing up of industrial programmes in the Planning Commission. Having indicated the priorities and selected a few basic industries projects which qualify for them, Government should undertake to pre-empt foreign exchange and, where necessary, rupee resources and arrange to provide key physical resources like power, transport and land for their benefit. There appears to be some evidence that a few industrial houses make a deliberate attempt to foreclose licensed capacity by putting in multiple applications and taking out several licences for the same product. Dr. Hazari has observed that

if investments in certain directions are to be discouraged, there are other and more effective ways of doing so. Licensing by itself is an economical or very effective instrument for discouraging what may be considered from the planning viewpoint as the wrong land of investment. The report contains a number of other suggestions for improving the existing system of licensing, foreign exchange, etc.

The Thecker Committee appointed in pursuance of the interim report of Dr. Hazari is still continuing its enquiry and is expected to submit its report to Government by the middle of 1968.

Another notable development in this field was the report of Mudaliar Committee appointed sometime ago to recommend to Government general guidelines regarding utilization of indigenous know-how and the types of cases in which foreign collaboration may be followed. The Committee has suggested that in the matter of the duration of technical collaboration agreements normally, the duration of the original agreements should be between 5 to 10 years from commencement of production. The Committee has also stressed the need for prior discussion between the Directorate General of Technical Development and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research regarding need for foreign collaboration and terms thereof. Unresolved differences of opinion should be promptly brought up before the Foreign Agreements Committee. It has suggested that taking into consideration the limitations of indigenous know-how, there is need for an independent corporation, such as the National Research Development Corporation, which should ensure the availability of design and engineering services and provide the risk capital

for the entrepreneurs taking up commercial development of indigenous know-how. It has further suggested that there is need for a Central Co-ordinating Unit in the Ministry of Industrial Development & Company Affairs to watch the progress of the disposal of applications for foreign collaboration.

The retrenchment in oil companies, which was a threat to industrial peace, received Government's attention. A Commission of Inquiry headed by *Shri B. N. Gokhale*, retired Judge of the High Court has been constituted to enquire, among other things, into the security of jobs in oil companies. The Commission is required to investigate the reasons and justification for the said workmen becoming or being rendered surplus and, in particular, the extent to which they became surplus as a result of : (a) the introduction and extension of contract or agency system in the said companies, (b) the recruitment of casual labour by the said companies, (c) the change over to bulk filling of oil products and the discontinuance of distribution of kerosene and other products in tins and barrels and closing down of the tin plants by the said companies, (d) the rationalization and reorganization of business and working methods of the said companies, (e) the introduction of automatic devices including accounting machines, and computor by the said companies, (f) the methods, plans and schemes (including early voluntary retirement schemes and voluntary separation schemes, if any) adopted by the said companies to deal with the surplus workmen, and (g) the manner in which the said methods, plans and schemes were formulated and implemented.

Among developments of a somewhat lesser significance are : (i) the appointment by Government

of a five-man Committee to go into the economics of small rubber plantations and to suggest such measures as are necessary to improve that efficiency. The Committee will take into account the various kinds of assistance that are already being extended to small growers by the Rubber Board. (ii) A scheme of financial assistance for developing inventions and awards for outstanding achievements has been initiated by the Inventions Promotion Board. It is intended to be a incentive to workers, artisans, scientists and technologists working in big, medium and small scale industries. The scheme aims at pooling and co-ordinating the efforts of individuals assistance for developing inventions will cover material and labour up to the prototype stage. To qualify for the award, the invention must be of an original product or process, an adaptation or improvement.

Two important legislations were introduced during the period which vitally affect this field and these are: (1) Cotton Textile Companies (Management of Undertakings of Liquidation of Reconstruction) Bill, and (2) the Monopolies & Restrictive Trade Practices Bill. The first Bill provides for the liquidation of cotton textile companies in the private sector, while keeping the undertakings thereof as running concerns and for the reconstruction of textile companies in certain areas. The Bill provides that where liquidation is called for, the undertaking will be put to sale and if no satisfactory offer is received, the undertaking will be purchased by Government. The Bill also provides that where reconstruction is appropriate, Government will appoint a new Board of Directors. The second Bill which is in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Monopolies Enquiry Commission provides for the constitution of a Monopolies & Restrictive Trade

Practices Commission. The Commission will have mandatory powers in regard to cases of restrictive trade practices and advisory powers in respect of cases concerning monopolistic practices and concentration of economic power. The main provisions of the Bill fall under the following heads: (i) Regulating expansions, mergers and amalgamations and appointment of directors in respect of "dominant undertakings" having assets of Rs. one crore and more and of undertakings which by themselves or with inter-connected undertakings have assets of not less than Rs. 20 crores in value. (ii) Regulating the starting of new undertakings which would become inter-connected undertakings of such existing undertakings the total assets of which exceed Rs. 20 crores. (iii) Control over and prohibition of monopolistic and restrictive trade practices as are found to be prejudicial to public interest.

So far as the State Governments are concerned, the Government of Uttar Pradesh appointed a one-man Committee to look into the problem of standardization of workload, working conditions and wages in the textile industry.

The *West Bengal* Government constituted a Committee to examine *inter alia* the working of the Greater Calcutta Milk Supply Scheme including the Haringhata Dairy and the Central Dairy in Calcutta, particularly its economic side, administrative and/or working lapses, if any, and to suggest improvements, etc.

#### PUBLIC SECTOR

Atleast 2 new public undertakings were started during the period under review, namely, Machine Tools Corpn. of India Ltd. and Lubrizol India Ltd. Besides Govt. have

decided to put up another cable factory under the Hindustan Cables Ltd. and to set up a satellite unit to manufacture sophisticated radar and micro-waive equipment for the Bharat Electronics Ltd. Organizationally, a much stressed recommendation about the merger of the management of Indian Airlines Corporation and Air India was implemented. There is now a Board with common membership for both the Corporations.

On the other hand, the public undertaking came in for criticism. The Pandc Committee which was appointed by the Government of India in September, 1966, to conduct an expert review of the shortcomings of the Durgapur Steel Plant, in its report, suggested that the working of the plant be examined by a team of foreign and Indian experts well-versed in wheel-steel making and processing. It will also be advisable to send two senior officers abroad to make on-the-spot study of the techniques of the corresponding plants. The Committee which found several defects in the Durgapur Plant *inter alia* recommended that: (i) A Development Council should be created with General Manager as its Chairman, Chief Industrial Engineer as its Secretary and some key top officials as Members in order to determine annual development plans for the various departments well in advance of the coming year; (ii) The flight of experienced personnel from the Plant should be checked; (iii) Effective channels of promotion should be laid down; (iv) Instead of getting a personnel Manager from the State Services it will be more prudent to select a proper person having requisite qualifications from HSL Plant cadre, or if such a person is not available, from outside sources, on a permanent basis; (v) A Permanent Standing Committee for cost

reduction should be formed to study costs of departments, one by one. Cost consciousness should be built up in the entire organization; (vi) There should be no intermediary level between the General Superintendent and the Departmental Heads, who should report to the former directly; (vii) Promotions to managerial posts should be made on inter-plant basis and transfers at these levels should also be undertaken in a planned manner.

In view of general criticism about the working of NCDC, a Committee, headed by Shri G. R. Kamat (Formerly Secretary, Planning Commission, has been appointed to enquire into the working of various units of the National Coal Development Corporation. Among issues, to be considered by it, would be : planning, procurement of equipment, financial and budgetary control and management-employee relationship. The Committee will also indicate what remedial action can be taken and what improvements, if any, be made in the policy and organizational set-up to ensure full utilization of the installed capacity, not only to bring about an efficient performance immediately but also to gear up the organization to take up additional responsibilities in future.

In order to examine whether a single organization, controlling its operations from Calcutta, will be able to meet the transport requirements of Assam, or the Assam Services of the Central Inland Water Transport Corporation should be organized into a separate unit, the Government of India decided to appoint a Study Group. The Study Group will also suggest practical measures for coordinating rail, river and road transport in Assam, with particular reference to the coordinated integration of operation

by the Railways, the Central Inland Water Transport Corporation and Central Road Transport Corporation.

The study team on the organization and structure of public sector corporations in the fertilizer industry has recommended that there should be a single corporation to run all the public sector fertilizer plants in the country. This new corporation should be directed by a Board of 6 to 7 members comprising full-time functioning Directors and 2 government representatives. By and large a policy of decentralization should be followed to enable the individual units function smoothly. The Study Team has also suggested administrative separation between research, design and engineering groups on the one hand and production units on the other.

The Orissa Government has decided to set up an Evaluation Committee for public sector undertakings in Orissa with Dr. P. S. Lokanathan as its Chairman. The Committee will examine the objectives for setting up these undertakings and the extent to which the objectives have been realized and, if not, the reasons for the same and will examine whether the capital outlay on these undertakings have been economical and proper. The Committee will also examine programme of work undertaken and suggest modifications, if any, for realistic implementation of the programmes. The capital outlay still-required for implementing the programme for ensuring maximum return as early as possible will also be examined.

#### AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL ADMINISTRATION

The Agricultural Prices Commission presented their report on

the prices policy for kharif cereals for the 1967-68 season. The main recommendations of the Commission were discussed in the Conference of the Chief Ministers held on 26th and 27th September, 1967. It was decided to intensify internal procurement and continue inter-State restrictions for 1967-68 season in order to build buffer stocks and maximize procurement. It was agreed that a vigorous procurement drive should be undertaken. Accordingly it has been decided to build a buffer stock of 2/3 million tonnes by the end of 1968. The methods of procurement had been left to each State Government to decide keeping in view the local conditions. It has first been decided to abolish subsidy in the distribution of imported wheat and to reduce subsidy on imported rice and milo.

A Memorandum indicating the broad features of the proposed Indian Agricultural Services, along with Draft Recruitment Rules, Initial Recruitment Regulations and Cadre Rules, has been circulated by the Government of India to all the State Governments for their comments. It will be recalled that the various State Governments having agreed in principles to the creation of an All India Service in the field of agriculture, a resolution under Article 312(I) of the Constitution was passed by the Rajya Sabha, on the 30th March 1965, authorizing the Government of India to constitute All India Agricultural Service. A Bill to amend the All India Services Act, 1951, was introduced in the Lok Sabha in November 1965, to bring within its scope the creation of this Service.

The 16-member Working Group, consisting of experts and State representatives, which was set up by the Committee on Natural Resources in May 1963 to study soil

conservation measures in catchment areas of 13 River Valley Projects, has in its report recommended setting up of separate organizations in every State to deal with soil conservation work both in areas under command and in catchment of river valley projects. According to the Working Group, good watershed management in river valley projects, which was essential for soil conservation, could reduce substantially the smaller and medium floods.

The Government of India has constituted a six-member Working Group to draw up a model scheme for the Proposed agricultural credit corporations. This is in pursuance of the recommendation of an informal study group of the Reserve Bank of India, which reviewed progress in the provision of cooperative credit sometime ago. Agricultural credit corporations will shortly be established in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal and in the Union Territories of Tripura and Manipur.

The Reserve Bank of India has set up Rural Credit Survey Committee under the chairmanship of *Shri Venkatappaiah* to review the supply of rural credit in the context of the Fourth Five Year Plan generally and in particular the requirements of the intensive programme of agricultural production and on the basis of its review to make recommendations in respect of all matters which fall within the general scope of the enquiry.

Among the developments in the State sector in this area, the most important development was with regard to the remission of Land Revenue. Land Revenue was abolished in one form or the other by the State Governments of *Madras*, *Madhya Pradesh*, *Mysore*, *Orissa*,

*Punjab*, *Rajasthan* and *Uttar Pradesh* during the period under review. The State Government of *Bihar*, *Haryana*, *J & K* & *Maharashtra* were also considering the proposals. The Madras Government decided that with effect from the *fasli* year commencing from July 1, 1967 the collection of basic assessment on all lands registered as dry should be waived.

The *Madhya Pradesh* Government has exempted uneconomic holdings having area not exceeding seven and half acres as on paying land revenue Rs. 5. The question of remitting entire land revenue is under consideration of the State Government. The *Mysore* Government has taken a decision to abolish land revenue in its present from. This is expected to involve a loss of Rs. 6-7 crores per annum. It will, however, take some time to implement the decision. In the meantime, the surcharge on land revenue have been discontinued. The *Rajasthan* Government has decided to exempt small holdings from land revenue. No estimate of the loss in revenue on account of this measure has yet been made available by the State Government. The *Uttar Pradesh* Government has decided to abolish completely the land revenue payable by persons who pay land revenue not exceeding Rupees two for their share in all holdings situated in *Uttar Pradesh* and to reduce a land revenue by fifty per cent of persons who hold land not exceeding Rupees two. The decision will be implemented from the Rabi instalment of the current agricultural year.

The *Madhya Pradesh* Government has decided to entrust the work of collection of land revenue, hitherto done by village Patels, to Gram Panchayats. Though, initially, this function has been assigned only to 3,500 Panchayats, the tempo

of its transference is expected to be progressively expedited. According to the provisions of the M.P. Panchayats Act, 1962, and the rules framed thereunder, only 15 per cent of the revenue collected was being handed to each of the small number of Panchayats which till now looked after land revenue collections. With a view to improving their financial position, the question of raising the share of Gram Panchayats to 20 per cent is under consideration. Under the new scheme, the Government has also handed over the management of about 25,000 Nistari tanks to the Gram Panchayats.

The *Maharashtra* Government introduced a unified land revenue Code, in Maharashtra, from August 15, 1967. It aims at unifying and consolidating eight different enactments at present in force in the Maharashtra State, including the city of Bombay. The statutory rights granted to the holders under these existing enactments are, as far as possible, protected and in certain respects the existing rights of the holders are enhanced. In particular, special provisions have been made for the betterment of the cultivators, villagers, members of the Scheduled Tribes, and for safeguarding their rights.

The *Orissa* Government have, with effect from April 10, 1967, appointed Collectors of Districts, in place of the elected members, as Chairmen of the Zila Parishads, to exercise the powers and discharge the duties of the Parishads and their Chairmen within their respective jurisdictions. Further, with a view of abolition of the Zila Parishads, the State Government have introduced the *Orissa Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads (second Amendment) Bill 1967*, which is pending before the State Legislature.

The *Mysore* Government have decided to transfer, with immediate effect, the control over the Gramsevaks of the Development Department to the Department of Agriculture, so as to ensure that they are used principally for agricultural extension work.

The Gramsevaks will, however, continue to work in the Blocks, as members of the Block team, under the administrative supervision of the Block Development Officers, and the general or special orders, which may be issued by the Department of Agriculture, will be effectively implemented by the B.D.Os.

#### **PERSONNEL POLICY**

##### *(a) Cadres*

Government have decided to reconstitute a Union Territories' Cadre for I.A.S. by merging the I.F.A.S. into the Delhi and Himachal Pradesh Cadres of I.A.S. The initial constitution of the cadre is to be made by the absorption of all officers of the present joint I.A.S. cadre for Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, by appointment through selection of officers of the Indian Frontier Administrative Service and by the appointment of officers through selection of the Union Territories of Manipur, Tripura, Goa, Daman & Diu, Pondicherry, Andaman & Nicobar, and Dadra & Nagar Havelli and on the date of introduction of the scheme will hold in a substantive capacity Class I (Administrative) or Executive (Non-Technical) posts carrying duties and responsibilities comparable to or higher than those of the Deputy Collector in one of the adjacent State and who have put in at least 8 years of service. The Cadre will be controlled and operated by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In future, the appointment

of the Cadre will be by direct recruitment from amongst candidates declared successful on the results of the competitive examination held for Indian Administrative Service.

Three new All India Services, viz., the Indian Medical & Health Service, the Indian Service of Engineers and the Indian Educational Service are also in the offing. In the case of the Indian Medical & Health Service, the draft Rules/Regulations are reported to have been referred to U.P.S.C. for approval. In the case of the Indian service of Engineers, the Rules have been circulated to State Governments. In the case of the educational service, a Bill to amend the All India Services Act 1951 had been introduced in the Lok Sabha in November, 1965 but could not be discussed because the time of the Lok Sabha was over. Steps are being taken to introduce the Bill afresh.

The Government of India has decided to reserve in the Civil Audit and Accounts Offices 10 per cent of the vacancies in the lower division cadre to be filled up from amongst the non-matriculate Class IV employees who have put in 15 years of service. Promotions of eligible candidates will, however, be on the basis of merit to be determined through a departmental examination.

The Kerala Government has directed that future appointments to the clerical posts and other lower cadres, and also to equivalent technical posts in the Kerala Road Transport Corporation, will be apportioned among the various Revenue Districts on the basis of population. In the matter of selections, candidates who have a fair knowledge of the district in which appointment is sought shall be preferred.

The Uttar Pradesh Government has created a Rural Engineering Service to push through expeditiously and with efficiency private minor irrigation and rural manpower utilization schemes. It comprises all engineers and overseers of the Minor Irrigation Department and Zila Parishads, all Assistant Development Officers (Minor Irrigation posted in blocks and other staff recruited from the execution of rural manpower utilization schemes by Zila Parishads. The service is headed by a Superintending Engineer vested with the powers of the head of a department. To assist him at the regional level there are executive engineers in six revenue divisions. Four more executive engineers are proposed to be posted in the remaining four divisions.

#### (b) Recruitment & Training

The Government of India has appointed a Committee to undertake job evaluation of different categories of employees in the Air India and the Indian Airlines Corporation, with due regard to their duties, qualifications and responsibilities. Initially, the job evaluation would cover cockpit crew, namely, pilots, navigators and flight engineers. Other categories of employees will be taken up later.

The Orissa Government has set up a Committee which will recommend to Government changes, if any, necessary in the curriculum of the Engineering Institutions for graduates and diploma-holders and also recommend steps necessary to counter the feeling of frustration among engineering students. It will also recommend methods of exploring avenues of employment inside and outside the State in the best interests of the Engineering personnel of the State and such other matters regarding problem of

unemployment in general and increased employment opportunities for local people.

The Punjab Government has started a Centre at Chandigarh for imparting training to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates domiciled in Punjab State for IAS/IPS and PCS competitive examinations. The Centre will be run by the Punjab University. The Punjab Government has also impressed upon all the Heads of Departments, Registrar, Punjab High Court, Commissioners of Divisions, Deputy Commissioners, District and Session Judges and Sub-Divisional Officers (Civil) in the Punjab State that every appointing authority should maintain model rosters to give proper effect to prescribed reservation in services for the members of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes in class III and IV categories of employees. The roster should be kept in the form of running account year by year showing conspicuously the posts offered to scheduled castes and others for promotion.

#### *(c) Conditions of Service*

The Government of India took a number of measures to improve the condition of service of the employees in Government as well as private sectors. Three committees appointed to do the exploratory work in that regard which need be mentioned are: (1) A Committee on labour welfare to go into the functioning of the various welfare schemes in operation in the industrial establishments, and to suggest improvements. (2) An expert Study Group for Coal Industry to ascertain facts regarding labour matters in coal industry. (3) A Group to undertake a factual study of the working and living conditions of licensed Railway Porters and Vendors em-

ployed on commission basis in Railway departmental catering establishments.

The Court of Inquiry which appointed by the Government of India some time ago to examine the terms and conditions of B & C category workers in major ports on the other hand presented its report. The Committee has suggested more liberal leave and medical and housing facilities for their workers.

The *Maharashtra* Government decided against granting any concession, loans, subsidy, relief, etc., to those who would not restrict their families to three living children. Withdrawal of these concessions and benefits becomes operative from August 15, 1968.

Following a recommendation of the Administrative Reorganization & Economy Committee regarding the encashment of earned leave on certain conditions, the *Kerala* Government, among others, decided that: (i) Officers who take earned leave for a period of not less than one month will be allowed to surrender an equal period of earned leave, if due and admissible, subject to a maximum of one month and will be sanctioned leave allowance for the leave so surrendered; (ii) The period of earned leave surrendered under these orders will be equal to one month reckoned from the date of commencement of the earned leave availed of by the officer and leave for the number of days comprised in that month will be additionally debited to his leave account; (iii) An interval of not less than twelve months is prescribed between surrenders of earned leave; (iv) The leave equivalent to the leave salary and allowances for the first month of the earned leave availed of. This leave allowance will be calculated and paid in full soon

after the commencement of the leave, and is not liable to deductions on account of Provident Fund subscriptions, repayment of any advances, etc.

With a view to encouraging its employees to improve their prospects, the *Rajasthan* Government has decided to grant permission to those desirous of pursuing further studies, even beyond degree stage, provided that the government work does not suffer and the number is within the prescribed percentage, i.e., not exceeding 5 per cent of the total strength of employees in a department, category-wise.

#### (d) Pay and Perquisites

Because of the constantly soaring prices the Centre and State Governments had to revise various allowances and Provident Fund Benefits to their employees. While the *Maharashtra* Pay Commission submitted its report (digest on p. 835) two new State Pay Commissions were also set up, viz., the *Punjab* Pay Commission and the *West Bengal* Pay Commission.

The *Punjab* State Government has appointed Shri Justice Harbans Singh, Judge, High Court of Punjab and Haryana, as a Single-man Pay Commission. The terms of reference of the Commission are: (a) to undertake a comprehensive review of the present structure of the different scales of pay, dearness allowance, other compensatory concessions and benefits of all categories of employees under the rule-making control of the State Government and recommend such changes or rationalization in the structure of their pay scales of such employees as are necessary and feasible; (b) in making its recommendations the Commission will take into consideration the social

and economic obligations of the State by way of planned economic development.

The *West Bengal* Government has set up a Pay Commission, with *Shri K. K. Hajari* as its Chairman. The terms of reference of the Commission, among others, are: (1) To examine the structure of emoluments of all employees under the rule making control of the State of West Bengal and recommended what changes in the emoluments of different classes of such employees are desirable and feasible in the present economic situation; (2) To recommend the question of special pays in respect of posts or employment under Government and make recommendation for their abolition or continuance at the existing, enhanced or reduced rates or for granting them in new cases, if any; (3) To recommend the extent to which benefits may be given to such employees in the shape of amenities, allowances and facilities in respect of matters like overtime work, education of dependents, housing, medical treatment, in-service training, leave travel concession, pensionary and other retirement benefits and promotion of cultural and recreational activities of the employees; (4) To examine and recommend the principles to be followed relating to recruitment by promotion to the various grades of employees; (5) To examine the principles of granting Dearness Allowance; (6) To examine the existing system in regard to temporary, work-charged and contingency establishments, casual labour, daily labour, piece-rate employees, Mohorris and extra Mohorries, Tahsildars and their peons and recommend what changes in the system are desirable; (7) To consider the impact of their recommendations on the pay of the teachers and non-teaching staff in the sponsored or aided; (8) To

examine the existing emoluments of Chowkidars and Dafadars and to recommend what should be the suitable emoluments for them; (9) To make an estimate of the likely cost of implementing their recommendations and to suggest what steps can be taken to effect economy in administrative expenditure without impairing efficiency particularly in respect of procedure of work, the staff pattern and contingencies.

The Government of India has, on the recommendation of the Gajendragadkar Commission (*see* digest of the Report on p. 825), decided to allow increases in dearness allowance to Central Government employees with effect from February 1, 1967 and June 1, 1967, respectively. The arrears on account of increases in dearness allowance, payable from February 1, 1967 to August 31, 1967, will be held in deposit in Provident Fund until March 31, 1968.

The Government of India has decided to raise, from July 1, 1967, the compulsory rate of provident fund contribution by the employees and the employees in 17 industries from 6½ to 8 per cent. The number of industries and classes of establishments to which the enhanced rate of provident fund contribution of 8 per cent has been applied under the E.P.F. Act, 1952 will now rise to 71.

The University Grants Commission has accepted the proposal to the Central Universities for the introduction of General Provident Fund-cum-Pension-cum-Gratuity and Contributory Provident Fund-cum-Gratuity schemes in the Central Universities. The Universities are: Aligarh Muslim University, Banaras Hindu University, University of Delhi and Viswabharati.

The Bihar Government has enhanced with effect from April, 1967,

the Cost of Living Allowance of its employees. The Bihar State Government has also created a special provident fund, to be known as Bihar Government Servants Family Provident Fund. The Government will make contribution to this Fund from the General Revenue to the credit of such employees as are entitled to the benefit of Cost of Living Allowance: those drawing pay between Rs. 638 and Rs. 2,250 will also be entitled to this contribution.

As a result of the examination of the Interim Report of the *Delhi Police Commission* (Khosla Commission) the Government have recently sanctioned a number of benefits to the Delhi Police personnel. It will be recalled that there was protracted agitation by Delhi Police for increasing their pay and allowances.

The *Gujarat* Government has announced its decision to grant Dearness Allowance to its employees at the Central Government rates. The first increase will be effective from February 1, 1967, and the second from June 1, 1967. The increase in Dearness Allowance will not be given in cash for the past period but would be credited to the Provident Fund Account of the Government servant in the beginning of December for the period up to October 31, 1967. From the month of November 1967—payable in December 1967—Dearness Allowance will be paid in cash. The Dearness Allowance credited to G.P.F. Account will be allowed to be withdrawn after April 1, 1968, but under normal rules.

The Pay scales of teachers in University and Government Colleges in the State of *Haryana* have been revised. These are also meant for adoption by the non-Government

affiliated colleges, subject to certain conditions. The State Government will pay to the colleges, adopting these grades, financial assistance to some extent.

The *Kerala* Government has revised the rates of Dearness Allowance of its employees with effect from January 1, 1967.

The State Government has also issued orders enhancing the Smartness Allowance and House Rent Allowance given to the policemen. The number of days of casual leave has also been raised from 15 to 20 days a year, subject to a maximum of 15 days at a time. This benefit will also apply to the personnel in the Fire Force and to Jail Wardens.

The *Madhya Pradesh* Government enhanced the Dearness Allowance of its employees. The revised rates will be effective from April 1, 1967, in the case of Class III and IV employees, and from August 1, 1967, in respect of gazetted officers.

The *Madhya Pradesh* Government has sanctioned the payment of additional Dearness Allowance to work-charged employees working in the Public Works Department with effect from April 1, 1967. The allowance will be admissible during all kinds of leave except leave without pay.

The *Madras* Government has decided to pay its employees, drawing pay not exceeding Rs. 519 p.m., Dearness Allowance at the Central Government rates with effect from November 1, 1967. The amount payable on account of the above increase for the period of four months, i.e., from November 1967 till February 1968, will be credited to respective provident fund accounts of the employees and on April 1,

1968, they can draw the accumulated amount subject to the conditions in force for such withdrawals. The new rates will also apply to staff of local bodies and teachers of aided institutions. The Government has also decided to grant, for the first time, City Compensatory Allowance to those within the limits of Madras City, drawing a pay not exceeding Rs. 500 with effect from October 1967.

All employees of the State Government of *Orissa* drawing a monthly salary not exceeding Rs. 461 will get a higher Dearness Allowance with effect from November 1, 1967.

The *Punjab* Government enhanced the rates of Dearness Allowance of its employees, including personnel of the Police, Home Guards and Civil Defence Organization, with effect from May 1, 1967.

The Government of *West Bengal* increased with effect from May 1, 1967, the Dearness Allowance of its employees drawing up to Rs. 2,330.

The *Uttar Pradesh* Government employees drawing salaries up to Rs. 449 per month will get an increase in Dearness Allowance at the same rate as those announced by the Centre recently. For the first 10-point rise in the cost of living, the increase will have retrospective effect from April 1, this year, for the second 10-point rise, from June 1. These two D.A. increases will be credited to the Provident Fund accounts of the employees. They can draw upon them, if necessary, after April 1, 1968. Payment from September 1 onward will be in cash. Those State employees who have no Provident Fund accounts will get deferred payment of their increased D.A. from April 1, 1968.

(e) *Retirement*

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has ordered that those Government servants who are governed by the Old Pension Rules under the Hyderabad Civil Service Rules and have completed 25 years of qualifying service may be retired, after considering their record of service, as provided in Rules 291, 292 and 293 of the Hyderabad Civil Service Rules; those Government servants who are governed by the Hyderabad Revised Pension Rules 1951 and the Andhra Pradesh Liberalised Pension Rules and have completed 30 years of qualifying service may be retired, after giving three months notice as stipulated in sub-rule (ii) of Rule 1 of the Revised Pension Rules and Rule 3 (2) (1) of the Andhra Pradesh Liberalised Pension Rules. Employees who have opted for the Hyderabad Revised Pension Rules and the Andhra Pradesh Liberalised Pension Rules and who have put in more than 25 years and less than 30 years of service may also be given the option to retire on full pension and gratuity. Departmental Committees consisting of the concerned Secretary, Head of the Department and a Secretary of another Department will be constituted for all offices of the Head of Departments. Similar Committees may be constituted for Secretariat Departments consisting of Chief Secretary, concerned Secretary and Finance Secretary.

The Madhya Pradesh Government have passed orders reducing the superannuation age of all its employees, except Class IV employees, from 58 to 55 years. These orders will become effective from the December 15, 1967.

With a view to increasing efficiency in public administration and

for sub-serving the common good, the Rajasthan Government have decided to reduce, with effect from July 1, 1967, the retirement age of its employees from 58 years to 55 years. This decision will also apply to all the work-charged and municipal employees except those belonging to Class IV service, or holding other equivalent posts, whose age of retirement will be 60. Some of the other categories of employees, exempted from this rule, are medical officials, and science engineering teachers, who will be allowed to work till they attain the age of 58.

(f) *Pensions*

During the last two quarters steps were taken both at Centre and State levels to liberalize pension scheme and improve its procedure of payment. The Government of India decided that previous permanent or temporary civil service, followed by service as a combatant without a break, will be allowed to count for pension/gratuity in the case of Armed Forces personnel below officer rank. This will be subject to the following conditions: (a) The maximum civil service allowed to count will be limited to one-third of the total qualifying service; (b) This concession will be admissible only to those individuals who have rendered as combatant at least half the service necessary to qualify for pension as a combatant, provided that no pension/gratuity is drawn in respect of the civil service; and (c) The civil service will not count towards completion of engagement.

The Government of India has also decided to liberalize, with effect from January 1, 1966, family pension in the case of Commissioned Officers with less than 10 years service, JCOs/ ORs and NCs(E) and corresponding ranks in Navy and Air Force, in the event of their death

while in service after putting in a minimum of 7 years continuous qualifying service.

The *Haryana* Government has appointed a high-powered Committee for the finalization of pending pension cases, with the Finance Secretary as its Chairman. The Chairman has been invested with full powers to take such decisions for the disposal of old pension cases as may be necessitated by the circumstances of each case.

The *Madhya Pradesh* Government has sanctioned an *ad hoc* increase of Rs. 10 p.m. with effect from August 1, 1967, to pensioners drawing pensions (including family pensions, extraordinary pensions and compassionate allowances) up to Rs. 100 p.m. payable in India. Pensioners drawing pension above Rs. 100 p.m. who are not in receipt of any temporary increase will be eligible to draw such amount which together with their pension will bring the total to Rs. 110 p.m. and those in receipt of temporary increase will draw such amounts as will bring the total to Rs. 122 p.m.

In order to accelerate disposal of outstanding pension cases, the *Orissa* Government has decided to appoint a Committee which will probe into and make positive recommendations for expeditious disposal of such cases. This Committee will also look to the question of outstanding G.P.F. final payment cases with a view to reducing pendency.

The *West Bengal* Government has sanctioned an *ad hoc* increase on pensions up to Rs. 375 per month to the following categories of pensioners: (a) Pensioners who retired before April 1, 1961, or who retired after April 1, 1961, but retained old scales of pay till

retirement; and (b) Pensioners who retired after April 1, 1961, on revised scales of pay under West Bengal Service (revision of Pay and Allowances) Rules, 1961. These increases, which took effect from July 1, 1967, will apply to all existing pensioners and those Government servants who will retire hereafter.

#### VIGILANCE

The Governor of Uttar Pradesh promulgated the Uttar Pradesh Public Men Inquiries Ordinance, 1967, to provide for the investigation of an inquiry into accusations and mis-conduct against certain classes of persons who are or have been in the public life of Uttar Pradesh, such as Minister or a Mayor of Mahapalika or a member of the U.P. Legislative Assembly/Council, etc. The Ordinance provides for the constitution of a special police force to be called "the Uttar Pradesh Chief Investigator's Establishment" for the investigation of accusations to which this Ordinance applies. Under the Ordinance, any person may make a complaint of mis-conduct against a present or past holder of any of these offices, to the Governor for inquiry, except that a petition which is against a person who has not held any of these offices during the period of five years immediately preceding the date of its presentation will not be entertained. The complainant will also be required to file an affidavit in support of his complaint and to deposit a security of Rs. 1,000. The Governor will then request the Chief Justice of the High Court to nominate a judge for preliminary scrutiny. In the case of a Minister, Dy. Minister, Parliamentary Secretary, Mayor or Deputy Mayor, the inquiring judge will be of the status of a serving judge of the High Court or a retired judge of the Supreme Court and for the rest,

the inquiry will be held by a District Judge.

If the inquiring Judge thinks that the complaint has *prima facie* no merit, he shall report so to the Governor. The report will also be placed before the Legislature. In such case the complainant shall forfeit his deposit. In other cases, the judge will forward the complaint for investigation by the "Chief Investigator's Establishment". The independence of the investigation Agency is ensured by providing that the Chief Investigator or a Deputy Chief Investigator, who will hold office until they attain the age of sixty years, cannot go back to their parent service and that they cannot hold any other office of profit under the Government. The Chief Investigator will be appointed by the Governor in consultation with the Chairman of the Public Service Commission.

The Chief Investigator will investigate the complaint and report the result confidentially to the Governor who will refer it to a Commission of Inquiry consisting of one or more members to be nominated by the Chief Justice of the High Court. The status of these members will be on the lines as indicated above in the case of nomination of Judges for preliminary scrutiny. Any proceeding before the Commission will be deemed to be a judicial proceeding. The Commission will, at the end of the inquiry, pronounce its findings in public and report the same to the Governor.

The Assam State Government has appointed a State Enquiry Officer (Departmental Proceedings) to look into the Departmental Proceedings drawn up against any gazetted officer up to the rank of Joint Head of a Department (Executive) or Deputy Secretary to the

Government. He may be appointed as the Enquiry Officer in all cases of Departmental Proceedings against gazetted officer irrespective of posting up to the level stated above by the respective Departments. He may call for reports, statements and other information as may be necessary from all Departments/offices for the purpose of conducting the enquiries.

With a view to securing ends of justice and establishing a moral public order in future, The Orissa Government has appointed a one-man Commission, consisting of Mr. Justice H. R. Khanna of the Delhi High Court to inquire into the allegations against the conduct of 15 Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Orissa who headed the Government for the period, June 23, 1961 to March 8, 1967. The Commission is expected to submit its report by April 20, 1968.

With a view to setting up some effective, speedy and less expensive machinery for dealing with corruption in the public as well as among the officials, the Haryana Government has decided to abolish the existing Vigilance Commission, and to entrust all matters relating to this subject to the Vigilance Department which would be responsible to co-ordinate and to liaison this work. The Department will take both the types of actions, punitive as well as preventive. On the punitive side, the old practice of sending the reports of investigation/inquiry to the Departments concerned for further action has been done away with. Henceforth, the Special Inquiry Agency and Inquiry Officer will send their reports to this Department which would process the same up to their logical conclusion. On the preventive side, this Department will suggest measures to plug the sources of corruption. The new scheme renews emphasis on the

responsibility of the Heads of Departments, etc., to deal with complaints of corruption against the non-gazetted staff. The scheme also envisages the continuance of the appointment of Chief Vigilance Officers and Vigilance Officers in each Department. The Special Inquiry Agency will continue to be an agency of the Vigilance Department and, as such, will investigate only those complaints which are referred to it by this Department.

#### MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

The Metropolitan Transport Team, set up by the Planning Commission in September, 1965, to assess the adequacy and limitations of existing transport facilities in relation to present needs and also to determine the long-term requirements of passenger and goods transport in the metropolitan cities, has, in its Interim Report, proposed that a phased programme of studies ensuring continuous flow of data has been proposed for effective long term planning of the transport system in metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi. Among other general recommendations of the team are : Development of towns in surrounding regions of metropolitan cities as counter-magnets to the metropolis; establishment of an organization with facilities of adequate training of personnel. The team feels that suitable legislation should be enacted, and enforcement and development agencies provided in the metropolitan cities. A unified metropolitan traffic and transport authority should be responsible for planning, financing and operation of the entire transportation system.

The Assam Government has decided to set up a Directorate of Municipal Administration for exercising adequate administrative and

financial control over the Municipal Boards and Town Committees and also to provide guidance.

#### OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

After a very heated debate Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha passed the Official Language (Amendment) Bill, 1967 designed to give statutory recognition to the assurance of the late Prime Minister regarding the continued use of English language as long as the non-Hindi speaking people did not desire a change. The legislation provides for the continuance of English language for official purpose of Union and use in Parliament. It also provides for use of English language for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its Official Language. It also provides for a translation in English/Hindi of communication: (1) between one Ministry or Department or office of the Central Government and another; (2) between one Ministry or Department or Office of the Central Government and any corporation or company owned or controlled by Central Government or any office thereof; and (3) between any corporation or company owned or controlled by the Central Government or any office thereof and another. Such translations will be provided till such date as the staff of the concerned office has acquired a working knowledge of Hindi. Similarly the legislation provides for use both English and Hindi for resolutions, general orders, notes, notifications administrative reports, etc., papers laid before Parliament and contracts and agreements executed and licences, permits issued by Central Government or any corporation or company owned by Central Government. The legislation further provides that in deciding the language to be issued in any office consideration

shall be given to the quick and efficient disposal of the official business and the requirements of general public.

In addition to the passing of the aforesaid Bill, Parliament also passed a Resolution urging Government to prepare a more intensive and comprehensive programme for accelerating the spread and development of Hindi and its progressive use for the various official purposes of the Union. The Resolution provides for an annual assessment report giving details of the measures taken and the progress achieved, to be prepared and laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament and sent to all State Governments. The Resolution also *inter alia* provides for development of 14 major regional languages, implementation of three language formula, acceptance of all languages included in the Eighteenth Schedule as media for All India and higher Central Services examination and compulsory knowledge of either Hindi or English for recruitment to Union Services.

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The Bihar Government has decided to make Hindi compulsory for all correspondence with the Centre and such other States with whom it has been so agreed to, *viz.*, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and Delhi Administration. Although no English rendering will accompany the Hindi letters, the Departments have however been given the option to enclose English version along with their communications, addressed to the Government of India. All correspondence between Secretariat and other Departments of Bihar Government or its subordinate offices would also be in Hindi. The Bihar Government has decided that in the Combined Competitive Examination

held by the Bihar Public Service Commission and in all competitive examinations conducted by departments of Government for recruitment to various non-technical posts, there should be a compulsory paper in English carrying same marks. The marks in Hindi paper secured by candidates shall be added to the aggregate for ranking in the merit list.

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The Finance Department of *Uttar Pradesh* Government has decided to carry on all its work in Hindi. Accordingly, the Public has been advised not to send henceforth any applications, complaints, etc., in English as that might cause, delay in action.

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The Government of India has set up a Committee to review the working of Central Government hospitals in New Delhi. The Committee will examine the facilities available at these hospitals including medical, surgical and specialist care and make recommendations for their improvement.

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The Third Conference of the State Ministers of Irrigation and Power which was held in New Delhi on May 12-13, 1967, approved the proposal for setting up of a Central Electricity Consultative Council. The Council will make recommendations on matters relating to generation, supply and distribution of electricity, rural electrification programmes, and other policy matters referred to it for consideration. It was also agreed, in principle, that it would be advisable to set up an Indian Irrigation Commission to assess the progress of development of irrigation in India and to go into the question of future development of irrigation in the

country. The terms of reference of the Commission are to be settled in consultation with the State Governments.

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A meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education was convened on 22-23 August, 1967 to consider the Report of the Education Commission which was made public on 29-6-67. The Board broadly accepted the Report of the Education Commission and with certain modifications the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education. A Conference of Vice-Chancellors was later convened at New Delhi on 11-13 September, 1967. It accepted broadly the recommendations of the Education Commission insofar as they relate to higher education and suggested a practical programme of action for adopting regional languages as the media of education. The Reports of the Education Commission and of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education have already been discussed in Rajya Sabha in August 1967 and in Lok Sabha in November-December, 1967. Government is now expected to take decision on the National Policy on Education.

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Government of India have appointed a high power committee consisting of Members of Parliament and representatives of State Governments to review the entire working of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and suggest improvements in its administration which have become necessary on account of the developing economy of the country.

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The Planning Commission has advised all States concerned to

prepare district-plans for the accelerated development of Hill and Border areas, as part of their State Plan proposals. They have also been advised to create a suitable organization for looking after their implementation. Ministries concerned in the Central Government have also been requested to watch the progress of the Plan schemes in such areas, by making special arrangements.

The West Bengal Government has set up a 14-man Committee on Natural Resources with the Development and Planning Minister as Chairman. The main functions of the Committee will be : to assess, from time to time, the available information regarding the natural resources of the State and to identify gaps in it in relation to programmes of planned development; to arrange for the formation, in collaboration with the various organizations concerned, of co-ordinate programmes for surveys of natural resources in different parts of West Bengal in relation to plans for long-term economic development; to initiate studies on problems relating to natural resources; to make recommendations bearing on the conservation, utilization and development of natural resources, and; to disseminate information concerning the State's natural resources.

#### JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Government have since accepted in principle the proposal to amend Article 368 of the Constitution, so as to make it clear that Parliament has the power to amend any part of the Constitution including Part III relating to fundamental rights. It will be recalled that in a Judgment delivered on February 27, 1967, the Supreme Court by a majority had held that Parliament has no power to take away or abridge any of the

fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, by the process of constitutional amendments.

The Supreme Court has recently held that Article 16 (4) of the Constitution does not confer any right on the members of the backward classes and there is no constitutional duty imposed on the Governments to take a reservation for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes, either at the initial stage of recruitment or at the stage of promotion.

The Supreme Court has also held that a distinction based on

academic qualifications did not amount to denial of equal opportunity guaranteed by Article 14 and 16 of the Constitution. Mr. Justice Ramaswami said that higher educational qualifications, such as success in the SSLC examination, are relevant considerations for fixing a higher pay-scale for tracers who have passed the SSLC examination. Therefore, he said, the classification of two grades of tracers in the new Mysore State, one for matriculate tracers with a higher pay-scale and the other for non-matriculate tracers with a lower pay-scale, is not violative of the Articles.

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## DIGEST OF REPORTS

INDIA, REPORT OF THE DEARNESS ALLOWANCE COMMISSION ON THE QUESTION OF THE GRANT OF DEARNESS ALLOWANCE TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN FUTURE, Government of India, 1967, p. 167.

On the 26th of July, 1966, the Government of India appointed a commission headed by *P. B. Gajendragadkar* to consider : (i) the question of the adequacy of the rates of dearness allowance granted as from 1.12.1965 to Central Government employees drawing pay below Rs. 400 per month, and (ii) the examination of the principles which should govern the grant of dearness allowance to the employees in future.

The Commission inquired into the matters relevant to the first reference and made its report on the 8th of October, 1966. In its report the Commission recommended that dearness allowance be paid to the employees at the percentages specified by Mr. S. K. Das, constituting a "One-Man Independent Body", in regard to the four categories of pay ranges respectively with effect from the 1st of December, 1965, for the entire rise of 65 points. The second report, a digest of which follows and which relates to the second terms of reference, was presented on 29th May 1967. For proper appreciation of the major task of the Commission an extract from the terms of reference of the Commission has been given in Annexure.

### THE CONCEPT OF DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

(1) The concept of dearness allowance was related ; (i) partly to

the absolute requirement of mitigating the hardships of the lowest-paid employees until prices came down, and (ii) partly to the relative requirement of "cushioning" the impact of high prices during the transitional period for those who were not so low-paid. The former might be regarded as dearness allowance in the strict sense of the term, i.e., substantially related to the "dearness" or high cost of foodgrains and essential commodities, and, therefore, of special relevance to those whose budgets had a preponderant element of the cost of such commodities. The latter might be described as "interim allowances in the reverse". Normal interim allowances are those which are sanctioned when a pay revision is pending. They are expected to be absorbed in the revised pays. In contrast, the relevant allowances recommended by the Pay Commissions, especially the First Pay Commission, were intended to be in addition to a revised pay fixed with reference to a future and lower level of prices, and they were expected to be dropped when that level was reached. It was a matter of great importance to arrive at what might be called a basic concept of dearness allowance, i.e., one which: (a) is divested of all connection with pay revision, and (b) represents the irreducible minimum of the Government's obligation in this respect to their low-paid employees.

However, the findings and recommendations of the two Commissions, looked at in their total context, are consistent with the view that the essence of the concept of dearness allowance is its application to the lowest-paid categories of employees and that this is so whether or not other categories are, for adventitious reasons, included in its operation at any given time.

(2) Throughout the discussion of nature of dearness allowance the First Pay Commission emphasized the hardship to which the low-paid employees would be exposed unless they were protected against the rise in prices, and it was in that connection that it considered the question as to what the minimum basic pay should be. The discussion of the problem seems to indicate that the Commission conceived of dearness allowance really relevant to the needs of the most vulnerable section of the employees. No doubt it recommended dearness allowance to employees drawing a salary up to Rs. 1,000. The only reason that it gave for including the relatively high-paid employees within the scheme of dearness allowance was that "some of the upper grades too will require a measure of relief". It recommended *ad hoc* relief, bearing in mind the strong probability that prices would fall, as well as the fact that it was concerned with a purely temporary phase and not a continuing process of rising prices. Therefore, it does not appear plausible to argue that it wished to widen the scope of dearness allowance to include any erosion of income irrespective of the size of income above the minimum relevant to the vulnerable section of the employees.

(3) So far as the Second Pay Commission is concerned in attempting to define "dearness allowance", the Commission referred to it as

"a device to protect, to a greater or lesser extent, the real income of wage earners and salaried employees from the effects of rise in prices". This would support the view that dearness allowance is a wider concept and is intended to neutralize the erosion of the real income of wage-earners. On the other hand, the final recommendations made by it in regard to the actual payment of dearness allowance show that it drew a line, for the time being, at the pay level of Rs. 300 per mensem. This decision indicates that the Commission thought that dearness allowance should protect wage-earners at, or a little above, the subsistence level.

(4) The terms of reference of the Das Body required it to examine whether the compensation already sanctioned by the Government from time to time in the various pay ranges was adequate and to recommend what changes, if any, were necessary therein. Its consideration of the matter was to be subject, *inter alia*, to the recommendations and general observations made by the Second Pay Commission in Chapter IX of its report in which it was said that "it would be unfair and unjust to deny to Government employees adjustment of dearness allowance to compensate for the fall in their real income".

(5) Two views are possible in regard to the scope of the concept of Dearness Allowance. One view is that dearness allowance should protect, to a greater or lesser extent, the real wages or salaries paid to the employees. Since pay revision is not frequently undertaken in this country, it is necessary to give such protection when the prices are rising continuously. It may be that the protection may be proportionately larger, and, in relation to the rising Index, available earlier, for employees

drawing lower salaries than for those on higher salaries. On this view, no category of employees, however high-paid, is *a priori* excluded from the purview of dearness allowance. The other view is that the basic purpose of dearness allowance is not to attempt to neutralize the erosion in the real wages and salaries paid to the employees; but its essential object is to mitigate the hardship of the employees in the lower pay ranges in the face of an appreciable rise in prices. If the real value of salaries and wages is eroded, the proper remedy would be the revision of pay scales; dearness allowance cannot be utilized for that purpose. Dearnness allowance is primarily intended to be a temporary expedient and its protection should be available only to those who have no cushion at all in the face of any appreciable rise in prices. The Commission have considered these two views and have come to the conclusion that having regard to its basic character, dearness allowance is applicable to those employees whose salaries are at the subsistence level or a little above it. The words "dearness allowance" primarily suggest and refer to an allowance paid to employees in order to enable them to face the increasing dearness of essential commodities. Besides, as pointed out in the report dearness allowance has always been treated as a temporary expedient by the Pay Commission in the past and that is its main feature. This view is substantially in accordance with the conclusions of the previous Pay Commissions.

#### LIMITS OF SUBSISTENCE AND VULNERABILITY

(6) Employees whose salaries place them at the subsistence level are ordinarily entitled to protection against the rise in the prices of essential commodities. Subject to other

relevant considerations, the extent of neutralization to which employees at the subsistence level are entitled for any appreciable rise in prices should be 100 per cent. Employees whose salaries place them a little above the subsistence level would be entitled to protection against such rise in prices, though the neutralization in their case would be of a smaller protection. Though the employer's capacity to pay is relevant and material in designing a fair wage structure, it is neither material nor relevant in relation to wages at the subsistence level.

(7) It has been argued before the Commission that in determining the level of subsistence today, the Commission should take into account the level of national per capita income. The cut-off point according to this view should be the equivalent of the national per capita income, and those Government employees who earn more should not be considered as belonging to the subsistence level. Having regard to all the circumstances, the Commission have come to the conclusion that it would not be unreasonable to hold that at the present prices the income level up to Rs. 150/- per month represents the subsistence level. Besides, it may be added that during Commission's inquiry there appeared to be general consensus on this point.

(8) In regard to the upper limit of the salary level at which dearness allowance should cease to be admissible, it was urged before the Commission by some persons that the proper test to apply in determining this limit would be the test of the limit of taxable income prescribed by the Income-tax Act. It was argued that Rs. 4,000 per annum is the taxable income under the provisions of the Income-tax Act and so it would

be unreasonable to allow a claim for dearness allowance by employees who get more than Rs. 4,000 per year. If the Indian Parliament has taken the view that in the present state of the national economy citizens getting Rs. 4,000 or upwards per year should part with a portion of their income in favour of the public exchequer by way of income-tax, it would be unrealistic to allow dearness allowance to be paid to the employees getting more than Rs. 4,000 per year. The Commission are not impressed by this argument. The tax exemption limit of Rs. 4,000 may conceivably be brought down or raised. It is a limit prescribed under the taxing statute on considerations which may not be decisive in relation to the extent of vulnerability which calls for assistance in the form of dearness allowance.

(9) In determining, for the purposes of the present inquiry, the level at which dearness allowance should cease to be admissible, the Commission have borne in mind three considerations : (i) the level should be a little above, but not substantially above, the subsistence level; and since it is, in any case, difficult to draw the line precisely, it would be safe to proceed on the basis that the level indicated by the Second Pay Commission was reasonable in relation to the conditions in which they reported and more specifically to the price level of 1949; (ii) the level has, nevertheless, to be determined afresh in relation to the current price level; and (iii) it may have to be redetermined for future price levels, which may be substantially higher than the current one.

In the light of these considerations, the Commission sought to relate the upper limit of vulnerability (with specific reference to their recommen-

dations): (a) currently to a price level of 185, and (b) later to higher price levels ranging from 195 to 235 at 10 point intervals. In regard to the first, the Commission have come to the conclusion that a basic pay of just below Rs. 450 p.m. at the Index of 185 may be reasonably taken to correspond to a basic pay of Rs. 300 in relation to the price level of 1949. An employee now drawing a basic pay of Rs. 449 gets a dearness allowance of Rs. 120 p.m. His total salary of Rs. 569, bears broadly the same ratio to a pay of Rs. 300, as the Index of 185 does to the 1949 price level (=100). The conclusion, therefore, is that at the current price level, the additional dearness allowance should cease to be admissible at a basic pay of Rs. 450. The Commission have deliberately determined these limits *ad hoc* and liberally in order to obviate hardship to the employees in the lower income groups.

#### SPECIFIC ISSUES

(a) *Comparative Rates of D.A. of Central Government Employees and those under State Governments, Public Undertakings, etc., [vide terms of reference para. 2(1)].*

(10) If dearness allowance were interpreted to mean and include a device to neutralize the erosion of the real value of salaries, it would naturally take within its sweep not only public servants at the level of subsistence wages, but all public servants without any exception. The phenomenal rise in prices has obviously eroded the true value of the salaries of all public servants and, speaking generally, public servants belonging to all categories, high and low, have to face certain hardships. The degree of these hardships differs and even the quality of the hardships is different according as the employees are at the

subsistence level of much above it. But hardship there is, and if dearness allowance is designed to protect the public servants from such hardship, the questions of repercussions on the finances of State Governments public sector undertakings and local Governments to which the relevant terms of reference have drawn the Commission's attention would become material. If, on the other hand, dearness allowance is intended to protect only the public servants who draw salaries at or a little above the subsistence level, these questions become irrelevant, because the Commission have no doubt that so far as the public servants at the subsistence level or a little above it are concerned, the Government must give them enough protection to face the hardship resulting from the rise in the prices of essential commodities.

(11) On principle, it is difficult to sustain any disparity with regard to the percentage of neutralization at which dearness allowance should be paid to Government employees, whether working under the Central Government or under different State Governments. Since in Commission's view employees who are getting salaries at or a little above the subsistence level are entitled to be protected against the rise in prices of essential commodities, the extent of neutralization legitimately admissible in the case of these categories must be uniform wherever the employees may be working and whoever pays them.

(12) Another point which also must be stated in this connection is that parity in the rates at which neutralization should be afforded to Government employees, does not necessarily mean parity as regards the total pay packet. Dearness allowance, at whatever rates it is held admissible, should be

determined by reference to the salary slabs, considered in the light of the rise in the cost of living. It may, therefore, be that though the rates of dearness allowance may be the same, Central and State Government employees belonging to the same category may not always or necessarily get the same total emoluments.

(13) One of the points argued before the Commission was whether the Central Government employees should be given dearness allowance on the basis of the All-India Index or the regional indices. One view was that if Central Government employees are working in different States, it is illogical to determine the amount of dearness allowance payable to them by reference to the All-India Index and not the relevant regional indices. *Prima facie* this argument does appear to be attractive. But at present there are no regional indices. Whether dearness allowance should be paid to the Central Government employees in the light of regional indices, may assume practical importance if and when such indices are prepared and are accorded acceptance.

(14) Both the State Governments and representatives of their employees have argued that where a State Government is unable to meet the full liability of dearness allowance, the Central Government should come to its assistance. In support of this plea, reliance was placed on the observations made in the Report of the Fourth Finance Commission in paragraphs 129 and 130 and also on Prof. Bhabatosh Datta's separate Minute. The Commission do not think it would be legitimate for them to enter into this controversy. That is a matter for discussion and settlement between the Central Government and the respective State Governments.

(b) *Preferential Treatment to Government Employees.* [vide terms of reference para. 2(ii)(b)].

(15) The payment of dearness allowance is an absolute obligation of the Government and that in discharging this obligation considerations like the one which is specified in paragraph 2(4)(b) are hardly material or even relevant. In this context, Government have a dual character. First, as Government they are in charge of the welfare of the community as a whole; secondly, they are an employer, and as employer they must pay their employees salaries which, at the lowest, are at or a little above the subsistence level. If the Government find that as Government they cannot discharge their obligation to this class of employees without imposing a burden on the rest of the community, they should avoid imposing an unnecessary burden on the weaker sections of the community and at the same time find some method of raising the funds required to meet their inescapable commitment to the employees who are at, or a little above, the subsistence level. The Commission's finding, therefore, is that whatever may be the position in regard to the burden on the rest of the community, dearness allowance, must be paid to the categories of employees mentioned by the Commission

(c) *Relationship between D.A. & Rise in Prices due to Taxation, etc.*

(16) In considering the impact of factors, such as taxation and other policy-induced causes and occasions, such as a severe crop failure or a threat to national security which involve higher levels of expenditure on the claims for additional dearness allowance by low-salaried employees, two considerations must be borne in mind.

First, the need to protect this class of employees is absolute. If dearness allowance had been recognized in its more comprehensive form, the point raised by this term of reference would have had greater relevance and materiality. But quite apart from this consideration, another difficulty which has to be faced in dealing with this point is that it is impossible to decide, even approximately, what proportion of the rise in prices can be attributed to these factors. If one has to give effect to these considerations, it will be necessary to quantify the rise caused by these factors. Everyone whom the Commission consulted in this matter during their inquiry categorically stated that such quantification was impossible. Therefore, even a negative finding on the point involved in this clause, makes it difficult to make any appropriate deduction in the rates which the Commission ultimately recommend.

Nevertheless, the Commission could not overlook the fact that the enormous rise in the defence expenditure was occasioned by the recent threats to national security. Two successive droughts have made the position much worse. The Commission were, therefore, satisfied that insofar as the rise in prices has been caused by these factors, they had to take it into account in determining the extent of neutralization which employees at the subsistence level would be entitled to. Besides, as already emphasized, in fixing the monetary limits of vulnerability the Commission have deliberately chosen to be liberal, and so that, on the whole, it would be appropriate to make a marginal deduction from the neutralization to which the employees at the lowest level would ordinarily be entitled.

(d) *The Capacity of the Government, and therefore, of the Community,*

*to pay Additional Dearness Allowance for the Rise in Price in Future. [vide terms of reference para. 2(4)(d)].*

(17) It appears that this question is based on the assumption that the dearness allowance may take the form of a device for protecting, to a varying degree, the real value of salaries. But dearness allowance is not intended to neutralize the erosion of the real value of salaries; it is designed to afford protection to wage-earners at, or a little above, the subsistence level, against the rise in prices. Therefore, the considerations to which paragraph 2(4)(d) draws our attention cease to be material or even relevant.

*(e) Fringe Benefits (viz., Housing Compensatory Allowance, etc.)*

(18) According to the Government, in the compilation of the Index, the cost of several items, such as housing, medical care and education, is also reflected. As such, some allowance has to be made for them in the calculation of dearness allowance. The employees questioned the justification for the Government's arguments. One of their main contentions was that several of the fringe benefits were part of the pay structure recommended by the Second Pay Commission. As such, the availability of these benefits was taken into account by the Second Pay Commission, in fixing the scales of pay. The Government were, therefore, not entitled to make any deduction on this account. In regard to the other fringe benefits, they contended that such benefits are no longer the exclusive privilege of Central Government employees and in regard to both housing and medical care, several sections of industrial labour receive identical benefits. Besides, many of these benefits are only in name, and are not really available to a large per-

centage of the employees. Another contention was that a large section of employees have not been given accommodation and they pay the very high rents which prevail in the cities. In their case, the rise in rents impinges sharply on the family budgets. Expenses on education include not only fees which are reimbursed but expenses on books, stationery, conveyance, etc., which are not reimbursed. As regards railway fare beyond a certain mileage and then too, the mere fare is paid. Besides, the bulk of the employees are unable to avail themselves of this concession. It appears that while accepting the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission, the Government on their own initiative liberalized the compensatory and the house rent allowances even at the time of initial sanction of these allowances. In the opinion of the Commission, the Government are entitled to claim some allowance for the benefits which they confer on the employees.

#### ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF ASSISTANCE

(19) In examining the question as to what alternative forms of assistance might be given to ensure real benefit to government employees without necessarily increasing inflationary pressures on the economy, it seems clear that certain categories of amenities, such as free primary education, regulated distribution of food through rationing and fair price shops which are, or can be made, available to employees, should be excluded at the outset. Almost all representation of the employees of Central and State Governments were frankly sceptical of the feasibility of such a scheme. Many of them pointed out that the supplies would not be satisfactory and the management would not be efficient. The employees are against receiving assistance in kind; they

would prefer to receive cash and be free to buy what they wish.

(20) While sharing the apprehensions of the witnesses the Commission thought it necessary to pursue the enquiry a little further. They examined the extent to which a somewhat similar experiment, tried on a large scale by the Railways during the Second World War, could be said to have been successful or otherwise; and to the extent to which it failed, at what points it could be said to have failed. They also examined the scheme in operation for the supply of rations and necessaries to the Defence Services. But after examining all the considerations involved, it is found that any alternative forms of assistance which might be given to ensure real benefit to Government employees without necessarily increasing inflationary pressures on the economy, is not practicable.

#### **FORMULA FOR THE GRANT OF DEARNESS ALLOWANCE**

(21) The index currently used for this purpose is the All India Working Class Consumer Price Index (1949 = 100). Two more series are now available: (i) The Working Class Consumer Price Index (1960 = 100); and (ii) The Consumer Price Index for Non-Manual Employees (1960 = 100). Since the 1960 series is the nearest available for understanding the current expenditure pattern, we consider that the choice for the purpose of linking dearness allowance with prices should lie between the two 1960 series—one for the Working Class and the other for Non-Manual Employees. Some witnesses have expressed their preference for the Non-Manual Employees series as against the Working Class series. A study of occupational classification of the Central Government employees, shows that by definition nearly 65 per cent

of the employees covered by the Class III and Class IV categories have an expenditure pattern akin to that of the working class. On this score, it seems that there is no special reason why the Non-manual Employees Index should be used. There is also no case for having a separate index for Government employees. If a refinement is required for adjusting dearness allowance, all that could be done would be to give a weightage of 65 per cent to the Working Class Index and 35 per cent to the Non-Manual Employees Index and work out a new series of indices for adjusting dearness allowance. However, until such time as the Working Class series (1960 = 100) is prepared, published and accepted, with a suitable linking factor, the All India Working Class Consumer Price Index (1949 = 100) should continue to be used.

(22) The Second Pay Commission did not recommend an automatic adjustment of dearness allowance even if the requirement of its formula about the twelve-month average rise of 10 points was satisfied; it thought that whenever the Index registered such a twelve-month average rise, the Government should consider all the relevant factors and decide what relief should be granted to the employees from time to time by way of additional dearness allowance. Since in Commission's view dearness allowance is intended to protect employees who draw salaries at, or a little above, the subsistence level, it would be reasonable that on proof of the fact that a twelve-month average rise of 10 points has been registered, they should automatically be entitled to that neutralization at the rates which the Commission has recommended. They, therefore, recommended automatic adjustment in future.

(23) In recommending a review only if there was a rise of ten points

for a period of 12 months, the Second Pay Commission had been influenced by the fact "that for budgetary reasons and considering the long-term character of Government employment, the remuneration of Government servants should not change frequently and that Government servants should be prepared to take the consequence of a small or short-term rise of prices, which may often be fortuitous, as counterpart of the security of their emoluments, which are rarely changed to their disadvantage". They further stated that "whatever conditions have to be fulfilled before a review is to be undertaken to consider an upward revision, have also to be fulfilled for a review for a downward revision". It was urged before the Commission on behalf of the employees that this formula has operated adversely against them and they represented that the adjustment should be on the basis of six-month average and a 5-point rise. On the other hand, it was argued by the Government that even according to the existing formula, the adjustments are too frequent and consequently, from the budgetary point of view, there is undue burden as well as dislocation. According to them, adjustments for dearness allowance should not be made at less frequent intervals than of one year. The Commission considered all aspects of the matter and are of the opinion that, in this respect, there is no need for any change in the existing formula. They, therefore, recommend that the present practice should continue.

(24) If relative price stability is achieved within two years, the question of making further additions to dearness allowance thereafter may not arise. Nevertheless, the Government will have to consider whether a part of the dearness allowance should not be absorbed in

the basic pays and that would involve the revision of the pay structure of the categories of employees to whom dearness allowance is admissible. Even if prices do not rise, the question of the revision of the pay structure of this class of employees will have to be examined at the end of two years.

(25) Though the Commission have held that employees drawing salaries above the limit of vulnerability are not entitled to dearness allowance in regard to the future rise in prices, the question about the adequacy of their salaries will need careful examination. The Commission recommend that the revision of the salaries of these categories of employees should be undertaken at the end of two years or when the twelve-month average of the Index reaches 245, whichever is earlier.

#### CHALLENGE OF RISING PRICES

(26) Whilst making recommendations in regard to the payment of dearness allowance in future, the Commission were quite clear that unless the menace of rising prices is effectively controlled within a reasonably short time, their recommendations would become obsolete. Without expressing any opinion on their merits the Commission wish to draw attention to some of the suggestions in this regard:

(i) There is immediate need for creating a proper climate conducive to the successful pursuit of programme of controlling prices. Expenditure on unproductive schemes must be stopped. Members of the public receive with cynical indifference mere verbal appeals for sacrifice. Words have lost their meaning and good ideas have ceased to appeal, in the absence of adequate action. The first step which the Government can

and must take to create a proper climate for facing the emergency is to set an example themselves. Only if such a climate is created that the appeal to consume less and produce more would evoke a good response from the community at large.

(ii) The problem of dearness allowance has assumed alarming proportions, partly because the Government offices are over-staffed. In spite of the Government's declared objective of discouraging the creation of new posts and future recruitment, the total number of Government employees in almost all categories has been increasing from time to time.

(iii) The defence expenditure which has assumed serious dimensions owing to the threats from Pakistan and China, is, no doubt, largely inescapable; but there was scope for effecting economies even in the defence expenditure without detriment to the security of the country.

(iv) There are undesirable consequences of deficit financing. If the Government were to find non-inflationary sources of revenue to meet the cost of dearness allowance and other items of expenditure, that would assist in the process of controlling the prices to some extent.

(v) Some State Governments are entering on a programme of giving up their income from land revenue, without simultaneously finding out alternative sources of revenue. In pursuing, without necessarily implementing, the policy of Prohibition, several States are losing considerable revenue and yet have not achieved corresponding social gain. If the Central Government and the State Governments had addressed themselves properly to the problems of irrigation, agricultural production

and pricing of agricultural products, the situation would not have been as it is today.

(vi) The policy which the Government have been adopting from time to time in regard to the regulation of the prices of controlled commodities was not correct. Recently the Government have announced their decisions sanctioning increases in the prices of some of the controlled commodities.

(vii) Government have taken no effective action to regulate profits which a small but influential section of the community makes as a result of inflation.

#### **Annexure**

The terms of reference of the Commission were:

(i) To examine the principles which should govern the grant of dearness allowance to Central Government employees in future, having regard among other relevant factors to the repercussions on the finances of State Governments, public sector undertakings, local bodies, etc.

(ii) To consider and recommend alternative forms of assistance which might be given to ensure real benefit to Government employees without necessarily increasing inflationary pressures on the economy.

(iii) To review the existing formula for the grant of dearness allowance as recommended by the Second Pay Commission, and to recommend what changes, if any, in this formula are desirable and feasible.

(iv) Specifically, to report on the following issues: (a) Considering that the non-plan Revenue expenditure of State Governments

gets reflected in the financial assistance given by the Centre on the recommendations of the Finance Commissions and in the annual plan allocations, and having regard to the existing disparities between the pay scales of Central and State employees, is it justifiable to follow a different policy at the Centre from the States and to treat the employees of the former more liberally in the matter of dearness allowance? (b) Any relief which the Central Government gives to its employees entails a burden on the rest of the community, particularly other vulnerable sections with fixed incomes. To what extent should Government give preferential treatment to that section of the community which is directly under its employ? (c) Is it justifiable to compensate Government employees for rise in prices due to taxation and other policy-induced causes, or to occasions such as a severe crop failure or a threat to national security necessitating higher levels of

expenditure? (d) Should the capacity of Government, and, therefore, of the community, to pay the determining factor for granting relief to Government employees? To what extent can this be reconciled with the concept of dearness allowance as a device to protect, to a varying degree, the real income of salaried employees from the effects of rise in prices? (e) To examine and report on such further questions as may be referred by Government.

(v) In making its recommendations, the Commission will take into account the historical background, the various causes of the rise in prices, the impact of increased emoluments on prices, the state of the economy with particular regard to the requirements of developmental planning and national security, and other relevant circumstances, such as the benefits admissible in addition to dearness allowance and the capacity of the lowpaid employees to bear price rise burdens.

*MAHARASHTRA, REPORT OF THE MAHARASHTRA PAY COMMISSION,\* 1965-66, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, 1967, p. 815.*

On June 3, 1965, the Government of Maharashtra appointed a Pay Commission under the chairmanship of *Shri Justice G. B. Badkas*, Retired Judge, Bombay High Court, with the following terms of reference: (a) The Commission will examine the structure of the pay scales at present applicable to the various cadres and posts under Government and suggest such revision as may be necessary to ensure that the pay of any post should be suitably fixed with reference to the responsibility and onerousness of the duties attaching to it, in order that there should be uniformity in the remuneration fixed for posts of

which the duties and responsibilities are approximately equal and which call for the possession of approximately equal qualifications and skills. The scope of examination will extend to all gazetted and non-gazetted services, permanent or temporary, other than All-India services, but will not extend to work-charged daily-rated employees or casual labour. The Commission will also suggest the most appropriate method or methods to be adopted for the fixation of pay of existing employees in the new scales recommended by it; (b) The Commission will, having due regard to the genesis of the separate existence

\* A selective digest of this report—confining only to the general principles outlined by the Pay Commission—has been given in these columns—Editor.

of Bombay City pay scales, recommend whether these should be done away with altogether or should continue. In the latter case, the Commission will recommend principles by which the extent of the difference between the City Scales and other scales for corresponding posts outside the Bombay City should be determined; (c) The Commission will review special pays sanctioned in various offices and establishments under Government and submit recommendations for their abolition or further continuance at existing, enhanced or reduced rates. The Commission will also suggest principles for regulating the grant of special pays in future; (d) The Commission will examine the basis of the structure of the present scales of Travelling Allowance, House Rent Allowance, Local Allowances and Daily Allowance, but not Dearness Allowance and recommend a suitable structure and scales for the future; (e) The Commission will consider the impact of its recommendations on the emoluments of teachers in aided schools and will recommend a complementary structure of scales and allowances other than Dearness Allowance for such employees.

The Commission submitted its report on January 4, 1967.

Important findings/recommendations of the Pay Commission are as under:

#### *Principles and Considerations for Salary Determination*

(1) "Fair comparison principle" may be adopted for broadly comparable jobs after taking into account the differences in the conditions of service. Comparison should be grade by grade and class by class, and attempt should be made to see that civil service pay is fair by that standard.

(2) Government should be a model-employer in the sense that "it must accept the obligation and responsibility which it seeks to impose on other employers and that they should be voluntarily guided by whatever principles and standards which by law or otherwise they prescribe for others and should pay such remuneration as would ensure an efficient public service and as would be considered fair both to the public servant and the community".

#### *Rationalization & Revision of Pay Structure*

(3) Simplification of the pay structure has to be purposive and with due regard to administrative necessities and with the main object of removing anomalies. Rationalization of pay structure is intended to achieve objectives, such as: (a) systematic classification of service and posts and their grading in standard pay scales, (b) fair remuneration with due regard to nature of work, duties and responsibilities, (c) determination of relativities and differentials between services and posts so as to provide "equal pay for equal work", and (d) framing of standard scales. But financial position of Government (paying capacity) is a relevant factor to be considered for determination of rise in pay level of the employees. The impact of increased remuneration should not be such as can not be borne by the community. The Commission have proposed such a revision of pay-scales as would afford relief to lower levels of employees and also safeguard interest of the wider community.

(4) As promotional recruitment is based on principle of self-advancement by efficient performance of duties and merit for undertaking duties and responsibilities of higher

grade, it is necessary to arrange pay structure of the services as would provide for employees due opportunities for promotion and necessary incentive for providing maximum usefulness in the public service. Such promotional facilities are all the more necessary because of our system of recruitment within the narrow age limits and difficulties of late entry in the services, except in technical service. Without promotional opportunities in the hierarchical arrangements, public service is bound to prove unattractive.

(5) Even after providing uniform pay-scales in different departments, principle of equality is not achieved as opportunities for promotions differ from department to department. Such uneven chances of promotion are unavoidable. The idea of giving accelerated increments to award merit where such promotional opportunities are lacking does not appear to be much encouraging. At present promotions take place mostly on the basis of seniority and irrespective of consideration of merit and that the provision of efficiency bar is only a rule on paper. Under these circumstances, providing of accelerated increments appears to be hazardous.

(6) The question of nomenclature and designations of posts is closely related to pay structure. Pay is often related either to a post or to the cadre or to different classes of employees. Administrative convenience also requires different designations for different posts for broadly indicating the character of the work done by the employee. But it should be recognized that multifariousness in designations in utter disregard for propriety, very often results in bewildering mass of names without any purposive usefulness.

Such designations very often are given or assumed as a result of undue importance to some conspicuous factor relating to the service but without much relevancy for pay determination. Very often such designations are utilized or made a ground for earning separate pay scales even though there is no appropriate correspondence with the duties and responsibilities of the posts. The existing multiplicity in pay structure in great measure seems due to such practice of providing a separate pay scale for a post with a separate designation, without any attempt at classifying them in a group on the basis of recognized principles of classifications.

(7) An important objective of rationalization aims at establishing equalities in the remuneration of the employees. Inequalities and inequities are often the cause of discontent and frustration in services and have far reaching impact on efficiency.

(8) The claim for co-relation of remuneration of staff in different departments is based on the principle of "Equal pay for equal work". Though the principle is fair and acceptable, difficulties arise in its application. It is often difficult to find a common denominator for purposes of comparison.

(9) The method of job valuation which is said to be popular in U.S.A., though apparently scientific, is not realistic. The processes are very often subjective and at times arbitrary. We have no machinery to undertake such valuation. Job valuation is not feasible in our system of public service.

(10) Though it is not possible to subject salaries of public services to any scientific process, it is necessary that they should be based on

pertinent facts and principles recognized in practice.

(11) Internal relativities are important for determining intermediate salaries, after dividing the basic ends, i.e., maximum and minimum salary. Existing relativities, therefore, deserve to be given due weight and need not be disturbed unless the change can be closely justified. Internal relativities should be used as a supplement to the principle of fair comparison in settling civil service rates when outside comparison cannot be made and established standards for evolution of jobs fail. Relativities are in two directions—vertical and horizontal. In hierarchical arrangement appropriate relativity in pay grades should be reflected according to status and rank. Horizontal relativity has reference to relationship between classes involving different duties or functional groups in public service. Employees in a number of cases have insisted more on horizontal parities between different departments than relativity internal in their own departments.

(12) There are varying factors which determine the pay rates of employees in different departments. There is also difference in organizational structure. The work also varies. Promotional prospects are also different. It is, therefore, appropriate that such parity should be established only if there is overwhelming point of equality as regards nature of work, duties, responsibilities, qualifications, and method of recruitment.

(13) The minimum wages is one basic level of the pay plan and the rest of the relativities in the pay structure have to be determined with reference to the minimum level in whatever way it may have been

determined. The principle of minimum wage cannot be applied at different levels of employment and the minimum wage cannot be determined for separate categories of employees at different levels. It may be pointed out that even uniformity of pay under certain circumstances may fail to bring about conditions of equality. Such disparities arise as a result of organizational factors relating to different departments. Prospects of promotions vary from department to department and for different occupational groups of services. It is under such circumstances impossible to provide for equal promotional chances to all employees though they may be belonging to the same occupational group. Such hardship can be removed either by increasing the number of promotional posts or by combining the cadre for inter-departmental transfers. The other remedy is to frame pay-scale on liberal lines for employees having scanty promotional chances or to provide for selection grades, even though such a provision for creating two levels of work, where such work is of routine and simple character, may not be necessary.

(14) Incremental time-scale is provided on the principle that as an employee grows in age he has great responsibilities to meet and that even when an employee continues in the same grade and is not promoted his work improves in quality and efficiency with his seniority. The Commission propose to provide, whenever considered appropriate, long incremental scales covering a period between 15 to 20 years, for entry grades, for most of the categories or services with advancement by seniority, subject to an efficiency bar. While proposing such long span time-scale, it is presumed that a competent employee would secure promotion into next promotional

grade wherever such grades are provided. The Commission propose shorter span of years for promotional grades. The next higher grade wherever it is provided for, will be comparatively of a still shorter span. The arrangement of time-scales will present a pyramid, indicating possible levels of career in the service for the employee's grade of entry.

(15) The maximum of an incremental scale has to be fixed with due consideration of duties and responsibilities required of the incumbent of such post. The Ratio between the maximum and the minimum of scale depends on the length of the scale. There cannot be a rigid formula nor can there be a fixed multiple. The span depends on the type of class or post for which the pay scale is framed. The minimum pay at entry stage should be comparatively higher, particularly in the case of employees in lower scales of pay as the same is intended to provide a minimum living standard. Such provision will also be necessary in the case of some of the posts of specialist nature where entry in the service takes place at a higher age-limit. Attempt should be made to achieve balance between the minimum and maximum with due regard to the interest of the employees and also to the public interest. The general rule appears to be that the minimum should provide for incentive to the employee to maintain efficiency and improvement. The rule is, however, likely to prove inappropriate in cases where scope for improvement is not available, viz., peons, etc. But even such employees need improvement in the emoluments with seniority and as such, a moderate long scale with a maximum has to be recommended in such cases.

(16) Amounts of increments should be bigger in the middle and the closing period of service as compared to the initial period. This arrangement can be supported on the ground that during this period, i.e., the middle stage of service, the employee is at his best and is presumed to be performing the best part of his service. Amount of increments should increase at successive stages right up to the end, for the reason that an employee should be able to meet the family expenses which grow during the period of service.

(17) The modern trend is to grant increments annually. No hard and fast rule can be laid down in this matter. While biennial increments may bring about economy, annual increments are beneficial for pension and leave salary and are preferred by the employees.

(18) There is general dislike for efficiency bar among the employees. In spite of prevalent contradictory opinions about efficiency bar the Commission consider the provision for efficiency bar justifiable as it is both expedient and necessary.

(19) There is a case for recommending that the benefit of atleast one full increment should be granted on promotion. Rules of promotion should provide for minimum increase on promotion.

#### *Pay Structure at the Centre and in other States*

(20) Financial position of the State and its economy are the fundamental causes for the existing disparity in the standards or remuneration at the Centre and among different States. This situation is inevitable.

*Minimum and Maximum Salary*

(21) There has been a reduction in disparity between the salaries of the lowest paid staff and certain salaries of high grade staff mostly due to increased taxation of higher income and progressive increase in pay scales and allowances and other amenities of lower grade staff.

(22) The income levels in different occupations of different grades of employees are governed by economic conditions operating all over the country and broadly considered, income levels of similar occupations or classes of services are always in the process of realizing parity between them. Therefore any attempt to reduce disparity in any particular service or occupation in isolation from other income groups will be unfair and discriminatory.

(23) Comparing the earnings in private services and independent professions like law, medicine, etc., the public service does not appear much attractive today to youngmen of merit and ambition. The demand for reduction in maximum salary or other high grade salaries is not, therefore, justified. Any reduction in maximum salary is bound to have serious repercussions in getting competent entrants. It will also have adverse consequences on the efficiency in public administration. If disparity between higher salaries and minimum salaries is to be reduced, the only course will be to raise the lower rate of salaries and not to reduce the existing salaries in the higher grades. In the present state of economic resources of the State and its financial position such a step does not appear practicable. Therefore, considering the socio-economic reasons and also the financial resources of the State

the Commission do not propose any change in the existing salaries of high grade posts.

(24) It is not practicable to prescribe a fixed ratio or multiple between the maximum and the minimum remuneration. Appropriateness of maximum remuneration has to be determined with due regard to the necessity for obtaining persons of merit and ability for posts of high responsibilities and maintaining efficiency and contentment in the services and also with reference to pay levels of comparable jobs in the private sector. It is also not possible to set a rigid limit for maximum salaries beyond which the State should not pay.

*Basic Salary*

(25) While considering question relating to revision of pay structure, basic salary to be paid to lowest paid staff deserves first consideration. The standardized norms proposed by the 15th Labour Conference cannot be considered as realistic measure for determining minimum remuneration. Working class does not have a standardized pattern of diet. The standard of the cost of living of the industrial workers is not representative of all classes of workers.

(26) For the determination of remuneration both the components, i.e., basic pay and D.A. require the D.A. to be related to a basic year in relation to which its quantum is fixed. The selection of basic year and determination of basic pay with reference to that year necessarily involve decision regarding the quantum of dearness allowance to be paid in 1966 as supplement to basic pay.

(27) It is difficult to guess the level at which prices will stabilize.

Though at present prices are indicating a rising trend it would be hazardous to conclude that prices will not go below the 1965 level.

(28) Considering all relevant facts and figures, it can be reasonably stated that the present level of remuneration of last-grade State employee is distinctly above the level of the majority of wage-earning employees in the State and as such, in a relative sense, above the subsistence level. There is also no reason to think that there is deterioration in the efficiency of this class of employees. The existing abnormal rise in price level in the last two or three years has no doubt a distressing effect on the living standard, but these abnormal circumstances can be relevant consideration for determining an increase in D.A. and not for the basic salaries which have to be framed from the long range point of view. The level of existing basic salary also does not appear perceptibly inadequate though considerations of social justice and general change in economic conditions may demand some improvement in their pay-scales.

(29) Considering the changes in economic conditions of the employees and on grounds of social and economic need the Commission felt persuaded to fix the minimum basic salary of the last-grade employee at Rs. 70-90.

#### *Basic Salary for Class III Employees*

(30) The claimed differential of 80 per cent between pay range of last-grade class IV employee and last-grade clerical employee is neither logical nor broadly reasonable.

(31) Though there is no rigid relationship or established ratio, when basic salary of last grade

employee is determined, the higher structure has to be constructed as far as possible on the basis of existing relativities. On this basis and after duly considering factors, such as inflationary pressures on economy, limited resources of the State and the need of the employees, the Commission was of the opinion that the basic salary of clerks should be Rs. 110.

#### *City Scales*

(32) The pay structure of the employees in the Maharashtra Government presents a unique feature in having the types of pay scales for the employees—one Bombay City scale and another Mofussil scale. The difference between the city scale and the mofussil scales was not one of higher cost of living allowance only but also of deliberate improvement in pay scales. In the case of Secretariat, the difference is still more glaring. Besides the benefit of getting higher pension, the employees on city scales obtain additional benefit in respect of dearness allowance, and other allowances, which are based on actual pay drawn which includes compensatory local allowance and house rent allowance. Thus separate city scales have resulted in creating a privileged class. City scales give preferential treatment to a group of employees. The principle of equal pay for equal work could not admit of such distinction. Moreover, City scale being more advantageous, an immobility is created.

(33) The Commission recommended that City scales should be abolished on the ground that : (i) Public service of the State is one service and it is illogical to design pay rates separately for a small area or part of the services; (ii) The City scales give preferential treatment

to the employees covered by them and as such are discriminatory. (iii) These scales offend principle of equal pay for equal work.

#### *Secretariat Scale*

(34) There is no justification for having different scales of pay for Clerks in the Secretariat offices, and outside offices. There appears no justifiable reason as based on nature of work, responsibility, qualifications or recruitment method for higher pay scales for Clerks in the Secretariat. The fact that clerks in the mofussil are appointed by Heads of Department without competitive examination also would not justify such distinction. If considered necessary, competitive examinations for clerks in mofussil offices also can be provided for. Similarly, there does not appear any difference in the nature of work, duties and responsibilities in the case of typists and clerks.

(35) In view of the educational qualifications, required calibre of candidates, nature of work and extent of responsibilities, the posts of Superintendent and Assistant in the Secretariat have to be classed separately for purposes of pay scales and distinguished from Superintendents and Upper Grade or Senior Clerks in non-Secretariat Offices. It appears that much of the misunderstanding will be removed if Government considers the appropriateness of designating Superintendents in the Secretariat as Section Officers which is the nomenclature obtained in the Central Government.

(36) Stenographers who work as Personal Assistant to Ministers and to the Secretaries to Government have more onerous duties and responsibilities as compared with Stenographers attached to higher officers in other offices. Absolute parity

between stenographers in the Secretariat and those in outside offices is neither possible nor justified.

#### *Special Pays*

(37) Special pay is the most satisfactory way of compensating specific and sizable addition to work and responsibility of a Government servant. Besides being an economical arrangement, it is administratively very convenient in certain circumstances. The system of special pays should continue.

(38) Basic principles for grant of special pay stipulated in Bombay Civil Service Rule 9(49) are quite sound and should be acceptable.

(39) The special pay should not, however, be granted as a matter of course on a superficial scrutiny of the proposal but should be given with special jealousy, in the least number of cases. As a rule, a Government servant should not be allowed to have more than one special pay.

(40) Compensation by way of special pay should be considered only when the additional duties and responsibilities are such as would merit additional remuneration but not so much, or of such a permanent nature, as would justify the grant of a higher pay scale. If the duties and responsibilities are of such higher order and onerousness or are of such character as to form a separate level of responsibility, it would be appropriate that the posts with such characteristics should be covered by an appropriate higher pay scale instead of granting special pay.

(41) If there are number of posts, more or less of a similar class, carrying special pay, it would be desirable to treat them as a separate category and to prescribe a separate

pay scale for them. In the case of isolated posts also an attempt should be made to fit them in appropriate grade. That the post is an isolated one carrying no standard pay scale should not be a ground for granting special pay.

(42) Grant of special pay is a temporary arrangement and special pay should not ordinarily be attached to a post on permanent basis.

(43) Ordinarily special pay should be 10 per cent of pay and in no case exceed 20 per cent. It should be expressed in terms of fixed amounts.

(44) Where the revision of the pay scales has resulted in substantial increase in pay, the special pay may be reduced or abolished. However, special pays given to Clerk-typists, Clerks, Cashiers, Accounts Clerks, etc., are intended to obviate the necessity of creating special scales of pay. They should be continued. The Government should appoint an official committee of administrative experts who would examine each case of special pay fully and in details.

(45) Special pay in deputation cases should not be given as a matter of course and unless it involves specific addition to duties and responsibilities. Government of India has discontinued grant of special pay in cases of deputation to posts which do not involve higher duties and responsibilities. The State Government may follow the same procedure.

#### *Compensatory Local Allowance*

(46) Payment of Compensatory Local Allowance as distinguished from dearness allowance is justified on the ground that the former is intended to compensate that element of expensiveness which is not covered by dearness allowance. Nobody

has so far attempted a definition or description of this extra element.

(47) In fact it is relevant to observe that during the last few years the expensiveness of mofussil areas is increasing and there are grounds to believe that difference in cost of living in different towns is getting reduced, particularly in the case of middle class families and also working class families. This is the impression of the Commission which they consider as realistic though the Commission have no facts or figures with it to substantiate the same. For arriving at a definite conclusion, survey of family budgets is essential.

(48) In the absence of required data or any standard for measuring relative expensiveness of the city with reference to average cost of living and particularly with reference to aforesaid element of extra expensiveness, the Commission found it difficult to say if any significant change has taken place in the above matter and to form new appropriate rates for Compensatory Local Allowance.

(49) Rates of Compensatory Local Allowance for gazetted and non-gazetted staff should be the same. Where this results in reduction of the amount being drawn at present, the reduction may be spared over three years, or so.

#### *House Rent Allowance*

(50) A broad classification of cities for the purpose of House Rent Allowance is necessary. If House Rent Allowance is made payable to all employees irrespective of such classifications and irrespective of the place of duty, House Rent Allowance will lose its significance and propriety, and will take the character of Dearness Allowance. It has, therefore, to be accepted that

in spite of some infirmities and in the absence of better standard of measure like results of rent survey and rent indices, criterion of population is the only practical measure and guide, for arranging a pattern of House Rent Allowance. Presumption can be safely drawn that level of rents rise with significant rise in population.

(51) The scheme of house rent allowance can be made applicable only to places where rents are considered as being abnormally high and acute shortage of accommodation is experienced in securing accommodation and not to all places.

(52) Distinction between the rates of house rent allowance for gazetted officers and non-gazetted officers should be done away with. Rent free residence should be provided only if duties or conditions of work are such that a higher remuneration would be granted but for this concession.

(53) All cases in which the concession of rent free quarters or allowance in lieu thereof or quarters at reduced rent have been sanctioned should be reviewed and the anomalies or elements of injustice, if any, should be removed.

(54) Under conditions as are prevailing in mofussil areas or in Bombay City and considering the resources of the State, and the nature and principles on which scheme of House Rent Allowance is based, the Commission felt it will not be possible to secure real relief in respect of housing accommodation to the employees by any further liberalization of rates of House Rent Allowance. The rates of House Rent Allowance which by themselves are not inadequate considered from a theoretical point of view of suitability, are not in any way in con-

formity with the actual rents charged. Therefore, if existing rates are not enough to relieve the distress of employees in securing residential accommodation, other methods and remedies will have necessarily to be devised or explored.

(55) Since any scheme of housing is likely to take sometime for its implementation and may not relieve the employees of their immediate distress, Government should consider whether it would freeze rent at the levels of rents paid by its employees previous to their vacating the premises and, secondly, transfers of Government servants at lower levels should be done after taking into account their difficulties of housing accommodation.

#### *Consumer Cooperative Stores & Subsidized Stores*

(56) The Commission are completely in favour of the idea of bringing into existence Consumer Cooperative Stores of Government employees wherever possible. Government should provide all reasonable facilities and assistance to such cooperative societies. However, the Commission did not approve of the idea of providing consumer goods at subsidized rates as an alternative method to dearness allowance or revision of pay scales.

#### *Concluding Observations*

(57) The basic structure of the services shaped by long history cannot be reformed instantaneously by any effort of the Pay Commission.

(58) A reform should not be so drastic as would shatter the basic frame of the administrative structure. Reform of pay structure has to be phased and should be effected in a

manner as would cause least harm to services and without casting unbearable financial burden on administration.

(59) The Commission have pro-

posed removal of disparities in pay-structure, and reducing multiplicity of about 1,100 scales of pay to be substituted by about 170 standard common time-scales of pay.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

*THE LAW OF PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGES IN INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY;* By V. G. RAMACHANDRAN, Lucknow, Eastern Book Co., 1966, p. 731, Rs. 45.00.

Shri V. G. Ramachandran, an author, an eminent jurist and a well known research scholar in law, has in this book surveyed not only the history and development of the law of parliamentary privileges in India but also of the one prevailing all the Parliaments of the world. He has quoted extensively from the decisions of the British Parliament, the Congress of U.S.A., the French National Assembly, the Japanese Diet, and the Parliaments of the Commonwealth and the decisions of the Parliament of India and State Legislatures. He has traced the history of the fight that the House of Commons had to wage against the King and the House of Lords in England to attain the character of a supreme court and summarized the law as it now prevails in the various Parliaments of the Commonwealth. It is now a settled law that the House of Commons cannot create any new privilege. It is also a settled law that the courts in England can go into the question whether there is a privilege and once they hold there is a privilege they do not go into the question of the validity of the warrant issued by the Speaker of Parliament if it is a general warrant. No case of conflict has risen in the last 150 years between the judiciary and the Parliament.

Clause 105 of the Indian Constitution says that until the Parliament enacts a law, the powers, immunities and the privileges of the

Members of Parliament will be the same as those of the Members of the House of Commons as on 26-1-1950, the date on which the Constitution came into force. Similar provisions are contained in the Constitution regarding the rights, immunities, and privileges of the Members of the State Legislatures. Twenty years have passed since the Constitution came into force. Neither the Parliament nor the State Legislatures have passed any law as yet. Battles royal have been waged on the question whether the Parliament should or should not enact a law of privileges. Opinions of eminent judges, lawyers, jurists, Speakers and members of Parliament have differed. A few questions loom large before us:

- (1) Does a warrant of arrest issued under the authority of the Speaker of Lok Sabha offend the provisions regarding the fundamental rights?
- (2) In India is the Constitution supreme or the Parliament supreme?
- (3) If the Speaker of a State legislature were to issue a warrant of arrest of a person who commits contempt and goes into another State or is a resident of that State and if the Government of that State refuses to execute it what is to happen to the warrant?

- (4) If the High Court of the latter state holds that the warrant offends the law of fundamental rights and holds that it is not executable, what is to happen?

To take a dispassionate view of the matter it is necessary to know what the intention of the Constitution makers was. It is very relevant. From the language of Article 105 (85 in the draft) and also from the trend of discussions in the Constituent Assembly it is quite clear that it was only a temporary provision. The language of Article 194 (169 in the draft) is the same as that of Article 105. The draft of Article 194 was adopted without any discussion. During the discussion on 20.5.1949 the eminent jurist of Madras, late Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer said, "It is common knowledge that the widest privileges are exercised by the members of Parliament in England. If the privileges are confined to the existing privileges of the Legislatures in India as at present constituted, the result will be that a person cannot be punished for contempt of Parliament". Actually the question arose in Calcutta as to whether a person can be punished for contempt of provincial Legislatures or the Legislatures in the country. It has been held that neither the Central Legislature nor the provincial Legislature has any power to punish for contempt any person who is guilty of such contempt, whereas in England the Parliament has the inherent right to punish for contempt. Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer asked, "Are you going to deny yourself that power? That is the question. There is no 'infra dig' if we are going to refer to the privileges in England. There is nothing to prevent the Parliament from setting up the proper machinery for formulating the privileges.

There is nothing to fetter the discretion of the Parliament in India. *Only as a temporary measure* the privileges of the House of Commons are made applicable to this House."

This Clause was again reopened and discussed on 16.10.49 to extend the privileges to the members of Committee. During the debate Shri R. K. Sidhwa wanted to know what the powers and privileges of the Parliament in England were. He said Erskine May did not enlighten him. The 1935 Act had made a similar provision, but the Central Legislature did not frame the Act. Dr. Ambedkar, therefore, said, "I find South African Parliament has framed it. I have a copy. If Mr. Sidhwa wants it I will transmit it to him. It might be possible later on to embody the privileges for our own Parliament." Shri Tyagi had asked if it cannot be left to the Parliament itself. The President of the Constituent Assembly, therefore, said: "That is exactly what the article says. The Parliament will define the powers and privileges. But until the Parliament has undertaken the Legislation and passes it, the powers and privileges of the House of Commons will apply. So it is only a temporary affair. Of course the Parliament may never legislate on that point. And it is for the members to be vigilant." When Shri H. V. Kamath enquired, "Will it be open to the provisional Parliament to define these powers?" The President of the Constituent Assembly again replied, "Certainly. It will be open to it if it chooses to do it".

From these discussions it is quite clear that the language of Article 195 Clause (3) was used to invest the Indian Parliament with power to punish for contempt and the clause is only a temporary measure. It is now 20 years since the Constitution

Act was passed. During these years a number of rulings have been given both in India and outside and it is time that they are codified or at least collected in one volume for the guidance of Parliament and the legislatures in India. The only objection seems to be that once the rights and privileges are codified it will come under judicial review and it may attract the provisions of the chapter on Fundamental Rights.

Let us not forget that we are working under a federal system, where sovereignty is divided and the legislature, judiciary and the executive are assigned definite powers. Each organ acts as a check on the other. Even now the Supreme Court can declare an act of Parliament *ultra vires* of the Constitution. Parliament can amend or pass fresh legislation to overcome the objection. Constitution says that all doubts have to be resolved by law by recourse to interpretive jurisdiction of courts. The Parliament can remove judges by an order of the President passed after an address to the President supported by a majority of not less than two thirds of the members present and voting and more than half in members of the House should be present, and it should be presented to the President in the same session for such removal. The legislature can pass a vote of no-confidence against the Cabinet. These are essential safeguards by checks and counter-checks to balance the three wheels of Government, the legislature, judiciary and the executive. They have to work in harmony as complimentary to each other and not at cross-purposes and to attack each other. I feel in a federal constitution it is the Constitution that is supreme and the parliamentary dignity is in no way offended. Item 74 in List I of the Seventh Schedule gives power to the Parliament to legis-

late on the powers, privileges and immunities of each house of Parliament and the committees of each house. Similar provisions are contained in Item 39 of List II of the above Schedule in respect of State Legislatures. If each of the organs of the State acts within its own limits and shows due consideration and regard for the other organs I do not see any reason why the courts should encroach on the powers of the other organs.

Article 122 says: (i) "The validity of any proceedings in Parliament shall not be questioned in courts on the ground of any alleged illegality of procedure". (ii) "No officer or Member of Parliament in whom powers are vested by or order of this Constitution for regulating the procedure or conduct of business or for maintaining order in Parliament shall be subject to the jurisdiction of any court in respect of the exercise by him of those powers." Similarly Articles 121 and 211 give protection to the Supreme Court and the High Courts in India. The power to punish for contempt is given to every court. The inherent power is claimed by the House of Commons and conceded by the courts in England not because it is a court of record but because by a long and arduous struggle with the King and House of Lords it has attained the status of a Supreme Court, and because of ancient usage and prescription which forms part of the common law of the land. The privileges of the House of commons are not codified. What they are has to be seen from a study of the decisions on the matter of privilege, for the last one hundred and fifty years or more. English practice stands on certain conventions and usages which can be found out by a study of the records of the Parliament. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution by saying

that Article 105 and 194 were temporary that the Parliament should enact a law on Parliamentary privileges, rights and immunities meant that it should be enacted and it should be clear and precise.

It is time, therefore, that the privileges are collected and codified. Since A.D. 1700, no judge in England has ever been arrested and arraigned for contempt of Parliament. And as affirmed by May in his Parliamentary Practice the House of Commons for the last one hundred years has not refused to submit its privileges to the decisions of Courts. Article 19 can be amended by including the words "contempt of Parliament" after the words "contempt of Court", in sub cl (2) of sec 19. I can not agree with the view of the Supreme Court that the clauses in chapter III of the Constitution cannot be amended. In fact we have amended the articles a number of times. Dr. Ambedkar while replying to the debate said, "I do not say that the fundamental rights can ever be absolute, and the limitations set upon them can never be lifted. What I say is that the principles embodied in the Constitution are the views of the present generation." Jefferson said that we may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right that by the will of the majority to bind themselves but none to bind the succeeding generations more than the inhabitants of another country. The only limitations put for amending the Constitution are that more than half the members of the House should be present and two thirds of the members present should vote for the amendment.

In India, in addition to the Parliament there are 17 State Legislatures. Perhaps in the near future a few more may be added to that number. If all these Legis-

latures were to pass their own laws on privileges there are bound to be conflicts and anomalies. It is better there is one law for the whole of India. Each Legislature may suitably modify it to suit its own peculiar circumstances. Perhaps there will be none. If that is agreed Article 194 of the Constitution will have to be dropped, and similarly Article 39 of part II of schedule 7 also will have to be dropped.

After the fourth General Elections there have been a spate of privilege Motions in Parliament and the State Legislatures. Much of the valuable time of the House which could otherwise be spent on Legislative work and important discussions is wasted on them and there have been ugly scenes also. Perhaps most of them are frivolous and the legitimate work of the Parliament is held up. If this is to be prevented the Law of Privileges has to be precise. Decisions have to be given then and there and the ruling cannot be held up.

The Speaker may appoint a committee of experts to collect and codify the law of privileges. There is no dearth of talent in India. I would suggest a committee consisting of two ex-Speakers, two ex-Chief Justices, two senior members of Parliament who are distinguished jurists, may be appointed to collect and codify the law of privileges and suggest amendments to the Constitution, if any.

Instead of Parliament itself trying the case for contempt of Parliament it may appoint a High Court of Parliament, permanent or *ad hoc*, to try such cases. The decision of the court should be final if approved by Parliament. It will save the Speaker from personal attacks and avoid acrimonious debates. In America, Courts have been given power to punish for contempt of Congress.

America is a model Federal Democracy. I do not see why we cannot entrust this power to a High Court appointed by the Parliament.

The press in India is anxious that the Law of privilege should be definite and clear, and the vagueness and uncertainty regarding Parliamentary privileges should be ended. That is the opinion of the Press Commission also.

Of late some of the Members of Lok Sabha are behaving in a most indecorous way. Even the bona fides of the Speaker are questioned. Personal attacks are made on persons who are not in the house to answer. Liberty is not licence. A Member must take the responsibility for the truth of the allegations he makes. A mere apology long after the mischief is done loses all its

charm. It has, therefore, become necessary to safeguard innocent persons from attack as much as it is the function of the Parliament to safeguard the rights of members. The Parliament, therefore, must examine whether it should not take powers to punish a member who abuses his right of privilege. All these can be set right if the Law of Privileges is codified. The author has discussed many of those points in his treatise and it may itself be the starting point for the Committee. I have suggested Shri Ramachandran deserves all congratulations for the excellent job he has done—by no means an easy task—with the thoroughness and clarity of deep study and thought. The book should adorn the library of every student of parliamentary privileges.

S. V. KRISHNAMOORTHY RAO

*PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES IN INDIA*; By Dr. B. B. JENA, Calcutta, The Scientific Book Agency, 1966, pp. XIV—339, Rs. 21.00.

Dr. Jena's work "The Parliamentary Committees in India" is a welcome addition to the little literature available to the public on the working of parliamentary institutions in India. This is the first "complete work on the Committees of Lok Sabha" published so far.

In modern times when the problems before Legislatures have increased manifold of what they were before a few decades ago, the delegation of some of their powers and functions to the Committees has become a normal practice in the working of parliamentary institutions. In the House of Commons, committees were originally designed to investigate concrete questions of fact or law upon which the House wished to have definite information but now some of these committees are also exercising control over the

executive. In course of time, these committees acquired so much status and importance that the Parliamentary Government has been described as "Government by Committees"!

The Indian Constitution does not expressly provide for the constitution and working of parliamentary committees. The Constitution merely says that the powers, privileges and immunities of the committees of each House of Parliament shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by Law, and until so defined, shall be those of the Committees of the House of Commons of the British Parliament at the commencement of the Constitution, i.e., the 26th January, 1950. However, the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha framed in pursuance of the provisions of Article 118(2) of the Constitu-

tution, lay down that there shall be—different standing committees, besides the select/joint committees appointed from time to time on Bills etc. Each of these Committees functions as a microcosm of the House. In devising these Committees, our Parliament has borrowed from some foreign institutions and adopted them to our needs, but it has also created new ones wherever necessary e.g. the Committee on Government Assurances. As has rightly been pointed out by the Author, the Committees of Lok Sabha are doing much more than the Parliamentary Committees elsewhere. According to his assessment, committees in India have "departed from the British system and drifted towards Congressional ones, but have not attained the status of the latter".

Dealing in detail with the Committees of Lok Sabha the Author has grouped these committees into standing and *ad hoc* Committees. He further classifies the standing committee on the basis of their functions, into the following five groups:— (i) Committees to enquire e.g. Committee on Petitions, Committee on Privileges; (ii) Committees to scrutinise e.g. Committee on Government Assurances; (iii) Committees to control e.g. Committees on Subordinate Legislation, Estimates Committee, Public Accounts Committee and Committee on Public Undertakings; (iv) Committees to advise e.g. Business Advisory Committee, Committee on Private Members' Bills, and Resolutions, Rules Committee and Committee on Absence of Members from the sitting of the House; and (v) House keeping Committees e.g. House Committee, Library Committee, Joint Committee on Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament and General Purposes Committee.

Ad-hoc Committees have been put into two groups viz., Regular and Incidental. Regular Committees include Select Committees and Joint Committees on Bills. Within the category of Incidental Committees are included the Committees on draft Five Year Plans, Railway Convention Committee etc. The author then proceeds to deal with each of these Committees in detail under appropriate headings. At places references have also been made to the working of corresponding Committees in the House of Commons.

As to the utility of Parliamentary Committees in India Dr. Jena's conclusion is that they perform the role of a constructive "Opposition". They keep the Houses vigilant, save them from becoming ineffective vis-a-vis the growing "menace of Cabinet Dictatorship". They keep in check the bureaucracy which grows under the cloak of ministerial responsibility. Parliamentary Committees also provide a training ground for future ministers.

The original intention of these Committees might have been to relieve the burden of the House, to elicit information or to scrutinise, but ultimately they have turned to be the agencies to restore what is lost by the increasing menace of Cabinet Directorship. The Parliamentary Committees have also supplemented the efforts of the Cabinet to fight a lone battle with bureaucrats of Government who are "professional and skilled in their art".

The Committees of the Lok Sabha have according to Dr. Jena contributed strength and vitality to the Cabinet by leading a crusade against bungling arbitrariness, wastefulness, officiousness and regimentation. By endeavouring to make the bureaucracy efficient, competent,

responsive and responsible which no individual Minister could possibly ensure, the Committees instead of impairing the Ministerial responsibility have added to its strength. The Committees have also served the back benchers well by giving them an opportunity to feel useful in the working of Parliamentary system.

This book no doubt gives an exposition of the functioning of Parliamentary Committees in Lok Sabha and can be regarded as a standard work. It, however, suffers from certain drawbacks especially from typographical errors, which sometime become irritating to the reader. Besides it is expected in a standard Book like this that the references to the sources from which material has been drawn should be accurate but unfortunately this expectation has been belied. Not only this, the book also suffers from another drawback and that is some statements made therein are not in consonance with the source of information quoted therein e.g. at page 109 the statement relating to a recommendation of the Committee on Subordinate Legislation, it is stated "Earlier the Committee prescribed two different periods, 7 and 30 days respectively into different reports" (Second Report, 1954 and Sixth Report, 1954) but it is not correct.

At least one recommendation of the Committee on Subordinate Legislation contained in para 17 of their Sixth Report, 1956 appears to have been misinterpreted when at p. 111, the Author states that the Committee sometimes "goes out of way to direct and recommend the procedure to be followed in Rule-making". Another instance of inaccurate statement appears at p. 115 where the Author states "the Committee has in fact summoned *all* senior officers of the Departments whose rules were con-

sidered by it from time to time". But this is not a fact. While the Author has commended the role of the Lok Sabha Committee on Subordinate Legislation how it is doing everything possible to hold the 'New Disposition' in leash and keeping "the germ of arbitrary Administration" under control, he has not made any attempt to trace the delegation of legislative power in India which first took its root in the Indian Councils Act, 1861, which laid down the foundation of the policy of legislative devolution.

Similarly at page 142, referring to the appointment of Sub-Committees by the Estimates Committee it has been stated that "the rules do not provide for such sub-Committees, but they are appointed according to the direction by the Speaker". But this statement is obviously not correct in view of rule 263 of the Rules of Procedure of Lok Sabha.

As regards functioning of the Select Joint Committees Dr. Jena labours under wrong impression that the Members of the House who are not members of a Select/Joint Committee, are not allowed "to place their views before the Committee either verbally or in writing". There is no such bar under the Rules for such members of the House to put their views before a Select/Joint Committee (Vide Page 281). At another place, in connection with the constitution of Joint Committees on Bills it has been stated that the House "where the Bill originates appoints *Select Committee* of a certain number of members of the House and fixes a number of members to be appointed by the other House", (Page 299). This gives an impression that a Joint Committee, instead of being a single committee, consists of two Select Committees of the Houses joined together; but it is not so. A Joint Committee is a

single entity and comes into being only after the other House has concurred in the proposal for constituting a Joint Committee by the originating House. Perhaps the Author is aware of this when he states at page 301, "In India the Joint Committee... is a single Committee appointed for the purpose".

While, according to the Author himself, 'attempts have been made in this book to unfold the hidden values of many Committees which have received very little attention so far', he seems to be oblivious of the institution of standing committees of the legislature, attached to the various Ministries of the Government of India, which owe their origin to the recommendation contained in paras 235 and 285 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. According to the Authors of this Report, the object of these Committees was to familiarise the elected members of the legislatures with the process of administration and to make relations between the executive and the legislature more intimate. An important change in the constitution of these Committees was effected in 1931 when the practice of nomination by the Governor-General from panels was replaced by the system of direct election of members by the two Houses. This position continued till 1944 when it was made obligatory for every Department (now Ministries) to have a Standing Committee attached to it. The final stage in the evolution of the Committees occurred in 1947, when with the automatic dissolution with effect from the 15th August, 1947 of the Indian Legislature, the Standing Committees attached to the Departments then existing also ceased to function. An attempt was made to revive these Committees in 1952, but the then Prime Minister (late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) did not favour the idea.

After the abolition of the old Standing Committees, Government continued to consider the question of association of members of Parliament with the activities of the Government with a view to giving them adequate knowledge of the working of the Government in its various Ministries/Departments and providing them with opportunities for discussion of the broad policies of the Government in an informal manner. It was in the context of this that in 1954, Informal Consultative Committees consisting of Members of Parliament were set up for the first time. Recently, a very significant decision has been taken in the U.K. House of Commons, which may be the precursor of a number of important changes that may be introduced in the near future in an attempt to streamline the working of Parliament. As a measure towards effective Parliamentary control of the Executive through the Committee system and also with a view to experiment in giving to the back-benchers a share in the investigation of administration and even of the policies of the Government, the House of Commons (U.K.) introduced a new procedure when it, on motions adopted on the 14th December, 1966 in that behalf, appointed two specialist Select Committees—one on the Department of Agriculture and the other on the subject of Science and Technology. A similar Select Committee on Science and Technology has again been appointed by the House of Commons on the 23rd November, 1967 on a motion adopted in that behalf. Already there are moves that standing committees may be appointed in India and before long, as in U.K. Parliament may appoint Standing Committees.

Dr. Jena has observed that "If Parliamentary control over the Executive, in the absence of a stro-

Opposition is to be made effective the institution of petitions and the committee thereon should be made more effective and strong. But the only method that he conceives is relaxation of rules regarding admissibility of the petitions particularly with regard to personal grievances. Actually what is needed is that if the scope of working of this committee should be enlarged and it should be vested with the functions of a Parliamentary Commissioner to look into public grievances on the lines of the Swedish Ombudsman, a demand for the appointment of which has been made on the floor of Lok Sabha for some time past. This will enable this Committee, which has so far functioned independently of the Executive, to ensure higher standards of efficiency and fair administration. In the words of the Whyatt Report 'One of the firmly established channels for com-

plaints against the Executive is through Parliament'. Thus, Parliament must remain the most important channel for making representations against the Executive about public grievances.

On the whole, Dr. Jena's analysis of the working of Parliamentary Committee is very engaging. The book stands head and shoulder above all other publications on parliamentary procedure brought out so far as the treatment of Lok Sabha Committees is concerned. The merit of the book lies in that it provides at one place all the relevant material, analysed and properly arranged relating to the working of the various Committees of Lok Sabha. The Author has made certain suggestions about which there may not be unanimity but they are worth considering.

M. C. CHAWLA

*ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS AND POLITICAL ANSWERS;* By CLAUDE E. HAWLEY AND RUTH G. WEINTRAUB (Eds.), New York, D. Van Nostrand, p. 604, 8 5.95.

This voluminous work contains 80 outstanding articles focussing on the major trends and ideas in the field of public administration and will prove to be of immense use to students and practitioners of public administration in India.

The articles reflect all that has happened in the United States during and after the Second World War in the theoretical framework of public administration and related fields.

The United States has made great strides in the field of public administration during and after the Second World War. These articles represent the approaches of Political Science as well as the inter-disciplinary analyses of behavioural sciences. One can clearly

perceive the progress made in the theoretical framework of Public Administration taking place during this period.

The occasion for publication of the volume was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Public Administration Review in 1965. The editors had to face the hard task of selecting the best of the articles which appeared in the Review during the period of 25 years; and they are to be congratulated for the excellent selection of the truly representative articles.

Some of the most distinguished scholars in Public Administration and Political Science whose articles appear in the volume are: Paul Appleby, Robert A. Dahl,

Marshall E. Dimock, Luther Gulck, Herbert A. Simon, Dwight Waldo, Wallace Sayre, etc.

The book has been divided in six parts: Theory; Political Setting; Administrative Practice; Personnel; Comparative Administration; and Education and Training. Thus all the important areas of concern to the students and practitioners of Public Administration have been comprehensively dealt with.

The importance of Public Administration has increased in our age. Constant efforts have been made to make it dynamic and commensurate with the changing needs and aspirations of the society. The articles in this volume truly depict the changes in theoretical framework and administrative behaviour which have evolved during the last few decades. The tremendous expansion in the scope and content of public administration has focussed continuing interest in this vital area of those who have a stake in the art and science of administration.

After the Second World War, nations had to face complex and difficult problems hitherto unknown, such as those of international aid and cooperation between governments on a gigantic scale. Hence the new need for the study of comparative administration.

The need for developing theories on this aspect of Public Administration has been strongly emphasized by Robert Dahl according to whom: "There can be no truly universal generalizations about public administration without a profound study of varying national and social characteristics impinging on public administration, to determine what aspects of public administration, if any, are truly independent of the national and social setting."

The articles on this section reveal a new concern among the Western writers for a comparative study of non-Western administrative systems also with a view to "provide a conceptual framework for comparative research on diverse administrative systems and their environmental correlates". Articles by Robert Presthus and Edger Shor are thought-provoking and pioneering in this direction.

A major problem of concern in our time is the education for the public service and training for public servants. George A. Graham in his article "Trends in Teaching of Public Administration," poses the question whether there is a "possible inconsistency between the plea for a stronger conceptual approach to public administration and the general approval given to the clinical method", and opines that "the clinical approach and the conceptual approach are complementary". Lynton K. Caldwell, Charles S. Liebman and Royal D. Sloan Jr., discuss various aspects of teaching public administration in the Universities. Marshall E. Dimock's article throws light on the Executive Development Programme and the progress made in this area since the end of World War II. He emphasizes on the development of the programme not only in the United States where "the need for executive development is induced by a combination of overspecialization and bureaucratic procedures", but also for under-developed countries where "the motivating factors are the need to develop administrative skills that can facilitate industrialization, to secure a better balance between the respective roles of business and government in the economy, and to overcome certain traditional cultural factors that limit administrative effectiveness".

Other articles, though written in the context of American Political thought and administration, provide suitable guidelines for undertaking studies in the area of Administrative theory and behaviour in our country. The editors deserve to be congratulated for bringing out this wonderful volume which will prove to be of immense use and value to the students, theorists and practitioners.

This book will go a long way in

*HISTORY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN INDIA*; By J. C. KAVOORI AND BAIJ NATH SINGH, New Delhi, Impex India, 1967, p. 426, Rs. 34.

The Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi and the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) should be praised for having undertaken the difficult responsibility of preparing the history of Rural Development in India. This first volume published in a smart jacket deals with rural development experiments in the erstwhile state of Baroda and the well-known Etawah project in Aligarh district of Uttar Pradesh. The studies presented here in the two parts of the book are based on data collected through library work and with the help of brief questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered to a sample of persons who were actively or otherwise associated with the projects. Besides, the writer of the Etawah report was himself a field participant. With some variations, both the studies are presented in the form of case histories. The printing is quite good and without an appendage of erratum commonly found in such publications.

The Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad III initiated, in the normal course of his reign, the rural development programme for his sub-

creating interest in the various areas of public administration and its development as a distinct discipline. For those who are interested in the development of Public Administration in India it would be worthwhile to give a serious consideration to the idea of bringing out a publication containing articles on various aspects of public administration by scholars and administrators during the last few years.

SHANTI KOTHIARI

jects—a rare example of statesmanship and enlightenment shown by an Indian prince. The distinguished Baroda ruler was installed on the throne as far back as in 1875, and celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of his reign in 1936. It is during these productive years that he worked constructively for the development of rural population in his state.

The Baroda experiment is studied by Dr. J. C. Kavoori of the M. S. University of Baroda. The study brings out clearly how the planned social change was supported by the literacy programme which found expression in the compulsory primary education. The state was not required to establish a special machinery for conducting the programme. The whole administration excepting perhaps the department of revenue, all the other departments covering diverse fields, such as agriculture, village panchayats, co-operation, social legislation, education, vocational training etc., were geared to the all-round development of the masses of the people. The leadership provided by the ruler percolated down at all levels in his administration with considerable

impact on voluntary institutional leadership which gave it a kind of homogeneity and consistency.

It is pertinent to ask here the question whether it was the social legislation and general awakening through educational drives which really formed the basis for social and economic development in the State. The gradual remoulding of traditional village panchayats, taluk boards, district councils and other voluntary agencies, such as library associations, school associations, etc., was responsible for the enlightenment that motivated public leaders towards the task of rural uplift. Here was found a healthy fusion of local administration and public participation. It is doubtless that the voluntary organizations and state institutions paid greater attention to the development of villages without special emphasis on regional aspect of development. That was the time about 35 years from now when the concept of regional and areal-development was obviously not in vogue.

The Etawah project began in late 1948 after the partition, and was led by the American architect Albert Mayer. The Government of Uttar Pradesh was fully responsible for planning and executing the project. Initially, it picked up the line of rural development started by the State Government as far back as 1907. The history of Rural Development Board in U.P. was beset with difficulties until in 1942 when the programme was taken over by the Development and Coordination Department and looked after by a senior ICS officer. Even at this experimental stage, the idea of the organizers of the new rural development programme was to launch the drive in a massive way. Unlike the Baroda experiment, the Etawah experiment was planned from the

bottom. It was desired that the existing government and voluntary agencies would bring about necessary adjustments in administration for supporting and reorganizing self-sufficient and viable village communities. It was taken for granted that various government departments will come forward for co-operation and coordination of their activities at the grass-roots.

Mr. Mayer who started and continuously guided the project had the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, Govind Vallabh Pant, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vinobha Bhave and other well-known leaders of the time. Although he was considerably influenced by them, he undertook the responsibility of providing some foreign specialists to guide various activities of the programme. The specialists were recommended for advice on different aspects of the programmes, such as town and village planning, agriculture extension, agriculture engineering and rural industries. Whatever may have been in the mind of Mr. Mayer at the initiation of the programme, it seems to have undergone considerable change on account of ideological influences exerted by village-uplift oriented Congress leaders of the time. It is, therefore, not surprising that one of the specialists, who was brought in for evolving a coordinated and integrated scheme of town and village planning, did not have much opportunity of using his expertise except for rural housing.

The Project aimed primarily at improving the human qualities of the people so that they may become more self-reliant and improve social and material environment. The purpose of the project was defined in detail and the principles guiding the activities of the workers in the projects were laid down. The experiences of the pre-Independence constructive

workers with regard to Government officials at different administrative levels were quite unpleasant. This was identified by Mr. Mayer in clear terms when he said: "The administrator himself is at sea and spends a large portion of his incumbancy period in figuring out what his job really is about. He has during this large portion of his incumbancy neither knowledge nor experience that he can fall back on, and there is generally a period of stagnation and mistakes."

The Etawah Project suffered certain handicaps of organization, some of which were connected with the promotion of officers in usual hierarchy of State Government. Besides, there were stresses and strains noticed in the relationships of officials and non-officials on account of differences in approaches to work. The interplay of democratic behaviour and authoritarian attitude of some of these leaders continued to interfere with the initiative and cooperation of their colleagues. In a statement on the subject, Mr. Mayer poetically describes the organizational difficulties in the following quotation reproduced here : "Our Pilot Project worked with its new democratic relationship like a little flower that happened to catch hold of a little earth in a minor crack in the rock face of the hierarchical administrative relationships. Now either the plant would go strong enough to crack the rock face or the rock face will crush the little plant". It may be mentioned that the reviewer himself experienced similar difficulties while working in a four-year Research-cum-Action Project of the Central Ministry of Health.

The lucid and interesting account of the Etawah project presented by Dr. B. N. Singh, begins to slacken after he finishes with the chapter

on Approaches to Work; although the latter chapters are informative and full of facts. It was an Action Research programme in which the workers continued to self - evaluate their activities and examine the results of field-work. In the process, they went on improving the techniques of work with the people and thereby solved day to day problems. It is impressive to know that the important functionaries working at district and village levels devoted 10 to 18 hours of work per day. In spite of such enthusiasm of most of the workers there were moments when they felt frustrated, and but for the timely help and encouragement of the chief advisor Mr. Mayer and his senior colleagues, the experiment would have greatly suffered.

From chapter V onwards, the Author describes in a matter of fact manner what they had intended to do and what was actually achieved in controlling budget expenditure, training of workers, participation of villagers, agricultural output and adoption of engineering practices, soil conservation, animal husbandry, rural industries, environmental sanitation and health, literacy and social education; and lastly, in reorganizing existing village associations and institutions. One of the important things that attracts one's attention is the analysis of total expenditure on operational services and supplies for the initial four years given on page 179 of the book. One may naturally expect that the reasons of transferring or returning the money allotted for heavy machinery, equipment and town planning, etc. to the state government were explained.

It has been said in the text as well as in the introduction that cultural and social factors were taken

into account in developing methods of work with the people. While talking about the respect for tradition and the way of life of the people shown by the workers, it has been mentioned on page 173, "The genuine interest they took in the people found expression in the deep regard the workers developed for their cultural traditions and ways of life." The meaning of the sentence here is vague apart from its being misleading, because most of the workers were none but rural folk. However, there is hardly any specific information in the book to show that the project leaders paid sufficient attention to the cultural and ideological barriers in motivating the villagers for technological change.

In the opinion of the reviewer,

HARSHAD TRIVEDI

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some failures of community development programme in rural India, are on account of the failure of the leaders in identifying the potentiality and susceptibility of small and medium size towns whose population should have responded readily to the special efforts of evoking self-help and development administration than the comparatively more ethnocentric and stratified village population. Not only this, the popular leadership and local administration of the townships, if properly geared, should have functioned as catalytic agents of change for a group of contiguous villages organically linked with the former by self-propelled in-out migrations of elites, artisans and landless labourers.

## BOOK NOTES

*READINGS ON PANCHAYATI RAJ*; By George Jacob (Ed.), Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1967, p. 167, Rs. 12.00.

Brought out by the National Institute of Community Development, this useful volume carries case studies that have been conducted in 6 out of 12 states where Panchayati Raj programme is being implemented. These are: Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madras and Mysore.

These case studies show that Panchayat Samitis are generally entrusted with development functions and are directly responsible for implementation of community development programme. They are also charged with the preparation and implementation of development plans for their jurisdiction. The samitis are vested with specific executive responsibilities in fields like primary education, health, sanitation and communication. They also exercise supervision over the panchayat. In the case of Zila Parishad covered, the Case Studies show that their functions and powers vary considerably from state to state. The Zila Parishad is a mere advisory body in Madras, Mysore and Rajasthan, while in Maharashtra it has a wide range of functions with considerable funds and the samiti functioning as its regional committee. The Zila Parishads of Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh are somewhere between these two extremes.

One striking point brought out by the Case Studies is that

with the establishment of Panchayati Raj, contrary to the tradition, the leadership in moving into the hands of comparatively younger people and, consequently, the sanctity of traditional authority is gradually disappearing and thereby the political power structure is slowly changing. The case studies show that PR bodies are generally devoting themselves to social service and public works while development of economic and agriculture programmes are ignored to a great extent. Moreover, they are reluctant to raise their own finances through local levy and depend entirely on government grants. The Gram Sabha, where the 3-tier system of PR is rooted, has not evolved as an effective force. The voluntary organizations have also not grown. Unless they get matured the permanent officials will continue to dominate over elected representatives.

The Case Studies show that PR Institutions have enabled a large number of people to acquire leadership at local levels and, though the influence of political parties does not appear to be significant, the political consciousness of people in rural areas has been aroused. As a result local leadership is gradually developing links with higher levels of political leadership. It has been found that these links become quite strong as Panchayat Samiti level where pradhans are elected on political party basis.

A general assessment of all the studies has been given at the end by the editor himself who also happens to be the Dean of the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad.

*THE PROCESS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA*, New York, United Nations, 1966, p. 272, \$ 4.00.

This handy and exhaustive volume giving a picture of industrial development of Latin American countries is the fruit of the efforts of UN's Economic Commission for Latin America.

The aim of the present study is to give an account of some of the experience with industrialization in the Latin American countries, and assess this experience in the light of the past evolution of manufacturing in the region and the existing structural features of this sector. In addition, past experience has been projected in an attempt to anticipate some of the problems likely to arise in industry's future development.

It is divided into four chapters. The first chapter gives a historical account of the conditions and various stages of industrial development and its contribution to general economic development. The Second chapter depicts the characteristic features of modern Latin American industry including major sectors like textile,

paper, chemical, steel, etc. This deals with its various aspects, such as capital, employment, supply of manufactured goods, prices, and costs. The third chapter is concerned with industrialization policy. In its three sections it deals with: (i) protection from foreign competition, promotion and technical assistance; (ii) financing from various sources both internal and external; and (iii) agencies entrusted with formulation, application and control of industrial policy. The last chapter gives the future prospects of industrialization of Latin American countries.

Table 33 gives at a glance, the most important public industrial promotion agencies in seven Latin American countries. Similarly, table 34 gives at a glance, the relative importance and characteristics of enterprises owned by the state or developed by the public sector in 8 Latin American countries. Both the tables will be found extremely useful in the context of Indian conditions.

*LOCAL FINANCE : ITS THEORY AND WORKING IN INDIA*; By K. M. Rastogi, Bhopal, Kailash Pustak Sadan, 1967, p. 230+iv, Rs. 15.00.

On the financing of local bodies and Panchayati Raj institutions not much has been written. For this reason Dr. Rastogi's book deserves some attention, although the book is no more than a text book in adaptation of Dr. Rastogi's thesis for Ph.D.

The book essentially deals with theory part of Local Finance and has been divided into three sections. Section I of the book is introductory and attempts to give a historical

account of local finance in India.

Section II covers the urban sector local bodies. In about 160 pages it deals with their expenditure, revenue (tax and non-tax including grants-in-aid), loans, budgeting and financial control. In this section the author also gives a brief account of the financial problems of present local bodies in India.

The last section is devoted to Panchayati Raj finances.

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